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THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

I.

ON CRITICAL INDUCTION.

I VENTURE to offer some remarks on the nature of critical induction, with reference to certain passages of Virgil and Horace, which have often been the subject of discussion.

Conjectural emendation is certainly an inductive science. Nobody will assert, now at least, that we have a right to alter a reading, as we might a school-boy's exercise, merely to make it better. But what we do not profess directly, we are constantly in danger of falling into indirectly. There is a constant natural inclination to do it. What we admire, we cannot help wishing to make more perfect, and that, according to our own notions of perfection. It continually happens that persons, to whom the ownership of some beautiful portion of the earth's surface has been unhappily entrusted, have spoiled nature by way of improving her: and it is not at all uncommon, in the present time, to see an old Gothic building entirely ruined, under the name of *restoration*. In emendation upon eminent authors, the excuse is, that they could not have written any thing bad; and that when we correct or *obelize* faults, like the Alexandrian critics, we do so, not as faults, but as inductive improbabilities.

But, is the principle true? According to Longinus, when we speak of the very highest productions of genius, the fact is just the reverse. Sect. 33. he labours the point through several sections most eloquently,—οἶδα μὲν ὡς αἱ ὑπερμεγέθεις φύσεις ἤμισα καθαραὶ· τὸ γὰρ ἐν παντὶ ἀκριβὲς κίνδυνος ἀμυχρότητος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν πλούτοις, εἶναι τι χρὴ καὶ παρολιγωρούμενον.

And with regard to Shakespeare, though I am very far from going all lengths with the fastidious editorship of Pope, I must contend, against many of his idolators in the present time, for considerable inequality in him; which, I believe, those who most truly enter into his spirit will be the most ready to admit, and he himself would laugh at us exceedingly for making any doubt or difficulty about.

But it may be said, that however this may apply to Greek writers, or to others of a relatively early period of literature, there are some at least among the Romans (*Quibus non licet esse tam disertis, Qui Musas colimus severiores,*) who unite extreme excellence with absolute perfection.

But what says Martial himself, the author of the distinction just mentioned, and a very polished writer?

"Jactat inæquales Matho me fecisse libellos,
Si verum est, laudat carmina nostra Matho;
Æquales faciunt libros Calvenus et Umbro,
Æqualis liber est, . . . qui malus est."

There is a difficulty incident to all induction. If you deny and correct this, that, and the other instance, as contrary to experience, how are you to obtain those collections of facts, upon which experience itself is founded?

The same considerations apply, where the commentator explains, instead of altering. He still assumes, that his author could not have written nonsense.

There is a well known passage in the fourth *Georgic*,

"Nam qua Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi," &c.

the geography of which has puzzled the critics. One of the explanations, perhaps, for more than one cannot, may be thought satisfactory enough to be adopted.¹ But when you have got rid

¹ With regard to the passage itself, Virgil might allude to some odd notion of one river really being identified with another. The Eridanus of the Greeks, (see *Apoll. Rhod.*) is one specimen of that strange sort of confusion. If one traveller finds one great river, and another another, in the same continent, our own experience as to the Niger and Brahmaputra will shew, that

wrong conjectures as to identity, or entire ignorance of connection, may prevail. Much more, when the one traveller's observations were merely repeated by memory, not the two accurately preserved and compared by speculative enquirers at home; when they took no bearings nor latitudes; and had no maps. Almost all remote geography, to the ancient Greeks, was that of the

of this, if you turn to another page (*Georg.* i 489,) you find another passage,—

“Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi,
Nec fuit indignum Superis, bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Hæmi pinguescere campos :”—

in which the same sort of difficulty, a geographical one, occurs with regard to places nearer home, and expressly mentioned on account of events of the most recent occurrence. To explain this too, dissertations and notes have been accumulated. But while we are explaining this, does it not happen to occur, that *the having* a second passage to explain, no error in the text being suspected in either, goes a great way to weaken the assump-

coast. We see the confusion in Homer, compared to the Argonautic accounts, between the Bosphorus and Straits of Messina, as to the Cimmerians, Planctæ, and perhaps Circe and *Ætēs*; and hence, I suppose, the *Æthiopians* in the *Odyssey*; τοὶ διχθὰ διδαίεται, ἴσχαται ἀνδρῶν, Οἱ μὲν δυσμένειον ὑπερίνοτος, οἱ δ' ἀνίσταται; that is, they were found on the east and west shores of Africa.

“But how could any body suppose, that a river they had seen to its mouth, could be the same as another, whose mouth they were also acquainted with?” (The Indus might indeed, very probably, have been known to the Persians at Attock before its mouth was known, and through them to the Greeks. But there was the Red Sea, at any rate, between it and the Nile.)

They, first, had become familiar with rivers sinking in at one place, and rising at another. They knew, next, of rivers running into large lakes and out again, so as to be pronounced decidedly to be the same; as the Rhone in the Lake of Geneva. In these cases, they sometimes would fancy that it passed untouched through the lake, as it might do through the ground; as the Welch used to do at Bala, asserting that throughout the lake, which is three miles in length, a different sort of fish

is found in the course of the river, from what is in the rest of the lake. Homer tells us this of the Titaresius, running not through a lake, but with another river; that it flowed at top like oil. The fancy arose from what does happen for some way from the junction, where the rivers differ greatly in clearness or in colour. The notion was directly applied to the case of passing through the sea itself, and for a great length, in the case of the Alpheus. It was connected with another general and very natural fancy, which, in ignorant people's minds, I have no doubt, still exists,—that springs come from some very great connected supply of water, in motion like a river under ground, perhaps identified with the sea itself. Homer says that all wells and fountains of rivers are from the ocean, which in him seems something between a sea and a river; and Euripides, in the first chorus in the *Hippolytus*, applies it even to a spring falling from a rock, *ὡκεανοῦ τις ὕδωρ στάζουσα πάντα λίγνται, βαπτάς κάλπει βυτὰν παγὰν προύισα κρημνῶν*. See Heyne on the passage about the rivers in *Georg.* iv. 366, who says there is a valuable essay on this, by Voss.

This idea of the ocean however, I believe, was partly taken from the reports of the tides. Flowing and reflow-

tion implied in the explanation of the first, that the poet himself could not be in the wrong? But here is a third passage; so at least it appears to me, though in Heyne's edition no difficulty is raised about it, in which the error applies to the poet's own country,—

“Quos patre Benaco, velatus arundine glaucâ,
Mincius infestâ ducebat in æquora purâ.”—*Æn.* x. 205.

I cannot understand what these words mean, unless they mean that they came by water from Mantua to the mouth of the Tiber, where the fleet of Tarchon ultimately arrives. This was temporary oversight, of course, not ignorance. If you ask, how it is possible that such an oversight could exist? I can only answer, that Virgil was a poet and not a geographer, nor yet a cool, learned, plodding commentator, who is expected to be exact about every thing; though indeed even he, often, is not, but in the pursuit of great preciseness in metre or grammar, shews great forgetfulness, at least of these matters of general knowledge. Secondly, that this part of his works was not finally revised.

There is another passage which is not very correct :

“Tum sonitu Prochyta *alta* tremit, durumque cubile
Inarime, Jovis imperiis imposta Typhæo.”

Whatever may be the exact height of Prochyta, the epithet *alta* is absurd when mention is made in the same sentence of Inarime or Ischia, which is close by it, and one of the highest mountains in the country; and this in a neighbourhood which Virgil is particularly well acquainted with. All that can be said is, that *alta* is a kind of hack epithet with Virgil, and especially with the elision, as here used.

ing would be understood, by those who heard of it at second hand, to be longitudinal, and not up and down the shore, which they were not used to; and the water of which they heard this fact, would, so far, sound like a river, or something like one.

There is a strange passage in Lucan, x. 285, as to the Nile,—

— Medio consurgis ab axe,
Ausus in ardentem ripas adtollere Can-
crum :

In Borean is rectus aquis, mediumque
Booten :

Cursus in occasum flexu torquetur, et
ortus,

Nunc Arabum populis, Libycis nunc
æquus arenis :

Teque vident primi, quærant tamen hi
quoque, Seres ;

Æthiopumque feris alieno gurgite cam-
pos :

I think taken from the line in Virgil.

Cristis capita alta corusci.—*Æn.* ix. 678. Maria alta tumescant.—*Georg.* xi. 479. Sulcat maria alta carina.—*Æn.* x. 197. Capita alta ferentes.—*Ib.* i. Priami tecta alta manerent.—*Ib.* iv. Stabula alta ferarum.—*Ib.* vi. 179. Stabula alta Latinus habebat. In nemora alta vocans. Omnes supera alta tenentes.—*Ib.* vi. 788. Alta theatri Fundamenta locant.—*Ib.* i. 427. And in 429, Scenis decora alta futuris. Vocem latè nemora alta remittunt.—*Ib.* xii. 929. Veterum decora alta parentum.—*Ib.* ii. 448. Besides such as, Domus alta sub Ida, Lyrnessi domus alta.—Alta atria lustrat hirundo.—*Ib.* xii. 474, &c.

In the passage,

"Qui nunc extremis Asiae jam victor in oris,

Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum."—*Georg.* ii. 171,

the geographical terms are carelessly applied, whatever be the precise construction given to it.² Indeed the passage is carelessly written, in another way. For it was unskilful to compliment a conqueror with the *unwarlike* turn of the nation he is opposed to.

Eridanus, in *Georg.* iv. 372,

"Quo non alius per pingua culta

In mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis,"

must mean the Po, because it does in i. 481:

"Proluit insano contorquens vortice silvas

Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes

Cum stabulis armenta trahit,"

which is a fact of his own time. If so, it is in vain to say that it is correct.

There is no connexion with the other passage, which speaks of a flood, and may too be confined to the upper course of the Po. But if the river was banked up on the sides then, as it is to so enormous a degree now, something like what Virgil describes might happen, in case of the breaking up of the banks, in Lower Lombardy also, but not constantly.

From Dio (xlv. 17,) I should infer that the latter was the

² When you find loose and confused notions of geography in an author, it is in vain to ask, "What were his ideas! How could he make any map or scheme of geography on these notions!" He

made none. He did not think how they would hang together. If he had tried to form a map, perhaps he would have seen he must be wrong.

case; for he uses the term *παλαίους*, and says the river suddenly retired, and left snakes in the dry.

Heyne is loose. He supposes a real change in the river since the ancient times.

Now with regard to history. I cannot but think, as I did before I knew of the explanation of critics, that Virgil has confounded the two Marcelli:

"Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
Sistet eques: sternet Pœnos, Gallumque rebellem,
Tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino."

The first words seem so clearly to apply to that small affair with cavalry which first retrieved the honour of the Roman arms against Hannibal, and describe, if so, an important historical event with such neatness and poetical force at the same time, that to take them by a forced construction away from that event, because he has not put the saddle exactly upon the right horse, is to lower him as a poet, which he is in the highest degree, in order to save his credit from an error in history, a subject in which he never pretended to distinction.

I need not observe that it is this part you must get rid of, since the last line, relating to the *spolia opima*, fixes the elder Marcellus in a way not to be disputed.

Now it is very curious, that in a writer so *cognate*, as I may call him, as Horace, exactly the same confusion occurs between the two Scipios, as here between the two Marcelli:

"Non celeres fugæ,
Rejectæque retrorsum Annibalis minæ,
Non incendia Carthaginis impia,
Ejus, qui domitâ nomen ab Africâ
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides."

This must needs be cured, of course. Bentley, taking advantage of the anomalous cæsuræ,³ omits the line. Or *incendia*

³ Some critics seem to think there cannot be an ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας. But in the case of single words it is quite admitted. Why not in expressions, modes of metre, or of grammar?

"Give me but one second instance," they say, "and I am satisfied."

But why? Why can a man do a thing only once! He must do it once

before he can do it twice. He might have died before he had done it the second time.

I quite admit the principle as a question of degree of probability; but when it is put as constituting absolute impossibility, or nearly so, it is unintelligible.

Horace and Virgil both seem to affect the introducing, in one, or exceedingly

must be altered into *impendia*, or construed to mean something else, and not a fire. This last is the more untenable of the two. For supposing *incendia* might sometimes mean defeat, and not conflagration, it would be in the utmost degree ridiculous to have so applied it in contact with *Carthaginis*, when it is so conspicuous an event in history, that Carthage was actually burnt one time or other. This explanation is sacrificing, as in the other case, the credit of Horace as a writer, to his accuracy as an historian.⁴

But as to the objection in general. Why is it impossible that Horace made an oversight? "What, Horace," you will

few instances, some peculiarity in metre in imitation of Greek,—and, it may be added, not quite so rarely, in language also.

⁴ There is a remarkable error in Dante, the cause of which is pointed out by his commentators. He makes Cassius muscular:

Quell' altro é Cassio, che par sì membruto:

Whereas he was a lean man. Dante mistook him for another Cassius, who was one of Catiline's conspirators; and thought of the words of Cicero,—*Nec contra adipem Cassi*.

There is a curious error in Spenser:

Wise Socrates, who thereof quaffing glad,
Pour'd forth his life and last philosophy,
To the fair Critias, his dearest bel-amý.

He confounded the death of Socrates with that of Theramenes,

Κριτίας τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῷ καλῷ:

He confounded the charge against Socrates in Xenophon, that Critias had been his pupil, with the notion of his being a very favourite disciple; and probably he confounded the name of Critias, partly, with that of Crito.

There is an entertaining mistake of the Tribune Rienzi, pointed out by Gibbon. He was fond of translating old inscriptions; but unluckily did not know the meaning of the word *pomarium*; and therefore told his hearers

that some emperor was celebrated for having added largely to the extent of the Roman *apple-orchards*.

There is a very curious error in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, v. 2019:

Yet saw I brent the shippes hoppers-teres;

on which Tyrwhitt says, that *hopperes* means dancers, that it refers to ships dancing on the sea, and that it is not so proper as the expression in the corresponding line in Boccaccio's *Theseida*,

Vedeva ancor le navi bellatrici.

It is plain that Chaucer read, or thought he read, *ballatrici*; and blindly copied the mistake, without correcting it.

These instances have not much connection with my subject. But Milton, who had a very extensive knowledge of various branches of science and learning, but a love of display which sometimes outran it, has this passage:—

That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In th' Arctic sky.

Ophiuchus is a very large constellation; but it happens that the greater part of it is in the Southern Hemisphere.

⁵ When Virgil says,—*Castigatque auditque*," are we to come with our microscopical spectacles, and find that this means literally that Rhadamanthus, βουλαις ἰ, ἐρῶν, punished first and enquired afterwards? and build on it a serious reference, in the violent strain of Lord Coke, to the "damnable and

say, "so exact a writer; the model of *curiosa felicitas*?" Is he then so universally perfect, even in what that passage must have related to, poetical taste? This will only lead us to instances of the same principle of induction in that other branch, the merit of his style. The fact is, there are inequalities in Horace, and some in Virgil, not merely in what may be called their scientific, but poetical character.

Bentley, after Dacier and others, complains most reasonably of the terrible flatness of "*caput ejus*" in the Ode to Mercury: distinguishes it, with great taste and learning, from cases in which *ejus* is not emphatic, and proposes a most elegant emendation, which, however, he very candidly and ingeniously points out to be not quite applicable.

But the same principle applies. Is Horace never flat in other places?

"Merionem quoque Nosces —;"

and I think in the end of the same Ode:

"Post certas hiemes uret Achaïcus
Ignis Iliacas domos:"

certainly as the conclusion of such an Ode as that. The passage (unless excused as an imitation of other writers, but that is itself bad taste,) quibus mos unde deductus, &c.

These lines—

"Tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
Excludit ictus,"

are a mere botch or *cheville*, to fill up the first part of a stanza, of which he had thought of the spirited and excellent termination.

The end of the Ode on *Regulus*,—

"Quam si clientum longa negotia," &c.

is very flat to the mind, I think, though he has made it sounding to the ear.

It is just possible that the very remarkable and awkward way in which many of the odes of Pindar terminate, and more

damned proceedings of the judge of hell!"

It is curious, that in a speech ascribed to Lord Chatham, I think, the passage is quoted just in the other way;

that is, overlooking the misarrangement, to shew that "the very spirits of the infernal regions hear before they punish."

remarkable on account of the magnificent termination of so many of his individual stanzas, led Horace to this ; but I think not. Their minds were totally unlike, and the instances in Horace belong rather to that particular sort of deadness which is incident to a careful and correct writer, as we see now and then in Pope, and which is quite different from the sort of inequality to which impetuous writers, such as Shakespeare, are liable, and to my taste much more disappointing and disagreeable. But the care, being an effort, is likely to break down sometimes by its very nature.

I beg to dissent entirely, however, from those who include among these flat terminations the stanzas—

“ Sed ne relictis, Musa procax jocis ——;”

and

“ Non hæc jocosæ convenient lyræ ——;”

stanzas in the most delightful spirit and taste, and written with the highest finish of any thing in the author ; and perhaps, too, ingeniously and purposely introduced, to avoid that which he was so constantly afraid of, and at last yielded to, sparingly and unwillingly, but, on the whole, successfully,—the writing of serious poetry in favour of Augustus.

Flatnesses in Virgil, here and there, are well known ; as—

“ Bis senos luxere dies ——

Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum :”

though some apparently more tedious passages in the Fourth *Æneid*—

“ Et jam prima novo—— ”

and

“ Nox erat,” &c.

* The words *jocis* and *jocosæ*, give me an opportunity of observing, that here and in several other places in Horace and elsewhere, they denote merely love, or the pleasures of Venus, and not any thing which we should call jocular, as in their usual acceptance. Jocosæ Mæcenas, in the epode against garlic, seems to mean in plain terms—scortator ;—precor, Manum puella savio opponat tuo, Extrema et in sponda cubet. So, Vivas in amore jocisque :

for Mimnermus only says, *τί δὲ τριγυρίαι δὲ τοῦ χερσὶν Ἀφροδίτης*. Ovid, in *Ep. Sapphus Phaoni*,—Crebraque mobilitas ceptaque verba joca. *Trist.* II. 238,—nostros evoluisse jocos ; meaning his Amores, censured by Augustus. And, Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa mihi, 334. Quodque magis vita Musa jocosa mea est, III. 2, 8, &c. Tibullus, Venus jocosa molle ruperit latus. Catullus, Ibi illa multa tam jocosa fiebant, Quæ tu volebas, nec puella nolebat.

(so inferior to its model in Apollonius,) produce a great effect by contrast with what follows.

And as to botches, in Virgil we are behind the scenes, by the blanks left, which he did not live to fill up.

Perhaps these considerations may apply to the passage in the *Antigone*, lately discussed in the *Classical Museum*,—

Τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντά σοι,
κάμωι, λέγω γὰρ καί με, κηρύξαντ' ἔχειν.

It is assumed that it must have a logical and emphatic meaning; and the question is, what? But it seems to me just as likely, that it is merely a carelessness or colloquial expression, natural in the author and in the character; corrected rather more stiffly, but still naturally: σοι used only generally, of which I do not know in Greek any examples. (This verse in *Philoctetes* must be considered as *personal*:

“Ὅδ' ἔσθ' ὁ κλεινός σοι Φιλοκτήτης, ξένη.—575.

as in *Hippolytus*,—

Τόδε σοι φέγγος λαμπρόν.)

Then, considering it more literally, extended to herself. Of the stiffness I think we have examples:

Οὐ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν τοῦδε τ' ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἴσον.

Καὶ πῶς ὁ φύσας ἐξ ἴσου τῇ μηδυνί;

Ἄλλ' οὐ σ' ἐγείνατ' οὔτ' ἐκείνος, οὔτ' ἐγώ.

Æd. Tyr. v. 1018.

which is much of the same nature, following up a previous accidental phrase.

Another instance, when I refer to it, I find altered by conjecture in more than one way; exactly illustrating, therefore, the general principle I am contending for,—

Προσψᾶσον, ὦ παῖ.—Θιγγάνω δυοῖν ὁμοῦ.—

*Ἡ τῆσδε κάμου;—Δυσμόρου τ' ἐμοῦ τρίτης.

Æd. Col. 330.

The last words are quite illogical; and, I always thought, most exceedingly natural and affecting. Markland and Brunck read ὦ τῆσδε κάμου, which is the utmost possible dull nonsense; and Dindorf, or some other editor before him, following a conjecture of the Scholiast, transposes the lines, and makes ἦ τῆσδε,

&c. come after ὡς δυσάθλια τροφαί. But as it often happens in making logic or grammar at the expense of nature and feeling, even correctness is sacrificed in some other quarter. For it is plain that δυσὶν must be connected with the *specification* of the two.

Θέλονται κάμοι τοῦτ' ἂν ἦν.—*Æd. Tyr.* 1336.

*Ὡν ταῦθ', ὁπωσπερ καὶ σὺ φῆς.—*Ib.* 1356.

— πρὸ πάντων ὃ' ἐμοί. *Αντ.* 'Ιὼ, ἰὼ, καὶ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί. 'Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θ.—997.

which is somewhat like our original passage.

But I must admit, that alternate single lines naturally, and for some reason κομμοί also, seem particularly liable to flat passages. One sort is the unnecessary *questioning*,—

*Ἰμὸς ἔχει με. Τις, &c.—*Æd. Col.* 1725.

Πρὶν ἂν τί θρασυῆς, ἢ τίς ἐξέκῃ χθόνα;—*Med.* 678.

Much of what an exact critic calls carelessness, having time to dwell long on a single passage, and that, one critic after another for successive ages, is a real merit; and especially in the Drama, because it is natural; as has been prettily applied to Ariosto,—

Le negligenze sue sono artificio,—

and so we find in painting. I mean natural, at least in the author, excluding the idea of cramp didactic formality. I would never have altered

Fratresque unanimos tuamque matrem,

in Catullus, to

— anumque matrem.

As to the goodness of Creon, no doubt the version (as we call it) of a story, which is found in one play, need not be the same in another, even of the same author. I do not insist that Sophocles, in the *Antigone*, had the same view of Creon's conduct, which he afterwards gives us in the *Ædipus at Colonus*. But do we find, any where, any great reason to ascribe positive *merit* to him? *Ædipus*, it is true, calls him, *Æd. Tyr.* 385,

*Ὁ πιστὸς, οὐξαρχῆς φίλος,

and certainly the suspicion he there entertains proves false. In v. 1161 of this play, (quoted already for the dative case,) the messenger says he was ζηλωτὸς ὡς ἐμοί, because he had delivered

the town from the enemy; and he might be called good for the same reason. The expression in the *Trachiniæ*—

— τοιάδ' Ἡρακλῆς
'Ο πιστὸς ἡμῖν καγαθὸς καλούμενος,

is in some degree parallel, on the other view. But the authority for the *expression* is subordinate to the question of propriety as to the *fact*. Irony we have in *Æd. Colon.* 991,—

Εἴ τίς σε τὸν δίκαιον αὐτίκ' ἐνθάδε
κτεῖνοι παραστάς —.

C. B.

There are many instances of inconsistencies in eminent writers, as is observed in the last number of the *Classical Museum*, which are not sufficient to prove interpolation. But I cannot help submitting, that one such objection, there quoted as having been made against Homer, can hardly amount, even *primâ facie*, to any objection at all.

"Sarpedon, desperately wounded in one conflict, reappears at no long interval whole and active, and no account is rendered of his recovery."—P. 391.

It does not appear that any *despair* was entertained of his recovery, or needed to have been. He is wounded in E. 660,—

(Τληπ.) . . . μὴρὸν ἀριστερὸν ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ
βεβλήκει · αἵχμη δὲ διέσσυτο μαιμῶνσα,
ὥστε⁷ ἔγχερι μφθεῖσα · πατήρ δ' ἔτι λοιγὸν ἀμυνέν.

He is carried off with the spear in the wound. Heyne absurdly construes the words, that his conductors did not notice the spear. Of course the meaning is, that they did not in their hurry think of drawing it out,—

τὸ μὲν οὔτις ἐπεφράσατ', οὐδ' ἐνόησε,
μῆροῦ ἐξερεύσαι, δόρυ μείλινον, ὅφρ' ἐπιβαίῃ.

He (v. 692,) is placed under the beech tree,—the spear is taken out:

Τὸν δὲ λίπε ψυχῇ, κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυντ' ἀχλὺς ·
αὐτίς δ' ἀμπνύνθη, περὶ δὲ πνοιῇ βορέας,
ζώγρει ἐπιπνείουσα κακῶν κέκαφθότα θυμόν.

Surely this is enough: Homer is not writing a medical report. Three days intervene; and when he comes out again, (M. 292,) it is, *νὶὸν ἐὼν*, Σ., *μητιέτα Ζεὺς Ὀρσεν*.

⁷ This does not necessarily mean, touching it; so at least it is generally considered.

II.

REMARKS ON POGGIO'S DIALOGUE "DE
VARIETATE FORTUNÆ."

IT must ever be a subject of interest to the student of Roman antiquities, to observe what was the condition of the ancient buildings at any particular period; and as we are in possession of a short treatise on the subject, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, it may be worth while to compare the state of the Roman remains as they existed four hundred years ago, with their actual appearance in our own times. The treatise above alluded to, is that by Poggio Bracciolini, a learned Florentine, who was secretary to Pope Martin the Fifth in the year 1430. After an eloquent exordium, the writer proceeds to enumerate the edifices of classic interest which remained, and among them some which unhappily would now baffle the search of more modern antiquaries.

It will be sufficient for our present purpose to notice those structures which have undergone some change since the days of Poggio, without remarking upon every item in his catalogue. The Tabularium on the capitol first occupies his attention: he affects to give an ancient inscription as legible on the walls of it, as follows:—*Q. Lutatium Q. F. Et Q. Catulum Coss. Substructionem Et Tabularium de Suo Faciundum Curavisse, Opus Ipsâ Vetustate Venerandum.* Now, fortunately for us, the inscription was copied accurately two centuries later by Nardini; and, had it not been so, the absurdity and inconsistency of the above collection of words are themselves sufficient to prove that Poggio put down something at random, instead of the actual words, which he might have been at the pains to transcribe, although they were, to use his own phrase, "*admodum humore salis exesa.*" The ancient letters, either entirely corroded, or possibly built over, are no longer to be seen. The arch of Lentulus, bearing its ancient inscription, is mentioned by Poggio as existing in his time; its place between the Aventine and the Tiber is now occupied by a rude modern arch called "*della Salara,*" in which, however, some blocks of Travertine, remnants

of its illustrious predecessor, are still visible. The grand fountain outside the Esquiline gate, supplied by the Aqua Julia, bore traditionally the name of "Cimbron," and is called by Poggio a temple built by Caius Marius from Cimbrian spoils; and the trophies transferred by Sixtus the Fifth to the modern Capitol, at that time formed part of its ornament. The Temple of Peace, now generally considered to be a basilica built by Constantine, had the same appearance as at present, except that one marble column still retained its position:—this column is now to be seen opposite the principal front of the church of S. Maria Maggiore. Our author relates an anecdote which is highly characteristic of the times in which he lived: he says that near the portico of Minerva, meaning, no doubt, the Forum Transitorium, the owner of a garden, while digging for the purpose of planting trees, came upon the face of a recumbent statue of such magnitude, that it exceeded that of any figure known in the city. From day to day, such a concourse of persons rushed to see it, that the proprietor forthwith proceeded to re-inter the colossal head; and may not this and a hundred others exist within a few feet of the surface on which we tread in every part of Rome? With what dismay must the learned secretary have beheld a temple in the Forum gradually wasting away, demolished for the sordid purpose of making lime from its marble; and yet such was his fate: for when he first saw Rome, the Ionic temple with eight columns now standing was perfect, and he had the mortification of witnessing the gradual destruction of the whole cella, and two columns of the portico. A temple of Apollo converted into a church, has been lost to us by the erection of St. Peter's, which of course occupies a much larger space than the ancient Basilica. The reflection made by Poggio on the existence of seven Public Baths is strange enough. He says, "*permaxima vestigia eorum aspicientes movent, non sine admiratione quâdam, quid sibi voluerit ad tam vilem usum tanta ædificiorum moles;*" as if to a refined people who were clothed in woollen, it was a mere unnecessary luxury to bathe; and as if the *Thermæ* contained nothing but mere basins for immersion, and were not supplied with rooms for exercise, as well as for repose and conversation, and in some respects answered the purpose of a modern club-house. The gradual demolition of four centuries has deprived us of the ruins of no less than five triumphal arches. In the Forum Transitorium part of an arch

of Nerva existed, one of Trajan with an inscription; two on the Flaminian way, which corresponded with the modern Corso, namely, first, that of Claudius, which stood in the Piazza di Sciarra, and whereon that emperor was asserted to have added the Orkneys to the Roman empire; secondly, that of Marcus Aurelius, which remained nearly entire till A. D. 1662. This arch in the days of Poggio was called Triopolis, from some notion of its commemorating a victory over three cities; afterwards it was named the arch of trophies; and finally, it obtained the designation "di Portogallo," merely because it abutted upon the residence of the Portuguese ambassador. Lastly, our author read the inscription of an arch erected in honour of Vespasian, after the Jewish wars, and situate, he says, in the Circus Maximus. This must have been an entrance to the Circus, and has perished, with almost every vestige of the edifice to which it belonged.

T. B. WHALLEY.

III.

AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE THE TEXT AND THE SCANSION OF HOMER UPON AN ENTIRELY NEW SYSTEM AND PRINCIPLE.

It will, no doubt, be considered as a very bold, if not as a very presumptuous endeavour, especially after the lapse of more than five and twenty centuries, and notwithstanding also the intervention of the darker ages, for any one to attempt to restore, and as it were to resuscitate, in the present day the original text, or even the scansion of Homer. Such an attempt, I allow, does indeed at first sight appear to be not only hopeless, but ridiculous; yet does it in reality follow, I would ask, that because appearances are so much against it, the thing itself is actually impossible? Most certainly not. Would Newton ever have discovered the great system of the universe, or Cuvier either, that of geology? Indeed, would any of the great disco-

veries of modern science ever have been invented, if appearance alone, or probability even, had been consulted? When we consider the amount of difficulty and labour that had to be encountered among the ancients, before any one could possibly be put into possession of a true and faithful copy of the great Homeric poems, and how infinitely this difficulty must have been increased subsequently to the revival of learning among the moderns, from the difference of character, and their ignorance of the language, it is only wonderful, in truth, that we are even in possession of copies so respectable as those which are at present in existence; but no man in his senses, I should imagine, is so sanguine as to suppose that these same copies are actually in the state in which they were left at the period of their completion.

That there were discrepancies even among the ancients themselves, is evident, if only from the testimony of Josephus, who, in his *Treatise against Apion*, distinctly alludes to them; nor is this to be wondered at in any way, when we consider that even in our own day, and among comparatively modern authors, in Shakspeare in particular, similar discrepancies are met with. It is also further to be remembered, that all the copies of the works of Homer, and of the other ancient Greek authors that have reached us, have been transmitted to us either through the medium of Roman scribes, or through the no less exceptionable medium, probably, of the copyists of Byzantium, no original or pure Greek M.S. having been in existence, of course, for many centuries. The destruction of the library of Alexandria by fire, in which, possibly, an original and pure Greek copy might have been included, is therefore, in this respect, irreparable.

In a field, however, that has been so repeatedly and so carefully gone over by Erasmus, by Stephens, and the Scaligers among the older critics; and by a Bentley, a Porson, and a Parr, together with the equally profound and modern scholars of the Continent, it does appear an almost hopeless task to try and strike out any thing that is really new or remarkable. But the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, it must be remembered, in despite of appearance; and I think that I shall nevertheless be enabled to shew, that in this particular branch of learning, a vast deal yet remains to be accomplished, and notwithstanding all the labours and acuteness of the great

and illustrious scholars to whom I have just alluded. The reason why no previous writer on this subject, however celebrated he may have been as a scholar, seems to have stumbled upon this idea beforehand, would seem to me to have been two-fold. In the *first* place, from a sort of superstitious reverence for those copies that have been actually transmitted from the ancients; and, *secondly*, because that philology, which is properly so called, and of which this is certainly a branch, appears to have been understood but very badly by them; and in England, I am sorry to say, even at the present moment, it is a subject that is still almost in its infancy. The recovery of the Sanskrit, however, and the admirable use that has been made of that discovery by Professor Bopp, Pott, Rask, Grimm, Humboldt, Richter, and the other great philologists of Germany, has tended to throw an entirely new light upon the theory of language altogether, and has rendered that now comparatively easy, which would otherwise have been looked upon as not only improbable or difficult, but actually impracticable.

Having some ten or twelve years ago been struck, in a very forcible manner, by the very singular and extraordinary discoveries in the theory and science of language by the able and ingenious authors to whom I am referring, I resolved, after having made myself in a great measure master of their system, to devote myself, with the assistance of the Sanskrit, to a thorough investigation of the Anglo-Saxon, French, and English languages upon the same principle, satisfied within my own mind that something interesting, at any rate, could not fail to arise from such an inquiry. But I was not by any means prepared for the very extraordinary and even startling results which have ultimately been presented to me, and which no one previously could possibly have anticipated, nor indeed scarcely even have dreamt of.

It is not my intention, however, to enter at present upon this part of the subject; the public mind would seem indeed to be too much occupied just at the present moment with the spirit of speculation, and in mere utilitarian projects of one kind or another, to take any great interest in such considerations. Suffice it then to say, that in the course of my researches, there were certain facts made known to me, which, if only properly applied, appeared to me as calculated to throw some consider-

able light upon that oft-disputed question—the scansion of the ancient Greek poems, and more particularly so upon the scanning of Homer.

The very first application of this new principle was, to myself, of the most satisfactory nature; indeed, if only properly followed out, it would appear to leave but little more in this respect to be desired. But the matter did not rest here; for, whilst engaged upon the scanning, a second discovery was suggested; a discovery, it is true, which I had some time previously hit upon with respect to modern languages, but had as yet had no distinct conception, that the very same principle might be made to apply, and with a like success, to the ancient Greek also; and this discovery affects the text precisely in the same manner, and almost to the same extent, as the scanning was affected by the other. In order, however, to make this new system to be more readily comprehended by the reader, it will be necessary for me to treat in the first place of these two discoveries. And here it will be incumbent on me, then, to touch upon that oft-contested question—the Digamma. I do not, however, intend to enter here into any very lengthy or detailed discussion upon that subject; indeed, I have neither space nor inclination for that purpose, and shall therefore endeavour to express my own ideas respecting it in as short and succinct a manner as is possible. I have devoted a great deal of time to this part of the enquiry, and trust that, from the experience I have gained in the matter, I may without presumption be entitled to venture an opinion.

There is probably no subject in any branch of science that has given rise among the learned to much more vehement, or indeed to more ill-natured discussion, than that of the Digamma. And were I to be asked by any one how it happens that so much learning has been expended, and with such unsatisfactory results upon this question, I should be inclined to answer, That there are in human knowledge two things mainly which contribute to obstruct the mental vision;—the one arising solely from the excessive difficulty of the subject, and the other from the very opposite, viz. its facility.

Of the former, the great system of the universe, and astronomy in general, may be cited as examples; and of the latter, the new system of geology, the circulation of the blood, or the invention of printing more particularly. The great and god-

like mind of a Newton alone was enabled to grapple with the first of these, after it had escaped the utmost study and acuteness of the ancients; but nevertheless it required upwards of a century longer, before that the real nature and construction of the planet we inhabit could be explained by Cuvier; although a mine could not be sunk, a well dug, nor a cliff disintegrated, without disclosing something of its history. Printing, in like manner, is only the invention of modern times in Europe; yet the Chinese would seem to have been acquainted with it for upwards of thirty centuries; and the Romans were certainly in possession of raised stamps, and had only got to ink them to have effected the purpose. Ponderous learning, also, often contributes to defeat itself, of which Dr. Johnson, both as a philologist and as a commentator, may be considered as an instance.

Another great impediment, too, in the way of all our ablest scholars and philologers, was, that in general they were totally unacquainted, excepting the classics, with any other language than their own. Comparative science, the great advantage and distinctive characteristic of the present day, was in their time almost totally unknown; and in language, as in every other branch of knowledge, the comparative system is almost indispensable.

OF THE DIGAMMA AND THE DIHYOTA.

I have already stated that it is not my intention to enter into any very lengthy or learned dissertation on this subject, nor shall I stop to notice upon this occasion all that has been said of it by others; but shall endeavour, as shortly as I am able, to give to the reader my own opinion on it. As a distinct character or letter, then, I am in my own mind perfectly convinced with Bentley, that the Digamma, although written F in Greek, was nothing more nor less than common English W; and I had, from other reasons connected with my own researches, long adopted this opinion previously to my having met with Bentley's treatise on it. I do not mean to say that I agree with Dr. Bentley, that every word inserted in the list which he has given had in reality the Digamma prefix; no, far from it, but that several of them had, I think is highly probable. And that the F or the W, as we express it in our English alphabet, was originally prefixed to many roots in Greek, is evident, if only from

those same roots in modern languages, and which still retain that letter, as for instance in the words,—

Greek.	German.	English.
Ἔργον	W'erk	W'ork.
Ἔνδια	"	W'ant.
Ἄρης	Wehr	W'ar, Fr. Guerre.
Ἑλμα-φελσα	Quelle	W'ell.
Ἐλιξ-αός	...	Wh'ilick or Wh'ilk, a turbinated shell-fish.
Ἐάλη	...	A W'heel.
Ὀίκος	...	W'ick, Lat. Vicus.
Ὀίνος	W'ein	W'ine, Lat. Vinum.
Ὀύλος v. Ιούλος	W'olle	W'ool, Lat. Vellus.
Ὑδωρ	W'asser	W'ater.
Ἔτερος	...	W'et.
Ὀ/ς	Wer	W'ho.
Ὀτι	Was	W'hat.
Ἑλλάς	Wallis	W'ales, Fr. Gallia, Galles.

This last word is very remarkable, and shews how little the Greeks themselves, and even Plato, were acquainted with their own etymology, whilst of philology, in its present acceptance, they would seem to have been indeed altogether ignorant. The mind that is engaged exclusively in searching out the subtilties, or the abstruse parts only of a subject, will overlook the minutiae and more common-places of it, and yet it is these very common-places, or minutiae, that are often of the very greatest importance in enabling us to arrive at a full and satisfactory conclusion.

The real and actual meaning of the Greek term Ἑλλάς is, as I shall have occasion to describe, and somewhat more at length, upon some future opportunity, equivalent precisely to that of the modern phrase the far West, as it is now made use of in America; and has nothing to do with Ἑλληγν, the son of Deucalion, any more than Europa has with Europa who was ravished by Jupiter, both of which are fables; for had that been the case, but the which is in every way improbable, the country would have been called, not Hellas, but Hellenas, as the people were Hellenes—from the two words Ἑλλάς and Ναίω, habito. The root of Ἑλλάς is in Ἑλλω, meaning to *pull up, hinder, or restrain—contineo, retineo, freno*, and is an epithet borrowed from

the circus, and in allusion to Apollo as pulling up the chariot of the sun, after having finished his diurnal course, and terminated his labours for the day. The term was first applied in the early migrations of the Greeks to the north-western parts of Thrace, as we may still discern in the name of the Hellespont, *i. e.* Sea of Wales; afterwards to Greece, as the most western land then known; next to Italy, then to Switzerland, again to Gaul, and finally to the western parts of England. And it is curious to observe that, even at the present day, the same process is going on exactly. In the United States, originally the western parts of New York State were considered the Far West; then came Ohio, afterwards Indiana; Michigan and Wisconsin, subsequently the establishment at Rock River, upon the Mississippi; and soon, no doubt, the plains that lie about the western foot of the Rocky Mountains will be included in that designation; and last of all, the Settlements of California and of Oregon. In the same manner, the name of Pallas, an epithet for Minerva, is not from Πάλλω, *vibro*, in allusion to the spear which she carried, for in that case every individual in the phalanx would have been entitled to it equally; but from Πάν, *omne*, and the verb Λάω, *cerno*, *discerno*, *video*, *fruo*, *i. e.* NOT KNOWING, for all the gods did that, but *understanding all things*,—before λ becoming λ, according to the laws of euphony:—and was she not the goddess of wisdom? Thus Ὑπεριων, also, one of the epithets of Apollo, was not from ὑπέρ and ἰων, *i. e.* *Super-iens*, which is nonsense; but rather a corruption of Ὑπερραίων, or the *Raiser up*, in opposition to, and in contrast with his other term Ἀπρῶλλον, or by contraction Ἀπόλλων, *i. e.* the Destroyer—just as in the present day we make use of the word extraordinary, and even extraordinary for extraordinary, or drawing room for withdrawing room, in our common conversation, and is an evident allusion to the good and evil principle (the Oromundes and Arimanes,) of the Persians.

If only from the list just cited, and many similar examples might be given, there does appear at least very strong presumption that a character exactly equivalent, both in force and nature, to the W in English, was in the Greek originally a common prefix also. But independently of any other reasons, and several yet remain to be adduced to strengthen this presumption, there are two passages to be met with in the ancient authors,

which, if only properly considered, would alone appear to be almost decisive of the question. Both of these passages are quoted at some length by Mr. Donaldson, in his very excellent work entitled *The New Cratylus*, unquestionably the best and the most able book upon the subject of philology that has as yet been published in the English language; a book, too, that entitles us to hope, that the almost Egyptian darkness which has hitherto surrounded this subject in England is about to disappear for ever, as it has already done in Germany, and has done also partially in France, which, in this branch of science, is certainly before us. These two passages I shall here transcribe *verbatim*. The first is taken from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book i. c. xx. p. 52, ed. Reiske:—καὶ διδόναι αὐτοῖς χώρα—τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν λίμνην, ἐν ᾗ ἦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐλώδη, ἃ νῦν, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον, Οὐ-έλια ὀνομάζεται. σύνθεσις γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλης, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, προτιθέναι τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὑπόσω αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀπὸ φωνηέντων ἐγένοντο, τὴν οὐ συλλαβὴν ἐν στοιχείῳ γραφομένην. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὡς περ γράμμα διτταῖς ἐπὶ μίαν ὁρθὴν ἐπιζευγνόμενον ταῖς πλαγαῖς, ὡς Φαλένη, καὶ Φάναξ, καὶ Φοῖκος, καὶ Φανήρ, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα.

Let us now, for a moment, consider the real nature and power of the W in English. If we analyze this letter carefully, we shall find that it is exactly equivalent in its value and pronunciation to the letters oo, succeeded by a vowel; as, Warm—Oo-arm, West—Oo-est, Winter—Oo-inter, Word—Oo-ord, Wurzburg—Oo-urzburg, &c.; but in French, and indeed in many of the modern languages, the sound of oo in English is represented by the combination of Ou diphthong; as, for example, in the French words, Ouate—Wad, or Wadding, Ouest—West, Oui—Wi, &c.; and wherever they may have occasion to express the sound of English W distinctly; and we know that the Greeks also, in the more refined period of their language, were accustomed to express the same sound likewise.

Bearing then this explanation well in mind, let us now translate the first part of the sentence:—"And they give to them lands about the holy marsh, in the which were many pools, or fenny places—the which pools, or places, according to the ancient mode (of speaking) in the dialect (of the country) are even now called *Wells*." Here we are startled, all at once, in the midst of a Greek sentence, with the appearance of a word that is purely English. Not that this is by any means a solitary instance; for Greek roots are indeed much more common in the

English than is usually imagined,—such as, Am, from Εἰμὶ, Tame, from Δαμάω, Tram, from Δραμῆν, Want, from Ὑνδεια, Welsh, from Ἑλληται, (Wellees); just as Notte is from Nox, Virgine, from Virgo, Grandine, from Grando, &c. In the Italian, the ablative of the ancient having taken the place of the nominative in the modern language, with a number of others, although but few of them, it is true, come out so clean and pure as does the present word.

The ancient Greeks were in the habit of prefixing to many of their words the syllable *Ou*, says Dionysius, equivalent, as we have seen, to English *W*, and which sound, or syllable, was expressed by a character which was written like a *double gamma*. Nothing surely can be much more satisfactory evidence than this is. And the second passage above alluded to is almost equally to the purpose,—Julian, (*Orat.* xi. p. 71, edit. Spanheim,—Ἐνεταὶ δὲ οἱμαὶ τὸ προσθὲν ὀνομάζοντο, νῦν δὲ ἤδη, Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις ἔχόντων, τὸ μὲν ἐξαρχῆς ὄνομα σώζουσι βραχεία προσθήρη γράμματος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ σύμβολον χαρακτήρ εἰς ὀνομάζουσι δὲ αὐτόν Ου, καὶ χρωῖνται ἀντὶ τοῦ Βητα, πολλάκις προσπνεύσεως οἱμαὶ πνος ἕνεκα καὶ ιδιότητος γλώττης. The Eneti, he says, even after the Romans had possession of their cities, still preserved the name which they had from the beginning, and which they began with a letter that they called *Ou*, but which they wrote with a single character, &c. Here we have again exactly the same account of this syllable, viz. *Ou*, as before, with the important addition, however, that it was *often* accompanied by an aspiration, precisely as in English, where the words *When*, *Which*, *What*, *Wherefore*, and many others, are by the inhabitants of London uttered *Wen*, *Wich*, *Wat*, &c.; but by all correct speakers, and generally by the inhabitants of the country, as they are written, or rather, as Walker has more correctly indicated, like *Hoo-en*, *Hoo-ich*, *Hoo-at*, &c. as in the Anglo-Saxon, with the aspirate preceding.

And, further, we are told that it was also used in opposition to, or in the place of *BHTA*. Now the letters *V* and *B* are frequently interchangeable, and that *W* and *V* may also change; we know if only from the invariable substitution of the *W* for *V*, and of the *V* for *W*, by the lower inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood; there does not appear then to be any absolute reason why *W* and *B* should not in like manner

change places, and from the word Balina in Italian, signifying Lightning, a sudden blaze of any kind,—*Φελευα*, Lampas, for Italian Lampeggio, Lampo,—as also from Kriwizen, the name of a tribe or nation in Russia, and the Greek Krobyzi and some others, together with the identity of the *βω*, *vau* digamma, or *W* of the Greeks, with *Vau* or *Bh* of the Simitic alphabet; it would appear that they are found actually to interchange with one another sometimes. This evidence alone is quite sufficient to establish the identity of *Οω* with the digamma *W*.

But then it may be urged, that this holds only true among certain tribes, or in the *patois*, as it were, of ancient Greece. Yet, on the other hand, it is generally allowed that the digamma formed one of the sixteen letters originally appertaining to the Grecian alphabet; and in that case the omission of it would not have formed the rule, but the exception. No doubt the letter *F*, from its having been placed the sixth among the letters, was a cognate, though not identical, either in sound or figure, with the *Vav* or *Vau* of the Hebrew and Phœnician; and if the pronunciation of the *β* was indeed equivalent to *b* and *a*, this was undoubtedly the proper place for it, for *Wa* bears exactly the same relation unto *Ba*, and *Wha* or *Hwa* to *Bha*, as *F*, i. e. *ef*, to *B*, i. e. *be*; the one is a sucking in of the breath in order to pronounce the letter, and therefore the vowel is put first, and the latter is a letting out of it. The sound of *F* at that time must have been expressed by *π* with an aspirate, and *V* was probably the much disputed character marked *ϕ*. As to the digamma having been a compound, in the first place, of a guttural and labial, or of a sibilant and guttural, I do not think, in truth, there is the slightest proof of it. That such a combination does exist in all the languages of the Indo-Germanic family is undoubted; and that it sometimes slips into the sound of the digamma, too, is evident; but it does not follow upon that account that once they were identical. Neither can I agree that *full* and *ὅλος* were equivalent, or that *ὅλος* and *ὁλόος* are identical; on the contrary, the first is identical with our *Whole*, i. e. *Totus*, *universus*; and the latter to the German *Heil*, whence our *Whole* and *Wholesome* (*Heilsam*); and also *Wool*, (*Crispus*) German *Wolle*, when without the aspirate by a double transmutation. In the more refined period of the language, this initial *W* was superseded by the aspirate, as would seem to have been the case sometimes

also in the Latin, as in the word *Hariolus*, but which is still retained in German, i. e. *Wahrsager*, and in *Hasena*, to which the equivalent would be Wasen. Sometimes it was represented by *o* singly, as in *Οαξος* = *W(r)agged*, and in which the *α* is supplanted by the double *γ*, just as in the modern *Reggio*, from *Ρηξος*. The inhabitants of this place appear not to have been able to pronounce the letter *R*, and substituted therefore the letter *W* in the place of it, just as children, and those who are unable to pronounce the former letter do in England, and call it *Wagged*, instead of *Ragged*. *Αὔξιων*, on the contrary, must have been originally pronounced with the digamma, as *Φαυξίων* = to the German *Wachsen*, and the English *Waxing*. That the initial *I*, also, and not the compound *Ix*, when succeeded by another vowel, was supplanted sometimes by the *β*, and consequently likewise by the *F*, would seem to have been probable, as in the instances of *Ἰαχχος*, instead of *Βάχχος*, *Ἰάλλω* for *Βάλλω*, and of *Ιουλος* = (Soft) *Wool*, or *Down*, and *Ιονθος* = *Wont* or *Want*, the name for a mole in some of the provinces of England, i. e. animal lanugine similis, agreeing exactly with the modern phrase of *Little velvet jacket*, often jocularly said of it. Just in the same manner as the English *Fox* is from *Φόξος*, Germ. *Fuchs*, the animal *cujus caput est acutum*, and *velut turbinatum*, *Donkey*, from *Δα*, *valde*, and *Ὀγκόμα*; *Rudo*, i. e. *The brayer par excellence*, Deer, Gr. *Θήρ*, Germ. *Thier*, Lat. *Fera*, from the Sanskrit *Du*, to Run, i. e. *Animal made for running*, &c.

A few words here upon the Latin *F* will not probably be looked on as impertinent. Like to the Digamma, there appears to have been much dispute occasioned by this letter. There is no reason to suppose, I think, that the *V* in Latin was different in any way from that of the French and English. The Latin ear was certainly too delicate ever to have suffered the pronunciation *Wox* instead of *Vox*, *Wentus* instead of *Ventus*, *Wenter* instead of *Venter*, which it seems to me would have been as strange to them as *Woice* for *Voice*, *Went* for *Vent*, *Winegar* for *Vinegar*, do to a well bred person now in England; besides, had the sound of *W* already existed in that language, there would have been no occasion for the introduction of that letter in the time of Claudius; Quintilian, moreover, says expressly that the Latins possessed the power (*vis*), without at the same time having any particular character that might represent it,—and the instances

he gives are, Seruus, Ceruus, and Uulgus. Now, let any one attempt to sound these *u's*, for they are not *v's* we must remember, and attend to the effect of it. *U* before *u* = *oo* before *us*, or *Serōowus*, *Cerōowus*, *Ooolgus*, for the Latin *u* was undoubtedly pronounced as the Scotch pronounce it; and as it is usually pronounced upon the Continent even to the present day, and not like the squeezed or modern French *u*, equal to *ēdo*, or rather *yoo* of the French and English alphabets. The intervention of the sound of *W*, its *vis*, or *δωαμς*, becomes then palpable, viz. Seruwus, Ceruwus, and Wulgus; and the effect of which, too, is that the latter syllable of the two first words, and the first of the third, are begun with a consonant, precisely as if we were to call the word Vulgar *Wulgar* in our own language; or as Priscian says (p. 560.) Habebat autem hæc F (should be E,) littera hunc sonum quem nunc habet U loco consonantis posita; and surely this is plain enough: V and W, therefore, must have had among the Romans the same sound exactly which they have with us, for had it been otherwise, the introduction of the inverted E would not have been necessary. *Hordeum*, as Quintilian says, was formerly written, *not* fordeum, but Fordeum, or rather Lordeum, in the same manner as the vulgar in the present day pronounce the word *Hoard*, i. e. *Woard*, among ourselves; Hædus, too, was Lædus. Now, it is strange, but our word *Kid* and this word Hædus are identical. The *K* and *W* are sometimes interchangeable, as Mr. Donaldson has shewn in *Oς*, *Koς*, and *Who*, and in many other cases; the most remarkable of which that I have met with is in *Walnut*, Germ. *Wallnuss* = *Καρόα*, the *nux juglans* of the Romans, in which not only has the *W* taken the place of *K*, but *l* of *ρ*, (which is, however, very common,) and which is not from *Welsche nuss*, as some people have imagined; it should by rights, however, have *r* or double *l* in it, viz. *Warl*, or *Wall-nut*, as we see it in the German.

The Latin F admits of some more difficulty, but this does not appear to be insuperable. Whoever has travelled in the United States, and has been by chance in the society of a southern man, and one more particularly from the Carolinas, cannot fail, I think, to have been struck with the peculiar, and almost horrid manner in which they give utterance to the letter R. It is, indeed, as Quintilian has well observed, *Pæne non humanâ voce*,

vel omnino non voce potius, inter discrimina dentium efflanda, and is produced by a peculiar twisting of the tongue and jaw, and by a noise also in the mouth resembling *urra*: thus, ruin, they pronounce *urruin*, ruthless *urruthless*. Now, Mr. Donaldson has very properly observed that *R* was originally, in all probability, a vowel, and the Sanskrit combination *lr* and *lrr*, together with its resemblance to short *ä* = to *ēr* or *ār*, would seem to justify this notion. The Latin *F*, therefore, instead of being a combination of *e* and *f*, was, probably, a combination of *F* and *r* with the Carolina quality; and this combination, when it happened to precede the letter *r*, must indeed have made the word, as in the case of *Frango*, given by Quintilian, pronounced *furra-rango*,—multo horridior.

This pronunciation of the *F* still obtains in France in many of the provinces. A day or two ago, when passing through the market, I stopped to enquire the price of some potatoes. The man replied that they were “Quatre furra ranes la bartée;” and when I told him that it was dear, “Non, Monsieur,” he answered, “elles ne sont pas chères, parce qu’elles sont des pommes de terres de *Furra rance*.” The whur or *urra*, however, is not quite so strong or disagreeable as in America; it is more like *erre* = almost to *frä*. If this were really the mode of utterance of the *f* in Latin, the French even still retain in this respect the pronunciation of their conquerors.

After all that has been said, then, it is palpable, from analogy, from probability, and from the most direct evidence, that the initial or consonant digamma was, to all intents and purposes, equivalent to common English *W*; and that, so far, Bentley was in the right, and wrong only in his mode of application. If by chance this character had happened only to have corresponded in the Grecian alphabet, either in place or figure, with the letter *W* in the alphabets of the English or the German, there would have been but little dispute, I imagine, among the learned about the matter. Why the ancients chose to call it the digamma, it is now perhaps impossible to say. Not that the name determines anything. *W* with us is not properly the exponent of two *u*’s; and by the French this letter is called double *v*, to which it has not, except in form, the slightest resemblance; and it was possibly from a similar reason alone, that the digamma was so diminished. Its place among the six-

teen characters, originally, it was entitled to, both as a substitute for *vau*, and in the place of *f*, when as yet there was neither *f* nor *u* for it to come after,—when *g* came next to *b*, and *h* was considered merely as a breathing.

But independently of any other reasons, there is still an argument remaining, and a very strong one too, to prove that *W* and *F* must have been identical. It cannot fail to have attracted, one would think, even the most careless observation, that besides the common and written character of the alphabet, there is also another sound of the *W*, which is constantly heard in speaking, but which is rather a power or a *δυναμις*, than an actual letter. This *vis* or power, I should distinguish from the other, by calling it the digamma *by position*; and the which is seldom initial like the *W*, but is usually met with in the middle, or at the end of words, when those words are succeeded by another commencing with a vowel. Let any one, for instance, attempt to pronounce to himself the French word *Douane*, and it will be perceived immediately that it is almost impossible, in pronouncing this word, to avoid the intervention of the sound of *W*. Indeed, nothing but a certain degree of education and refinement can possibly correct or overcome this tendency. All vulgar people and children almost invariably pronounce this word as if it were written *Doowan*; so *Louis*, in like manner, is sounded as *Loowis*, *Gallois* as *Galwâ*, *Roi* as *Rwâ*, *Foi* as *Fwâ*, *Loi* as *Lwâ*, *Doigt* as *Dwâ*, *Rouen* as *Roowan*, *Therouenne* as *Theroowenne*, always by a Frenchman.

Thus, too, it would be impossible for the ear to distinguish between the combinations *O-n* and *O-ing* in the English, and the proper name of *Owen*, or of the participle *Owing*, from the verb *To Owe*; or between *Ruin* and *Roowin*, *Bruin* and *Broowin*, *U-el* and *Ewell*, the name of a place.

Now, precisely in the same position, and having also the same *vis* or power, do we find the *F* made use of by the ancients, Δεμοφ(ῆ)ς Φων, *i. e.* Demophowon, Λαφοϕων, *i. e.* Lawokowon, for Δημοφρων and Λακρων, in both of which, even when the *F* or *W* is not expressed, the presence, or power of it, is distinctly audible; as also in the combinations *Seruus*, *Ceruus*, and *Uulgus*, as already quoted.

Why the name of *Laocoon* had two digmmas in it, is not quite so evident. It must apparently have been written at one

time as Laocoon, and of which the name, as it is at present written, is only a contraction. The effect of this digamma *by position*, as I have termed it, is not so much that of expressing actually the sound of the W, as to cause the syllable succeeding—and this is of great importance in the scansion of Homer—to commence with a consonant. This is evident in a very striking manner in the 74th line of the First Book of the *Iliad*, beginning with $\text{'}\Omega \text{'}\lambda\chi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$, the sound of which to the ear is the same as if it were written O-W $\lambda\chi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$; and so in the concluding words of the very first line of the poem, viz., Πηληϊάδεω—W $\lambda\chi\lambda\eta\sigma$, and of hundreds similar. Here we have at once a sufficient and satisfactory reason why the Ω , at least, was not elided like an ordinary vowel; and this, at any rate, is one step gained towards a right understanding of the principles and more correct analysis of ancient metre. This intervention of the sound of W in Greek, was not the necessary consequence, it must be remembered, of a preceding ω or $\circ\circ$ only. The same effect may be produced, although perhaps not quite so palpably, by the \circ , and υ , and also by $\circ\upsilon$ diphthong.

But independently of the digamma of the ancients, there was still another sound or power, for it can scarcely be called a letter, inasmuch as there does not appear to have ever been any distinctive character among them to express it; but as it is much more common than the former, and consequently of much more frequent occurrence in their poems, it is most important for us to acquire a correct idea concerning it. But in order to do this with success, and to attain a right appreciation of its nature, it will be necessary for us, in the first instance, to have recourse to the principles of speech in general.

It is not therefore in the Greek, the Hebrew, or the Latin, nor among the learned or polite, any more than in books, that we must commence our researches, but rather in the languages of Modern Europe,—in the French, the German, or the English, for example, and among the ignorant and vulgar, where nature is still in a great measure unshackled, and speech is therefore natural. For it must be recollected, and this, I think, has never been attended to sufficiently, that in the time of Homer, the Greek had not yet been subjected to any strict rule, or very great refinement, and that consequently the tongue was at that early period in a great degree unfettered. And it must not be

imagined that, because a language is rude, it must also be deficient in its character; quite the reverse,—for all modern writers seem agreed that the older and more cultivated any language is, the stronger and more energetic is it in expression; and the truth of this assertion I have had confirmed to me in a very forcible manner by my acquaintance with some of the dialects of the native Indians in America, and which could be also very strikingly enforced, were this the proper place for them, by examples from our early or primitive English.

Vulgar and inelegant in language is, in that respect indeed, like the vulgar and inelegant in fashion, in a great degree conventional; that which is *tabooed* and rejected at the present moment, was at some former period not only correct, but poetic even, so that, by the process of refining, the language is a loser; and as has been well observed by an Italian writer on this subject, in our attempts to improve or give a polish to a language, we must be careful always that the force or vigour of it, "*Non se ne vada colla limatura.*" It must have been observed by every one attentive to such subjects, that there is in almost every country, but more particularly so in France and England, and among the uneducated, a tendency to introduce the sound of Y, as well as that of W, in many of their words and phrases; and that this peculiarity is found to take place whenever the letters *e* or *i* are succeeded by another vowel, precisely as we have already seen to be the case with the sound of W, when the letters *o*, *u*, or *oo* were to be met with in a similar position. Thus, in many of the provinces of England it is not unusual to hear the words, *earth*, *earl*, *earn*, and *ewe*, pronounced by the illiterate as if they were written, *yarth*, *yarl*, *yarn*, and *yo*; so in France likewise, in the department of the Nord, and more particularly in that part of it which is called the Pas de Calais, the words *eau*, *couteau*, *bateau*, *chapeau*, &c., are pronounced as *yeau*, *cout-yeau*, *bat-yeau*, *cap-yeau*, and *cap-you* sometimes, or rather as *yo*, *cout-yo*, *bat-yo*, *cap-yo* or *you*; as, *Un bon capeyou*,—a good hat; *C'est de bonne-yo*; *J'ai laissé mon cout-yo tomber dans l'yo du bat-yo*, &c. And in the German and Italian, the letter *j* is always sounded in this manner. It is then, I conceive, from want of a proper attention to these natural tendencies in language, that much of the difficulty and confusion has arisen among scholars respecting the digamma, and the attempts at

scanning of the ancient poetry, and more particularly of the works of Homer.

Some indistinct idea of this sort appears to have occurred at times to certain of the commentators, although they were unable to explain, like Bentley with the W, its actual use or nature; for instance, the word Εωζ in Greek, was sometimes known to have been uttered *yôs*; and on numerous occasions it was seen that the vowels ε and ω in Homer and the ancient poets, occupied the time but of a single syllable; and in order to get over the difficulty, some, like Clarke, used to call it εω; others, on the contrary, retained the ε, and pronounced the ε and ω so close together, thereby cheating as it were both ear and eye, as to form apparently but one long syllable. Yet this, in truth, but very much resembles a certain process that is known to school-boys by the name of *fudging*. The *y* in Sanskrit is a most important element, and as the Greek was certainly an immediate offshoot from that language, there can hardly be a doubt that it retained the power, if it did not possess the character or form of the letter.

This second *vis*, or power, therefore, from its use and nature, I have agreed to distinguish by the name of the *Diiota*, or rather, in order to convey some idea of the effect which it produces on the scanning of the *Diüyota*, and which, as there does not appear to have been any letter to express it, unless it was the mysterious letter Ϝ, must have always been a *vis*, or power of POSITION like the digamma, or W in English; it is initial sometimes, as in Εωζ, or Yôs, and is equivalent to English Y. Its effect, however, would seem to have been twofold. Sometimes the ε or ι were converted into *y*, and form with the succeeding vowel but a single syllable; and this appears to have been somewhat analogous to the law called Sandhi in the Sanskrit. "When a vowel, terminating a word, is followed by a similar vowel at the beginning of another," says Professor Wilson, "whether they be short or long, or the one short and the other long, they combine into one long homogeneous vowel: thus, Daitya + ari = Daityári, Bhanu + udaya = Bhánúdaya, &c.;" but with this difference, that in Sanskrit the vowel must be *similar*, whereas in the Greek it is applicable only to the letters ε and ι, when succeeded by any other vowel or a diphthong. At another time the effect of these letters, when followed by

a vowel or diphthong, is to introduce a distinct intervention of the sound of *y* between them, so as to divide them into separate syllables, the latter of which commences with a consonant ; so that sometimes the combinations *ez*, *u*, *eo*, &c., may be pronounced either as *ya*, *yi*, *yo*, &c., or as *eya*, *eyi*, and *eyo*, accordingly as it might suit the convenience of the metre, and which must have afforded a very great advantage to the poets. It does not seem, however, that this initial *y* or consonant, any more than the digamma—for it is quite a mistake to suppose, as Clarke and others have done, that the latter had sometimes the power of two consonants—had any great effect upon a preceding vowel followed by a consonant ; possibly, indeed, it might be rendered common. Thus we find in French that the initial *W* in the word *Oiseau*, though distinctly audible, does not prevent the *s* from being sounded in the syllable preceding, as in *Petits oiseau*, in the lines from Molière :—

“ *Helas ! petis oiseaux hélas !*

Si vous aviez mes meaux, que vous ne chanteriez pas.”

So too in the word above quoted, viz. *yeau*, or rather *yo*, in the plural they say *les yo*. In which case the initial *y*, although used distinctly as a consonant, does not appear to lose its property of a vowel. Nevertheless, the case would seem to be reversed in English. Thus, for instance, should we have occasion to express the substantive *One* with the indefinite article before it, and here even scholars themselves are sometimes at a loss, for we are told by grammarians that the article *an* is always, with the exception of long *u*, to be placed before a vowel, we feel naturally inclined to say and write, *Such an one*, *Many an one*, &c., and yet there is not a single well-regulated ear that would not be inclined to revolt at this pronunciation.

The fact is, with the word in question, that we must not permit ourselves to be guided solely by the eye nor by the grammarians either ; but must, on the contrary, consult the ear—the which, as Horace has said very justly, is often the more trustworthy of the two—rather. Let any person, for example, take a piece of paper, and first write upon it the monosyllable *One*, and to the eye the initial is undoubtedly a vowel, then turning the paper over so as to present the back of it towards

him, let him pronounce the word distinctly, and to the ear it will be equally plain that the initial is a consonant, and therefore very properly, over and above the cacophony, should have *a*, and not *an*, placed before it: as, Such a one (*wun*) told me, —Many a one (*wun*) has paid dear for it, &c. And precisely for a similar reason is it that the long *u* requires *a* and not *an* to precede it, as in the words *a use*, *a uniform*, *a university*, &c. for the *u* in English with the accent on it, being exactly equivalent to the combination *eu*, as in the words *Euphony*, *Eulogy*, &c., the *e* goes into *y*, and the initial is in consequence a consonant, as *a yuse*, *a yuniform*, *a yuniversity*, as Walker has very properly expressed them. Here then we see the reason why not only the ω and η , but also ε , ι , and o , whether under the accent or not, were scarcely ever cut off when at the end of a syllable, whilst the letter *a* in a similar position, is much more frequently elided.

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IV.

REMARKS ON SOPHOCLES' *ÆDIPUS COLONEUS* AND
TRACHINÆ.

οὐδενὶ μοιρῖδια τίσις ἔρχεται
ὣν προπάθῃ τὸ τίναιν.

vv. 229, 230.

THE construction of this passage seems to me more simple than recent commentators have made it. Hermann says: "Immo τίσις constructum cum ὣν προπάθῃ . . . aliter enim ὃ προπάθῃ, τὸ τίναιν dici debuisset:" Linwood; "Constructio, τίσις ὣν προπάθῃ, τὸ τίναιν αὐτά, ἔρχεται οὐδενὶ μοιρῖδια. τίσις ὣν προπάθῃ *pœnce sunt ob injuriarum ultionem persolvendæ*: . . . τὸ τίναιν adjectum est, h. e. εἴ τις τίσει αὐτά, ne ambiguum esset quo sensu priora, sc. ὣν προπάθῃ, intelligi voluerit." Similarly Wunder, in the notes of his (second) edition: "Insolenter poeta ὣν προπάθῃ τὸ τίναιν dixit, jungens ὣν προπάθῃ cum antecedentibus μοιρῖδια τίσις, e quibus genitivus ὣν aptus est, quum deberet ὃ προπάθῃ τοῦ τίναιν scribere," &c. But subsequently, in his *Mis-*

VII.

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cellanea Sophoclea, (A.D. 1843,) Wunder says: "Nemo adhuc repertus est qui corruptela affectum hunc locum putaret, quem ego non dubito contendere gravi solœcismo laborare . . . Hoc dico, quod genitivus positus est ὦν, qui unde aptus sit, nemo unquam demonstrare poterit. Itaque sine dubitatione scribendum ἔν puto, id est ἄ ἔν," &c. I cannot see how ὦν can be joined with τίς, yet see no need for Wunder's proposed alteration of the text. Since τίς is used here in the sense of τίς, I take ὦν as Genitivum Rei dependent on τὸ τίς (= τὴν τίς); and the construction ὦν προπάθη τὸ τίς to be a proper and common one, such as *Trach.* 808, ὦν σε ποῖνος Δίκη τίςαιτο; and *Æd. C.* 1329, ὁρμωμένῳ . . . τοῦμοῦ πρὸς κασιγνήτου τίς, (*revenge upon my brother*). Then as regards the connection of the second line with the first, I conceive that οὐδενὶ may be taken as a dative of reference, not strictly governed by ἔρχεται, and that the transitive force of that verb passes on to τὸ τίς, so as to make the interposition of a preposition, such as πρὸς or διὰ, unnecessary; comparing such constructions as *Æd. C.* 975, εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον πατρί; *Aj.* 1138, τοῦτ' εἰς ἄνιαν τοῦπος ἔρχεται τινί; *Trach.* 259, ἔρχεται (*goes to attack*) πόλιν τὴν Εὐρυτεῖαν. I suggest then, without presuming to speak positively, that the construction is οὐδενὶ μοιρία τίς ἔρχεται (πρὸς) τὸ ὦν προπάθη τίς: *nemini pœna accedit ultionem*, &c.; *For no one (in no one's case) does punishment from fate come to, or visit, the requiting of wrongs which he has first received.*

There is an apparent coincidence of construction between this passage and *Antig.* 360, ἄπορος ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔρχεται τὸ μέλλον; especially if the latter passage may be taken in the way I suggested in No. xx. of the *Classical Museum*; *imparatus ad nihilum*, h. e. *ad omnia paratus, adit ille quodcunque est futurum*; *he goes to meet what is about to come.*

ὡς σφας καλοῦμεν Εὐμενίδας, ἐξ εὐμενῶν
στέρων δέχεσθαι τὸν ἑκτέην σωτήριον
αἰτοῦ.

vv. 486-9.

That σωτήριον must be here equivalent to σωτηρίως, or ὥστε σώζειν αὐτόν, or to ὥστε σὼν εἶναι, seems clear. Compare *Elect.* 68, ὦ πατρώα γῆ θεοὶ τ' ἐγχώριοι, δέξασθέ μ' εὐτυχοῦντα ταῖσδε ταῖς ὁδοῖς. But I think it needs to be remarked that σωτήριον

has not *by itself* this meaning, but derives it from its connection with the verb δέχεσθαι: on which account it is not surprising that commentators are at a loss for examples elsewhere of the same adjective used attributively in a passive sense; and for the same reason I do not think that this place and πέδον ῥαντήριον, *Æsch. Ag.* 1092, are very parallel. The way in which δέχεσθαι affects the meaning of σωτήριον, may be illustrated by such passages as the following: *Antig.* 791, δακρύων ἀδίκους φρένας παρασπᾶς; *ib.* 162, τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεως ἀσφαλῶς θεοὶ . . . ὤρθωσαν; *Œd. T.* 51, ἀσφαλείᾳ τήν δ' ἀνόρθωσον πόλιν.

Indeed, although a passive sense for σωτήριον seems to be here required, yet the consideration of its connection with δέχεσθαι, and the influence which the verb has upon its meaning, removes part of the objection brought against its being taken in its active sense: since, so taken, the meaning would be, not that Œdipus prayed for a favourable reception from the Eumenides *because* he was σωτήριος; but prayed that by their favour he might become so, that they would receive him, ὥστε σωτήριον εἶναι. The case would be different with δέχεσθαι τὸν σωτήριον ἑκέτην, or τὸν ἑκέτην τὸν σωτήριον.

καῖνοι κομίζεῖν καὶ ἀναγκάζουσί με.

v. 588.

Hermann, followed by Wunder, interprets thus, "*illi me deducere illuc jubent*;" and says, "*quem Reisigius putat horum verborum sensum esse, illi me cogent usque eo ut me illuc deducant, is nullis extundi machinis videtur.*" I have not Reisig's edition to refer to, and do not know how he supports his interpretation. But I feel confident that the construction is καῖνοι ἀναγκάζουσί με (ὥστε) κομίζεῖν (με) καίτοι: and the sense, *illi, ut me deducant illuc, vim mihi afferunt*: Comparing such common constructions as *Elect.* 348, λυπῶ δὲ τοῖτους ὥστε τῷ τεθνηκότι τιμὰς προσάπτειν. Œdipus could not mean that the Thebans would compel or command the Athenians to conduct him back to the Theban land; but meant that the Thebans were taking measures—so Ismene had informed him—to take him back themselves. And to express this sense, the infinitive *active* is suitably used; for κομίζεσθαι would have given a less definite sense, leaving it undefined who the escort were to be; whereas κομίζεῖν shews that οἱ ἀναγκάζοντες and οἱ κομίζοντες were the same

persons. Such a use of the infinitive without ὥστε, and without the subject of the infinitive being expressed in immediate connection with it, is not uncommon: *Orest.* 761, οὐ προσήκομεν κολάζειν τοῖσδε; *Eumen.* 254, ἀλλ' ἀναδοῦναι δεῖ σ' ἀπὸ ζῶντος ῥοφεῖν πάλανον; *Herod.* IX. 77, ἄξιαι ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημῶσαι, (*confessed themselves deserving for the allies to punish them*, i. e. that the allies would do right to punish them.) *Thucyd.* I. 132, αὐτὸν εὑρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν, (*found himself inscribed in the epistle, for him to whom it was sent to put to death*.) In these and many like passages it is commonly said, but not truly, that the infinitive active is used *for* the infinitive passive; whereas the infinitive active is purposely used to make the sense more definite and accurate, to point out the particular *agent*, as well as to signify the act. This I have noticed more at length in my note on *Æsch. Prom.* v. 246. Appendix B. There is some analogy of construction between the text, as I understand it, and vv. 1015–17, [προστάσω σοι] ὁδοῦ κατάρχειν τῆς ἐκεί, πομπὸν δέ με χωρεῖν, h. e. *jubeo te ducem viæ esse, et habere me comitem.*

ἀλλ' ἐξυψηγοῦ · γνῶθι δ' ὥς ἔχων ἔχει,
καί σ' εἴλε θηρῶνθ' ἢ τύχη · τὰ γὰρ δόλω
τῇ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματ' οὐχὶ σῴζεται.
κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις ἐς τὰδ' · ὥς ἔξοιδά σε
οὐ ψλόν, οὐδ' ἄσκειον ἐς τοσύνδ' ὕβριν
ἦκοντα τόλμης τῆς παρεστῶσης τὰ νῦν,
ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτι οὐ πιστὸς ὢν ἔδρας τὰδε.

vv. 1025–31.

This plain passage would require no remark, were it not that Wunder has invented an alteration, which probably appears in his *third* edition (which I have not seen) of this play. For in his *Miscellanea Sophoclea*, (A. D. 1843,) he says, “Pugnant prorsus verba κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις ἐς τὰδε, quibus negatur cum armatis accessisse Creō ad abducendas filias Œdipi, cum illis, quæ statim adduntur, ὥς ἔξοιδά σε οὐ ψλόν, &c. Itaque certum est, Sophoclem ita scripsisse :

“ τὰ γὰρ δόλω
τῇ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματ' οὐχὶ σῴζεται,
εἰ καὶ ἄλλον ἔξεις ἐς τὰδε.”

The alteration, so confidently made, seems quite unnecessary.

The words *κοῦκ ἄλλον ἔξεις* (not *ἔχεις*) *ἐς τὰδε* do not deny that Creon had come with an armed force, but affirm that no one whom he had brought should avail him. Ἄλλον refers to the same supposed accomplice that is indicated by the subsequent words, *ἔσθ' ὅτω σὺ πιστὸς ὢν*: and in the explanatory clause, (*ὥς ἔξειδά σε* *κ. τ. λ.*), *ὥς* refers, as γὰρ so often does, to something understood, something in the mind of the speaker: "*And no one else shall you find sufficient for your purpose; although you think to do so, for I know, &c.*;" or, "and this I say, *because I know, &c.*"

μάντις εἴμ' ἐσθλῶν ἀγώνων
εἴθ' ἀελλαία ταχύρρωστος πελειὰς
αἰθερίας νεφέλας
κύρσαμι τῶνδ' ἀγώνων
θεωρήσασα τοῦμὲν ὅμμα.

vv. 1080-4.

I think it is to be regretted that Wunder, Dindorf, and Linwood, have in their texts supplanted *θεωρήσασα* by the conjectural *ἐωρήσασα*. Surely, if we can get over the difficulty which the accusatives following it present, *θεωρήσασα* is clearly in keeping with the whole passage, and has a poetic appearance of genuineness which the substituted word lacks. I do not think that *τοῦμὲν ὅμμα* can be governed by *θεωρήσασα*; but an adverbial use of those accusatives, (*quod attinet ad oculos*),—in explanation of the whole sentence, but with particular reference to *κύρσαμι*,—though their situation is unusual, does not appear so strange as to necessitate an alteration of the received text, (Matth. *Gr. Gr.* § 423, § 426, 2.) The whole of this choral ode seems to me to be written intentionally in a Pindaric strain, as if with reference to the great public Games of Greece. And since *θεωρεῖν τοὺς ἀγῶνας* or *θεωρεῖν ἐς ἀγῶνας* was a usual expression for attending, or *going to see*, those games, (Thucyd. III. 104, VIII. 10.) I conceive that, with allusion to them, the race and the conflict between the parties of Creon and Theseus, in which the possession of Antigone and Ismene was to be the prize of the conquerors, are called ἀγῶνες; and that *θεωρεῖν* has here, with reference to that substantive, its sense of *spectatum ire*. I think the gender of *θεωρήσασα* serves to keep up a connection between that participle and the epithets of *πελειὰς*, that they may have an adverbial force: (compare *Antig.* 594, ἀρχαῖα

τὰ Λαβδακιδᾶν οἴων δροῦμά τίματα . . . πίπτοντα.) The use of the addition of the unconnected accusatives, τοῦμόν ὄμμα, is to limit and define the meaning of κίρσαμι, to denote that the chorus of old men had no ability and no wish to engage in such contests, except as eye-witnesses.¹ With regard to αἰθερίας νεφέλας, as doves cannot, like hawks, remain stationary in the air (either with or without the support of a cloud,) to gaze down on a particular spot, I think those genitives cannot be taken in connection with κίρσαμι, to mean "*ex cœtheria nube*;" but must rather be connected with παλαιάς and its epithets, as referring to the dove's course in or thro' the air on high. We have a similar use of the genitive to connect one noun with another, not according to any strict grammatical rule, in such passages as *Electr.* 19, μέλανά τ' ἄστρον εὐφρόνη; *Trach.* 717, ἰδὲ αἵματος μέλας; *Antig.* 1239, ποσὴν . . . φοινίου σταλάγματος: (see other instances in my note on *Æsch. Prom.* 902.) Indeed, I see no allusion here to the dove's eye, but only to the wings and the lofty wind-spiced flight of a dove, which the chorus wished for, that they might be swiftly conveyed, over the heads of all intervening heights, to the distant spot, and view the contest with their own eyes, (τοῦμόν ὄμμα.) May we not then understand the passage in this sense: εἶθε παλαιάς αἰθερίας νεφέλας ἀελλασία ταχύρρωστος θεωρήσασα ἐς τοῦσδ' ἀγῶνας κίρσαμι αὐτῶν, τοῦμόν ὄμμα,—*Would that I might as a dove thro' air and cloud in the wind-storm swiftly speeding fly to the scene of these contests, and attain them with mine eye!*

ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους
 χρήζει τοῦ μετρίου παρὲς
 ζῶεν —.

vv. 1211-13.

To me the simplest way of explaining the construction here appears to be, to take the genitives adverbially, as akin to the genitivus temporis, thus: ὅστις χρήζει ζῶεν τοῦ πλέονος μέρους, παρὲς ζῶεν τοῦ μετρίου. Or if τοῦ πλ. μέρους must be governed

¹ On *Electr.* 681, 2:

κῆρυξ γὰρ ἰδὼν εἰς τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδες
 πρὸς χερσὶ ἀγῶνας Διολφικῶν ἄλλων χεῖριν:

Hermann remarks,—"ἄλλων χεῖριν" dicit,

quia non spectatum, sed certatum venerat Orestes." So, I think, in the present passage, the words τοῦμόν ὄμμα are not uselessly added, because the Chorus desired to go non certatum, sed spectatum.

by *χρήζει*, to take at least τοῦ μετρίου as a genitivus temporis, (denoting *duration* of time,) in connection with ζῶεν: *Whoever craves the longer share of life, dissatisfied to live a moderate span.* The government of τοῦ μετρίου (according to Hermann, followed by Ellendt and Linwood) by *χρήζων* understood, seems very harsh.

ANTIGONE.

ὄρα'ς τὰ τοῦδ' οὖν ὥς ἐς ὀρθὸν ἐκφέρει
μαντεύμαθ', ὅς σφ' ὦν θάνατον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν θροεῖ;

ΠΟΛΥΝΕΙΚΗΣ.

χρήζει γὰρ ἡμῖν δ' οὐχὶ συγχωρητέα.

vv. 1424-6.

Hermann decides that *χρήζει γάρ* here means "*vult enim hoc*;" rejecting the interpretation of the scholiast, *χρησμοδαῖ*. Linwood interprets, "*vult enim quæ vaticinatur.* Ideoque hæc non magni facienda." But whether that translation be the right one or not, the explanation ("ideoque, &c.") which the latter scholar adds, cannot, I conceive, be right, as being quite contradictory to the context. Polynices, assured by the oracles (see vv. 1331-59,) that he could not succeed without his father's good-will, had rested all his hope upon obtaining *that*; and he had but just concluded his supplication to his father with the words, ἄνευ σοῦ δ' οὐδὲ σωθῆναι σθένω. All that he afterwards said shewed that his hope was extinguished, and that he had every expectation that the prophetic curse of Œdipus would be fulfilled: although, having gone so far, he could not and would not draw back, but was resolved to meet his own and his brother's fate. Hence he takes a last farewell of his sisters—vv. 1437-41, χαίρετόν τ' · οὐ γάρ μ' ἔτι βλέποντ' ἐσόψεσθ' αὐθις . . . εἰ *χρή*, θανοῦμαι: after having charged them not to neglect his burial. Does not the context, then, seem to require that we should read *χρήζει*, in the sense of *χρησμοδαῖ*? Antigone asks, ὄρα'ς κ.τ.λ.; Polynices, as it seems to me, replies, (ὁρῶ ·) *χρήζει* γὰρ ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ., in this sense,—“Yes, I *do* see; I see that I shall fail and fall; *for he speaks as a prophet: but yield I cannot*; I must go on and meet my doom.” Still there is no hindrance to our reading *χρήζει γάρ*, in the sense "*vult enim*," if we take the implied meaning to be,—not that the wish of Œdipus was father to his predictions, which were therefore to be dis-

regarded; but such as this:—"Yes, I see how his prophecy insists on our mutual death; for he *wishes* what he foresees, and therefore is glad to foretell it; but though his prophecy shall prove as true as his wish, I will go forward and meet its fulfilment."

—— οὐδ' ἔχω
 πῶς με χρὴ τὸ σὺν τάλαιναν
 ἀφανίσαι τοσόνδ' ἄχος· ἴω·
 μὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένας θανεῖν ἔχρηζες; ἀλλ'
 ἔρημος ἔθανες ὧδέ μοι.

vv. 1710-14.

With regard to the second of these lines, it may be observed that there are several passages, of which this appears to be one, in which *χρὴ* has a meaning that easily grew out of its usual meanings, and yet has not been recognized in the Lexicons, viz. *οἷον τ' ἐστί, licet, fieri potest*. So in *Electr.* 812, νῦν δὲ ποῖ με *χρὴ* πολεῖν: "where *am* I to go?" "where *can* I?" The same sense for *χρὴ* is required by the context in *Æsch. Prom.* 183,—*δέδια γὰρ . . . πᾶ ποτε . . . χρὴ σε τέρμα . . . εἰδεῖν· ἀίχιγτα γὰρ κ.τ.λ.* Theocr. xv. 45,—*πῶς καὶ πόκα τοῦτο περᾶσαι χρὴ τὸ κακόν;*

With regard to the two last lines, as the only way I see of making good sense of them, I have ventured to insert a note of interrogation after *ἔχρηζες*, making *μὴ* interrogative, as it is in v. 1502, *μὴ τις Διὸς κεραυνός, κ.τ.λ.*; *Æsch. Suppl.* 291, *μὴ καὶ λόγος τις Ζῆνα μυχθῆναι βροτῶ;* This punctuation seems to me to remove the necessity for suspecting that these two lines are corrupt. I see no impropriety, or vain tautology, in Antigone's repeating thus, in addressing her father, the words which at the beginning of her speech she had addressed concerning him to the Chorus: *And didst thou really wish to die upon a foreign land?* Thou didst: thou hadst thy wish: *but* (ἀλλά, nihilominus,) *lonely was thy death, in dying thus!*

I add a few remarks on Sophocles' *TRACHINÆ*.

—— λέχος γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ κριτὸν
 εὐστάς' αἰετὴν ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω,
 κείνου προκηραίνουσα· νύξ γὰρ εἰσάγει

καὶ νύξ ἀπωθεῖ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον.

ἀφύσασμεν δὴ παῖδας οὐδ' κείνός ποτε

γῆτης ὕπνου ἄρουραν ἔκτοπον λαβῶν

σπείρων μόνον προσεῖδε κάξαμ' ἄπαξ.

τοιούτος αἶων εἰς δόμους τε καὶ δόμῳ

ἄει τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔπεμπε λατρεύοντά τω.

vv. 27-35.

In the above lines, the passage, νύξ γὰρ εἰσάγει καὶ νύξ ἀπωθεῖ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον, has been variously explained. I understood it in a sense quite the reverse of that which Mr. Linwood attributes to it;² and which, though Wunder comes near to it, I have not seen expressed by any commentator. The construction I feel satisfied is, νύξ γὰρ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον εἰσάγει [κείνον, sc. τὸν Ἡρακλέα, εἰς δόμους, v. 34] καὶ νύξ ἀπωθεῖ [κείνον ἐκ δόμων, v. 34,] though the order which the words have in the text, is suitable to the sense as well as to the metre. The sense, I think, is to be elicited by giving sufficient emphasis to the emphatic and repeated word νύξ.—*For NIGHT, successive to toil, brings him to me, and NIGHT forces him away; or, DARKNESS brings him home, and DARKNESS thrusts him out, having afforded short interval of rest: In other words, "day never brings him home, day never finds him there, nor remits his toil. After dark he comes, and before light he is gone. His days are all spent abroad in labour and danger,—all mine, in solitude and anxiety."* It was not uncommon with Sophocles to express denial or exclusion of a thing, by emphatic affirmation of its contrary, *e. g.* *Antig.* 558, ὥστε τοῖς θανούσιν ὠφελεῖν, *to benefit the DEAD, i. e. not to benefit the living.* *Ajax.* 100. θανόντες ἤδη τὰμ' ἀφαιρεῖσθων ἐπ' α, *DEAD let them take, &c. i. e. not again shall they take alive, &c.* *Ced. C.* 1549, ὦ φῶς ἀφεγγές, πρόσθε πού ποτ' ἦσθ' ἐμὸν · *once, i. e. not lately, not now (like "Troja fuit.")* So *Antig.* 926, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οὖν τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλὰ, παθόντες ἂν εὐγυνώμεν ἡμαρτηχότες · where I think Antigone speaks *generally*:—*But if this be the pleasure of the gods (viz. that pious deeds should be treated as impiety), then, AFTER SUFFERING, not before, shall we become conscious of having sinned: i. e. we have no previous rules of right and wrong to guide us, and punishment only can teach us that we*

² "Nox ubi advenit mihi sollicitudinem adducit, eademque vicissim ubi abit, curam levat, i. e. per noctem semper sol-

licitudine angor, ne viro meo mali aliquid acciderit, quae sollicitudo non nisi redeunte luce dispellitur."

have offended." The converse of this usage, viz. affirmation by denial and exclusion of the opposite, is common; as in *Œd. C.* 580, *χρόνῳ μάθεις ἂν οὐχὶ τῷ παρόντι που*, i. e. "you will hereafter learn."

Further, I think the sentence bears some resemblance to the conditional construction, divisible, (though not strictly,) into protasis and apodosis, by a pause after εἰσάγει, and an emphasis on καί: [εἰ] νύξ γὰρ εἰσάγει, [ὅμως] καὶ νύξ ἀπωθεῖ. *Nocte si quando, labore intermisso, redit, nocte tamen expellitur eadem: ita ut interdiu nunquam domi conquiescat periculi expers.* The absence of a conditional particle might seem to be supplied by the emphasis on the first νύξ. The following lines go on to shew that even Hercules' short *nights* at home were "few and far between."

— οὐ κάτοιδε τ' ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι
χαίρειν πέφυκεν οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ.

vv. 439–40.

Here the construction certainly is, *χαίρειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ*, οὐχὶ πέφυκε, i. e. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, *non humanum est perpetuitate bonorum frui*; and the sentiment is akin to *Antig.* 1159, *καὶ μάντις οὐδεὶς τῶν καθεστώτων* (*fortunæ stabilis et fixæ*) *βροτοῖς*. Linwood has remarked on Wunder's error in constructing the datives *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* with *πέφυκε*. The same error occurs in Mitchell, and apparently also in Ellendt, and in Liddell and Scott, (under φύω.)³ Wunder seems to have erred in a like manner as regards the construction of φύω in *Electr.* 1015, — *προνοίας οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ κέρδος λαβεῖν ἄμεινον*: where the construction is, *οὐδὲν κέρδος ἔφυ ἄμεινον ἀνθρώποις λαβεῖν*, and the infinitive *λαβεῖν* is *not*, as Wunder and Mitchell make it, "nearly redundant," any more than it is, as Wunder represents it to be, in *Antig.* 440, *πάντα ταῦθ' ἦρσσω λαβεῖν ἐμοὶ πέφυκε τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας*; where the construction is, *ἐμοὶ ταῦτα πέφυκε ἦρσσω λαβεῖν* κ. τ. λ.; and, as in the former passage, the infinitive is strictly dependent on the comparative adjective *ἦρσσω*, and necessary to complete its meaning.⁴

³ Ellendt, with whom Liddell and Scott agree, says *φύω*, "cum dativo positum de *fatali* necessitate vel obtingente sorte dicitur." It would be more correct, I conceive, to say that *φύω* sometimes has that sense, with or without a dative of reference expressed; as in the text, and in Eur. *Phœn.* 930, *ἀπὲρ σίφους*

as *ταῦτα κἀνάγκη* κ. τ. λ.; and perhaps Ion. ult. *εἰ κακοὶ ὦ, ἀσπερ σιφούνας, ὄππ' εὖ πρῶξιμ' ἔσσι*.

⁴ See my remarks on *Antig.* 518 (520) in No. xx. of the *Classical Museum*, p. 168, where, in the 8th line, "dependent in no unusual way on *σίφους*," I should have written *ἦρσσω* instead of *σίφους*.

κόρη γάρ, οἶμαι δ' οὐκ ἔτ', ἀλλ' ἐξευημένην,
 παρεισδέδεσθαι, φόρτον ὥστε ναυτίλος,
 λωβητὸν ἐμπόλημα τῆς ἐμῆς φρενός.

vv. 536-8.

The reference to a ship in the word ναυτίλος, seems to me to be kept up in the following line, and to shew the sense in which παρεισδέδεσθαι and ἐμπόλημα occur. I conceive that πάρα in παρεισδέχομαι signifies *addition* and *excess*; ναυτίλος παρεισδεχομένος φόρτον, 'a sailor *taking-in-besides* a load,' i. e. 'receiving an extra freight;' and κόρη ἐξευημένην παρεισδέδεσθαι, 'I have *admitted* a wife *besides* me,' i. e. 'another wife for my husband.' Merchandise and shipping are closely combined; and so ἐμπόλημα, I think, is here, in a figurative sense, a *cargo*, a *freight*. Then φρενός has its natural meaning, instead of the recondite one attached to it by Hermann, Ellendt, Wunder, and others.⁵

The meaning of Deianira seems to be, that by receiving Iole into her husband's house, she had endangered her happiness, as a seaman endangers his freighted vessel by taking in an over-freight. The translation then I think should be such as this:—*A girl—and not, I deem, unwedded yet—Another WIFE for him I've taken in, Like one who lades his ship with two-fold freight: Despiteful cargo, ruin to my soul! less literally, that will sink my soul, or, wreck my mind.*

ἔθεν μῶλοι πανάμερος
 τᾶς παιθοῦς παγχρίστῳ
 συγκραθεῖς ———.

vv. 660-2.

If πανήμερος be joined with μῶλοι, the sense must be, *may he be coming all day*, i. e. pursue his way, without delay or stop, till he reaches home. Hermann's interpretation, πάντως τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, seems quite inadmissible. But if μολεῖν is to be taken here in the sense of *arrive*, I think πανάμερος admits of no comma after it, and must be joined with the following participle συγκραθεῖς: that the sense may be, "from whence may he arrive *after being all day commingled* with the love charm," "steeped all day

⁵ "Opprobriosum fructum bonæ mentis meæ,"—H. "Officii erga Herculem præstiti,"—E. "Mei in Herculem animi,"—W.

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in the influence of the anointed robe." In my note on *Æsch.*
Prom. 1026-27,

διαρταμήσει σώματος μέγα βόκος,
ἄκλιτος ἔρπων δαιταλεύς πανήμερος
καλανόβρωντον δ' ἦπαρ ἐκθονήσεται,

I have stated my reasons for believing that in that passage, the necessary sense and construction will not allow of the comma, placed, I believe, in all editions (except my own,) after πανήμερος; that the comma should be after δαιταλεύς; and πανήμερος be joined with ἐκθονήσεται.

HENRY SYLVESTER RICHMOND.

V.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEMS OF THE ENGLISH AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGES.

PART II.

MY former article in No. XXII. had scarcely been sent to the press, when I received *J. Grimm's* new work, "*The History of the German Language.*" It may seem rather curious that I should mention here a work, the title of which seems to imply rather a historical review of the different German authors and their writings, than a work on comparative philology. But the work is not what its title implies. Just as much as *J. Grimm's* German Grammar differs from all other German Grammars, so does his History of the German Language differ from all other histories of the same kind. His history is *not descending*, not beginning, as might be the case, with the Gothic bishop *Ulfilas*, and ending with the Grand Ducal Saxon *Geheime Staatsrath von Göthe*, but *ascending*, beginning from *Ulfilas* and struggling towards the sources, the origin of the Gothic. Even through the *Getae*, which he considers to have been the Goths before their change of the Mutes took place, he pursues the road backward to the original Indian home. He inquires not only into the causes which produced that most remarkable of all linguistical changes, but shows also the influence which, at the earliest time

of the Germanic language, was exercised by the surrounding nations on its glossarial and grammatical formation. Thus the first chapter contains a comparison of the words *brass, gold, silver, iron*, in the 33 European languages, followed by remarks of comparative grammar and historical research. In fact the whole work contains no less than some thirty chapters on as many different topics, which Grimm has treated already in his grammar, but which he gives now with such improvements as 26 years of uninterrupted study on the same and similar subjects have necessarily furnished him with. While in his grammar (edition of 1822) he seldom pushes his comparisons beyond the Germanic and Classic languages, we see him now bring up and compare all the dialects of the Slavonic, the Celtic, and the Finnic tribes, and even the Basque, whenever a comparison with all or one of them can throw some light upon a Germanic word or structure.

His law is fully discussed again in chapter XVII, and this is the very reason why I thought myself obliged to introduce the work at the head of this second article on the connection between the English and Sanscrit mutes. It would be idle and unjust to find fault with certain remarks or rules that were published many years ago, when the same author has treated and published the same matter quite anew. And since his old law with the order of the letters and of their classes is so well known, that any philologist in any country, not only can quote the famous 584th page of his grammar, but knows also the nine equations by heart, it seems necessary that I should begin by placing before the eyes of the reader the whole set of the new equations, opposite the old ones.

Old Table.

Greek, or First Stage,	P	B	F	T	D	TH	K	G	CH
Gothic, or Second Stage,	F	P	B	TH	T	D	...	K	G
Old H. Ger., or Third Stage, B (v.)	F	B		D	Z	T	G	CH	K

New Table.

I.	B	P	PH	G	K	CH	D	T	TH
II.	P	F	B	K	H	G	T	TH	D
III.	PH	F	P	CH	H	K	Z	D	T

J. Grimm, as we see, has introduced *two great changes* into the form of his law:—1. While the old order of the classes was,

labials, dentals, gutturals; the new order is, *labials, gutturals, dentals*; that is, a mere local or at least technical arrangement has been given up for one founded upon both physiological and philological truths. The new one decidedly deserves the preference, although it may be difficult to convince Sanscrit grammarians of it. 2. While the old order in the degrees of the letters was, *tenuis, media, aspirate*; the new is, *media, tenuis, aspirate*. This a point of some importance; for the order of the degrees is intimately connected with and depending on the application of Grimm's law.

J. Grimm's old order is the most common among ancient as well as modern Greek and Latin grammarians. Krüger (in his Latin Grammar, last edition by Grotefend, 1842,) is among the few exceptions. He has already Grimm's new order. So has Schwartze in his Comparative Review of the Koptic Alphabet, Appendix A. p. 520, sq. in Bunsen's *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. I.

There is one different order more to be mentioned; it is given by Mr. Donaldson, (in his *New Cratylus*, p. 100,) and taken from the arrangement of the Hebrew Alphabet,¹ viz. *media, aspirate, tenuis*.

But each of these three orders is objectionable. The first which has the *media* in the middle, because (as Grimm owns himself,) the so-called *media* does not by any means lie between the *tenuis* and the *aspirate*. And moreover, the *media* does not, in organic formations, develop itself out of the *tenuis*, nor does it change into the *aspirate*, as its position after the *tenuis* and before the *aspirate* in this order would make us believe. The principal and common objection against both Grimm's new and Mr. Donaldson's order is, that they begin their series with the *media*. This would make the *media* the foundation of the consonantal system. And this is indeed Grimm's opinion. But I hope, on the contrary, to be able to prove that the *media* is the very last development of the mutes; and I hazard the conjecture, that the more primitive a language is, the more *tenuis* and the fewer *mediæ* it will contain. China, for instance, has not one geographical name beginning with B, G, or D.

The order then I follow here in the degrees of the mutes must

¹ Ewald, in his *Hebrew Grammar*, Ed. v. 1844, p. 52, has adopted the old Greek order.

be different from all preceding ones. It is: *tenuis, aspirate, media*. I hope I shall be excused for giving my reasons for this arrangement more explicitly. It might be considered very imprudent to differ from Grimm; and the more so, since Grimm is supported by Graff, Kühn, Schwartz, &c. At the same time, it will be manifest, that the settlement of this question is of some importance, not only for our inquiry into the relation between the Sanscrit and English, but for grammars and grammarians in general.

The question we must ask is this: If the media is indeed not the media, *i. e.* is not the middle degree of the three: which is then the truly middle one? Is it the tenuis or the aspirate?

The Sanscrit gives a plain and direct answer to this question: *The aspirate is the middle degree between tenuis and media*. For the tenuis has an aspirate and the media has an aspirate. The aspirate therefore affects the union between tenuis and media. Tenuis and media are the two extremes. For a *demonstratio ad oculos*, let us take the Sanscrit labials.

Tenuis, Aspirate, Media, or, Media, Aspirate, Tenuis.							
Tenuis.		Media.		Media.		Tenuis.	
P	PH	BH	B	B	BH	PH	P
	⏟				⏟		
	φ				φ		
	f				f		

Physiology, or merely some practical exercises with the corresponding living sounds, will prove the same; but the most convincing proofs are supplied by Comparative Philology and History.

Since the aspirate is the true middle, the tenuis must be at the head of the mutes; for—and that is Grimm's own great law—the aspirate develops itself out of the tenuis; the tenuis then must precede it. The media must be at the end of the mutes; for the media develops itself out of the aspirate; the media therefore must follow the aspirate. Grimm's new II. v. and VIII. *Equations*, (p. 406,) contain numerous examples.

And now we are prepared to explain one very striking, yet hitherto unexplained fact in the history of the Indo-European languages,—the fact that so many Sanscrit mediæ do not change in Gothic into tenuous, as they ought to do according to the general law, but remain unchanged; and again, that the Gothic media, which also ought to change into tenuis in High German, re-appears in Modern High German. How is it, *e. g.* that Sanscrit *bandh* (ligare) has in English or Gothic only

dh changed according to the law, while the media *b* remains unchanged? Then Ancient High German ought to change *band* or *bind* into *pant*; and certainly it has such forms. Graff, III. 132, gives *pintan*, (to bind,) or *pinte*, (he binds,) *pintanter*, (binding,) besides the forms *bintan*, *pindan*, and *bindan*. But Modern High German falls back again upon both the Sanscrit and the Gothic mediæ, in *band*, *bind-en*. To show the same fact in the guttural class, let us take Sanscrit *gâ*, (ire.) The Gothic ought to have *ká*; but it retains the Sanscrit media in *gaggan*, Anglo-Sax. *gán*, to go. Ahg., then, ought to change *gán*, *gagg* or *gang-an* into *kán* or *kankan*. These forms are sometimes found. Graff, IV. 66 ff. has: *er kát* (he goes,) *kan-kanne* (in going,) besides the forms *gán* and *gangan*. But Mhg. has both the Sanscrit and the Gothic mediæ again in *gehn* and *gang*. And why? Because the MEDIA even in Sanscrit, the last and consequently most refined development of the mute consonantism, cannot have, in the younger branches, that vital power which any of the other degrees, particularly the tenuis, has. Its natural, and, I would almost say, inborn disposition, is to drop, to die off. A letter in the media degree is in its old age, or at least in its most refined state; and in both cases death or fall is the natural consequence. Transformation, therefore, from media to tenuis, is nothing less than a *salto mortale* from certain death to youthful life. The Germanic nations alone among all the Indo-European tribes had energy enough to attempt this leap; the High Germans did it even twice, and in many cases they have succeeded. Thus Sanscr. *vid*, Lat. *vid-ere*, Gr. *ἰδ-ειν*, becomes in Gothic the far stronger form of *veit-an*, Anglo-Sax. *wit-an* (wit.) But in French and Spanish we see the media follow its natural turn. The same classic root *vid*, becomes Fr. *vo-ir*, Sp. *ve-r*; Lat. *cred-ere*, Fr. *cro-ire*, Sp. *cre-er*; Lat. *rid-ere*, Fr. *ri-re*, Sp. *re-ir*; Lat. *leg-ere*, Fr. *li-re*, Sp. *le-er*; Lat. *hab-eo*, Fr. *ai*, Sp. *h-e*, It. *h-o*, &c. If the Latin has a tenuis, that tenuis is first weakened or refined by a change into media, and then the media falls easily off. T in Latin *patre*, (pater,) becomes first D in It. *padre*, and has entirely disappeared in Fr. *père*; Lat. *matre* (mater,) It. *madre*, Fr. *mère*; Lat. *prec-ari*, It. *preg-are*, Fr. *pri-er*.

These remarks, I hope, will for the moment be sufficient to show that, in the order of the degrees, I have adopted an arrangement different from all others, not for the sake of change, but because

after due consideration of all former methods, it seemed to me that I had found proofs enough to show their insufficiency.

My next object is to compare English and Sanscrit gutturals and palatals, and by such comparison to find the law that regulates their mutual relations.

II. *The gutturals and palatals.* The Sanscrit gutturals are, K, KH, G, GH; the vocal beginning of the series is H, the nasal end NG. The Sanscrit palatals are,—CH, CHH, J, JH; the vocal beginning Y, the nasal end N (N in the word singe.—Wilson.)

The English gutturals are, K (Q or C (a)), G (a); the vocal beginning H, the nasal end NG. The English palatals are: CH (tch), J (G (e), dg); the vocal beginning Y, the nasal end N (N in singe.) GH is written instead of H, and either not pronounced at all or pronounced like F. As in Dutch, F is sometimes changed into CH, e. g. Kraft (strength) into Kracht; so, on the contrary, English GH is, in pronunciation at least, changed into F, e. g. cough. But “nought” has no more consonants pronounced than “not.”

I have yet another Sanscrit palatal to mention, the precise value of which is still an open question. Wilson transcribes it by s', Bopp by s', Donaldson by ç. The Indian grammarians place it at the head of the Sibilants (S', SH, S, H.) Wilson expresses its sounds by ssi in session; Wilkins² says: “The proper sound of this letter is produced by applying the tip of the tongue to the forepart of the palate, and passing the voice as if pronouncing our s.” Donaldson³ calls it a palatal, and attributes to it the value of Greek and Zend z, a representative of a softened guttural. The best that has been said on this subject is found in Höfer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, vol. II., p. 166, in an article written by Dr. A. Kuhn. The result of his researches is, that s' must be considered a simple palatal, answering to the Mhg. palatal ch in ich (ego.) With this value I take it to be in Sanscrit the only remnant of an old series of simple palatals,⁴ instead of which we have now those compound sounds of CH and J. What Dr. Kuhn has shown philologically, can also be proved by referring to the organs of

² Wilkins' words are copied from Donaldson's *New Crat.* p. 109.

³ *New Crat.* p. 108, Obs. 1.

⁴ I do not mean to say that it is not

a weakened softened sound of K. Koptic s seems to have the same history and the same value as Sanscr. s'. See Bunsen's *Egypt*, i. p. 546, 616, sq.

speech. For that ich-sound lies exactly in the middle between the guttural tenuis K and the dental spirans S. This is farther proved by the fact that the Greeks and Romans render *s'* sometimes by K, sometimes by S, e. g. Sanscr. *s'ankha*, Gr. *κόγχη*, Lat. *concha*, Sanscr. *s'ira*, Gr. *κάρα*, Lat. *cere* (brum.) And again, Sanscr. *s'arkarā*, Gr. *σάκχαρον*, Lat. *saccharum*. Sanscr. *s'ush*, Gr. *συσ(αρός)*, Lat. *siccus* (assimil. of *siscus*.)

The palatals are, as we have said before, not simple sounds; yet for philological considerations they may be taken and treated as such. They are nothing else but weakened, softened gutturals. Their existence in Sanscrit is sufficient to prove that that language developed itself, and descended from an older formation more regular and more precise in its consonantism than the Sanscrit. English CH and G(e) developed themselves out of Anglo-Saxon or Gothic K and G(a), in the same way as Sanscrit did out of that older formation or ante-Sanscritic language.

After this necessary inquiry into the powers of the letters we have to deal with, I shall concentrate the results into a table. The Sanscrit letters, it will be remembered, are divided into *surd*s and *sonant*s, the English into *sharp* and *flat*; and again, for an application to Grimm's law, they must be divided into *tenuis*, *aspirata*, and *mediæ*. All these divisions combined together will stand thus:

Sharp. Tenuis (ψιλά.)		Aspirate. (δασέα.)		Flat. Mediæ (μέσα.)
Surd.		Surd.	Sonant.	Sonant.
Sanscr. {	K	KH	GH	G
	S'			
	CH	CHH	JH	J
Engl. {	K (C, Q)	H		G(a)
	CH (TCH)			J (G(e), DG)

1. *English K Q C or CH—anlaut.* The Goths adopted the Greek K to express the simple guttural tenuis; the Anglo-Saxons Latin C(a). The latter used their letter more consistently than any of the other Germanic tribes. While the Goths have a particular sign for CV, the Anglo-Saxons have CV as well as any other compound of C. In the tenth century that Anglo-Saxon C(a) sound began, under Norman-French influ-

ence, to split into two sounds, many words retaining the old C(a) sound, as Corn; but Greek K was often written instead of C, in order to prevent mistakes in reading, as: Cern = Kern. For about the same time C before e and i in Latin words had begun to be pronounced like S. Many other words changed from C(a) to CH or tch, with the sound of tsh, as: Cicen = chicken. Words beginning with the double sound of KV have since that same period, neither been written with Anglo-Saxon CV, nor in the Gothic way, but after the fashion of the Latins and the High Germans, i. e. with QU. The orthographical distribution of all these characters seems at first sight to be very arbitrary; nevertheless it will not be difficult to show that each of them points to a different era of the language.

QU brings the English in connection with a language anterior to the Sanscrit; for it points to roots stronger and fuller than those are which we usually find to correspond in Sanscrit. Thus the word *queen* (A.-S. *even*, *uxor*, $\pi\alpha\rho' \epsilon\zeta\omega\chi\eta\varsigma$) would lead us to suppose a Sanscrit word like *jvaná* or *jvaní*, but we find only *janí*. In the same way Anglo-Saxon *cviman* has dropped its *v* and fixed itself as English *come*. From this analogy we may draw the conclusion, that whenever an English or Anglo-Saxon word compared has the full form of QU or CV, the simple Sanscrit J, G, &c. must be considered as only the remnant of a double initial letter or sound.⁵

C and K point principally to simple Sanscrit roots, preserved in Anglo-Saxon. They may be also, as we have seen under qu, representatives of an ancient cv. There are also examples where, instead of V, the first letter C or Q has been dropped, e. g. *quick*, *wick*.

CH is not an Anglo-Saxon, but Old English formation. It is surprising to see how intimately connected those three sounds are, and how easily they transform themselves from one to another stage. Thus *Quell* is found side by side with *Kill*, *Cool* with *Chill*, *Queen* with *King*, *Kind* with *CHild*, *Quern* with

⁵ Donaldson, *New Crat.* p. 119.—
“In all the languages of the Indo-European family, we find in some of the most common and important words, as well at the beginning as in the middle, traces more or less distinct of a letter compounded of two consonants, of which

the one represents the guttural, the other the labial, in its ultimate state,” ff. The same theory is very clearly stated and detailed by Mr. Garnett, in vol. II., No. 45, of the *Philological Society's Journal*, March 27, 1846.

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Kern, Corn and *CHurn, Quack, Keck, and CHick, Quick* and *Wick, &c.* Though the logical development of the English language has some of these words, through the adopted meanings, widely separated from their nearest relations, yet the law of their etymological formation and the common Sanscrit roots, do not leave us in doubt as to the asserted affinity.

a. English Qu—Anlaut = Sanscrit G or J.⁶

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Queen cf. king, kin, kind, child	Jáni (uxor)	even (uxor, re- gina)	quena (mulier.)
Queme (to be- come) cf. come	gam (ire, venire)	eveman	quemman (venire); be-quem (com- modus.)
Quern cf. kern, corn, churn	jri (conteri, con- fici,) Caus. jrinámi	evern, evyrn	quirn; cf. quirl.
Quell cf. kill	jvar (ægrotare; cf. Caus.)	cvelan (cruciari) cvellan (occidere)	quelan, intransit; queljan, transit; quälen (to plague.)
Quick cf. kick, wick	Jíva (vívus) r. jív (vivere) ⁷	evic, euce	queck; queck-sil- ver (mercury.)

⁶ In the former article I considered each letter at once in its three states, viz. as Anlaut, Inlaut, and Auslaut. The nature of the gutturals, and the irregularity of the English language, particularly in its expressing, changing or dropping gutturals in the middle and at the end of words, make it preferable to take first tenues, aspiratæ, and medie at the beginning of words, and to draw from them directly the general rule. J. Grimm follows this plan throughout in his new work, saying that if a law of transition cannot be established by Anlauts, it is of little use to do so by Inlauts and Auslauts.

Bopp's *Glossarium Sanscritum* has been compared for every Sanscrit word, Graff's *Sprachschatz* and Richardson's *English Dictionary* for the Teutonic part.

⁷ The media is the last development of the mutes. The aspirate comes next to it. The root *jiv* must have had in the older language a form like *khiv*, *khav*, or rather *khvav*. The Hebrew has *khav-ah*, *khay-ah*, to live, *khay*, living, quick, *vivus*. As Lat. *grivere* has been softened to *vivere*, so is Hebrew *khay-ah* to *hay-ah*, to be, to exist.

b. English C or K—Anlaut = Sanscrit G or J.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Kin	jan (gignere, nasci)	cyn, cin	chunni, kunni (genus.)
Kind cf. child	janita (part. of jan)	cind, cynne, cunde	cf. kind (infans.)
Kith Kid	} jâta (part. of jan)		
King		janaka (genitor, pater)	cynig, chuning, chunig; König.
Come	gam (ire, venire)	queman, cuman	queman; kommen.
Corn	jîrna (tritum)	corn, cîrnel	korn, kerno; korn.
Kern-el	r. jri (conteri)	.	kern.
Kill	jvar (ægrotare); cf. Causativ.	cuellan (occidere)	queljan (to plague); quälen.
Cool	jala, janà (geli- dus)	cile, cole, cald, ceald	chuali, chul, kalt.
Col-d cf. chill	.	.	kühl, kalt.
Coal	jval (flammare, flagrare)	col	choli; kohle.
Cow	go (vacca) nom. cú gaus, m. f.	.	ko, chuo; kuh.
Know Ken, Sc. Can	} jná (noscere)	cnaven	knájan; kennen.
		cunnan	kunnan; können.
Crow v. Cry		gri (sonum edere) cravan cf. ru, rav, id.	krahan, krajan; krähen.
Crank	jaran (contersus, cf. infirmus)	crang (mor- tuus)	krank (debilis.)
Claw	glah (capere, pre- hendere)	clavu	kloa, klawa; klaue.
Knee	jánu (genu)	cneov	kniu; knie.

c. English CH—Anlaut = Sanscrit G or J.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Child	janita (part. geni- tus, natus)	cild	kind.
Churn	jri (conteri, caus. cf. jrinámi)	cveorn, quern	kérjan; kehren (to turn.)

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English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Chill	jala, jan'a (gel-idus)	celan (algere) col-jan (frigescere)	kuoljan; kühlen (frigescere.)
Chin	ganda (gena) cf. hanu (maxilla)	cinne . .	kinni; kinn.
Choose	jush (colere, amare)	ceosan .	kiusan; kiesen.

Thus far I venture to give the list of English words that follow the principal rule. On these words I shall make some further remarks below. In the following tables, I propose to insert, after the Sanscrit words, the Latin and Greek, so as to supersede the necessity of adding any further remarks concerning them.

d. English Q, K, C, or CH, and any other Sanscrit letter but G or J.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Quoth	kath (dicere) Gr. $\kappa\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$, to chatter, to coax, $\kappa\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, η, ον, talkative, Lat. in-quit?	evethan, evoth	quedan.
Kiss	kus, (amplecti)	cyssan	kussian; küssen.
Quack, keck, chuckle, cough	kack, kuch, (sonum acutum edere), kas' (pulsare, sonare), kúj(sonare)	Gr. $\kappa\omega\kappa\acute{\omega}$, to bewail, $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\zeta}\omega$, to grunt, Lat. coaxo, l. to croak	
Chough (jackdaw)	káka, kága (cornix)	cuculus, cuckoo ($\kappa\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omega\acute{\xi}$)	
Cuckoo	kákála, kákola (corvus)	cuculo, l. to cry like a cuckoo ($\kappa\omicron\kappa\omega\acute{\zeta}\omega$)	
Cur	kukkura (canis) r. kur (sonare)		
Cock	} kukkut'a (gallus, cf. kakh, (videre)	coc	Mhg. Kúch-lein.
Chick		cicen	
Coo, v.	ku (gemere)		
Crush	krís (attenuare) cf. krít (scindere, dissecare)		

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Creep	s'ru, s'rip (ire, gradi)	creopan .	kriuchan ; kriecken.
Crow, s. see rook	kárava (corvus)cf. krus' (clamare) ru, rav (sonare)	crave .	kráa ; krähe.
Cook, v.	pach (coquere), paktas, Gr. πατός, Lat. coctus	cueccan	kochjan ; kochen.

Among these 45 examples there are 31 that have English *tenuis* agreeing with Sanscrit *media*. We take, then, for a rule, that *English guttural and palatal tenuis* (Q, K, C, or CH) *answers to Sanscrit media* (G or J.) According to Grimm's law, Classic G answers to Gothic K, which is precisely the same as that established between English and Sanscrit. In order to show this more clearly, I shall make some remarks in detail.

1. *Queen, Kin, Kind, King, Child*, belong all to the Gothic root *Kin*, (germinare), better *KVin*. The Greek and Latin root must begin with G, as of the same degree with Sanscrit.

Sanscrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.
JAN (gig- nere, nasci)	ΓΕΝ	GEN, GNA	KIN.
	γίγνομαι ἐ-γεν-όμην	gigno. gen-ui. gnascor, nascor.	
janitas, part.	γενίτης, son.	genitus .	Hg. kind (child).
játas, part.	. .	gnatus, natus.	
játi (gens)	. .	gnatio, natio.	
janas (vir, homo)	-γενής	-gena.	
	γένος, n. γενάω	genus, gens genero.	Goth. kin-e(kind).
janitri	γενετήρ, m.	genitor.	
janitri	γενετειρα, f.	genetrix.	
janí (mulier)	Goth. queno (quean).
jání (uxor)	γυνή, f.	Goth. quens (queen).

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Sanscrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.
janakas (genitor)	.	.	A.S. cynig (king).
janaká (genitrix)	γυναῖς-ός, gen.		
janman (origo)	.	germen, n. f. genmen, &c.	

There seems to be only one little irregularity in the whole table: that is, L for N in cild, child. But this change from Sanscrit N to L of another cognate language is very common; e. g. Sanscr. antaras, Lat. alter; Sanscr. anyas, Lat. alius.

It is a very remarkable fact, and shows the intimate glossarial connection still existing between Sanscrit and English, that both have the two forms of janí (mulier, quean) and jání (uxor, queen). The Greek has only one of them: janí Gr. γυνή, and Latin none.

Gens and *natio*, are very different forms, and yet they are etymologically the same. *Gent*-is follows the form of the regular Sanscrit participle *janitas* (genitus); *natio* that of the contracted part. *játas* = *jantas* or *jnatas* (of English work and wrought). The Sanscrit threw off the liquid N, the Latin dropped, as it often does, the initial guttural. Both produced the vowel *a*.

Sanscrit *jam*, (uxor, in comp.) *r. jan*, corresponds, by its change from N to M, to Greek γαμέω, to take a wife; γαμέτης, m. a husband; γάμος, m. marriage, &c.; and Gothic guma (vir) of Lat. hom-o. See Groom.

2. *Queme, Come*.—Richardson, *Dict.* s. v. "Queme, v. to please, to delight, to content, to fit. Germ. queman; A.S. cweman. The Germ. quemen, Wachter derives from Kommen, to come, to become, to be convenient or agreeable, and hence to please." Goth. quiman, to come. It is rather curious that the old original form should have a derived signification, while the new form has taken the original meaning. But we find this to be the case in other instances, e. g. *Queen* is the oldest form in the former set of words; *Child*, the latest formation of the whole, comes nearest of all to the signification of the root; *Churn* seems to have taken the meaning of the old root; *Quern*, the old form, has a derived meaning. Bopp, *Gloss.* s. v. compares also Lat. *venio*, f. *gvenio*, Sans. *gam*, f. *gram*. This is a very good conjecture; for as N is the weakened sound of M,

the change from M to N is very natural. Compare e. g. the M in the declensions, as Sanscr. imam yam, Lat. eum quem, Engl. him whom, and Gr. τὸν ὧν, Mhg. den wen. The other change from Sanscr. g-am to Lat. v-enio, or rather the change from the ante-Sanskritic form GV into G, by Sanscrit dropping V, and into V by Latin dropping G, is confirmed by the following examples, collected from Bopp and Grimm: Sanscr. jas (lædere, occidere, spernere), Lat. vasto (gvasto); jiv (vivere), Lat. vivo (gvivo); grí, gár (sonare), Lat. ver-bum (gverbum), Engl. wor-d (ver-bum, wor-d; bar-ba, bear-d); ghas (edere), Lat. vescor (gvescor); gríshiti (porcus), Lat. verres (gvers-es; ghrish (terere), Lat. verro (gvers-o); glásnu (fatigatus, lassus), Lat. lassus (glassus); gháp-ayámi (fatigo), Lat. labor (glabor); grabh (prehendere), Lat. rapio (grapio); harit (viridis), Lat. viridis (hviridis); kam, Lat. amo (camo); kríti, karti (actio), Lat. ars, art-is (kart-is); krimi, karmi, Lat. vermis (evermis); klánta (defatigatus), Lat. lentus (clentus); s'ro-tra (s'or-tra, the hearer, the ear), Lat. auris (cauris); chil (vestire), Lat. celare and velare; jágrī, v. Lat. vigilare (gvigil), Gr. ἐγείρω (γεγείρω); giri (mons), Gr. ὄρος (γόρος).

3. *Quern, Corn, Churn*.—Goth. quairnus, kaurn. Richardson, *Dict.* s. v. "Querne, s. any thing—a mill, a mill-stone—turned by the hand. Any thing turned or churned, from A.S. cyrran, to turn. See Queer." And under "Queer" I find: "A.S. cweorne is past part. of cyrran, ge-cyrran, to turn, vertere, revertere, pervertere; and cyr (*i. e.* perhaps queer) is perversus." This idea of connecting Queer with A.S. cyrran, Mhg. kehren, is very ingenious. A derivative of Mhg. kehren is, ver-kehr-t, which has the same meaning as A.S. cyr, queer. This *Queer* is the fullest and most ancient form of the root, though its signification is of a later date. Sanscr. jrí, jár is instead of jvar, a form that probably existed in the oldest stage of the Sanscrit or in the ante-Sanskritic language. The causative voice jrinámi (facio ut coneratur), connects Churn with Quern; part. jirna (contritus, that which is ground), answers to Corn, Kern. See Grind.

Jrí signifies not only "to be ground," but also "to be consumed, to be done, to grow old." Part. pref. *jaran* (senescere, senx), is Gr. γέρων, m.; *jará* or *jaras* (senetus), Gr. γῆρας, n. Bopp adds, Lat. æ-ger, "ita ut æ sit præpositio, quam ad adhi or ati retulerim, ejectâ consonante."

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Sanscr. *chúr*n, "to break, to grind," a denominative of *chúr*-*na*, "dust," is almost the very same in form and meaning as Engl. to churn; but they are only connected through *jrí*.

4. *Quick, kick, wick*.—Goth. *qviv*-s. The Gothic surpasses in this case all the other sisters, even the oldest and most perfect of them, in purity and completeness of form. The Sanscrit has only J—anlaut; the Latin only V—anlaut; the Gothic has QV. The second radical consonant is V (*jíV*); Sanscrit and Gothic have it. Latin begins to change it into C, as *ViVo*, *vic-si*. The younger sisters of the Gothic do this also, as Norse *qvik*-r, &c. The Greek has the most polished and corrupted forms of it in *βίFω*, *ζω* (*ζíFω*), *όίχο*s. This last form is one with Lat. *vic-us*, and A.S. *vic*, *wic* (*habitatio*, a dwelling-place), Engl. *wick*, *wich*, still existing as termination of many towns and villages, the same as -ham.

The A.S. forms *cvic* and *cuc*, correspond to Engl. *quick* and *kick*. The primitive meaning of *kick*, is, to be quick, to act quickly, to be lively, to act in a lively manner.

5. *Cow*.—Greek and Latin have B instead of G; Sanscr. nom. *gaus*, Gr. *βοῦς*, Lat. *bos*. I am inclined to think that *βοῦς* and *bos* are the older forms; for it seems to me that the interchange of mutes follows the order of their classes, that is, labials will more easily change into gutturals, gutturals into dentals, than *vice versa*. Thus e.g. Greek *βαρύς* has the original initial labial, instead of the guttural in Sanscr. *guru*, Lat. *gravis*; Gr. *βῆναι* and Sanscr. *gá* (*ire*); Sanscr. *paktas* is the older form of Lat. *coctus*. Again, the guttural beginning in *Γημήτηρ*, is the older form of the dental beginning in *Δήμητηρ*, *γῆμος* (Sanscr. *jan*, cf. *jatí natio*) has changed into *δῆμος*, *γίγασκω* (Sanscr. *jná*) into *διδάσκω*. The Greek has *γ-ός* instead of its own *β-ός* in *Γάλα*, gen. *Γάλακτος*, i. e. cow milk.

6. *Know, Can*.—The most ancient form of the word is Sanscr. *jná*, the latest is Modern High German *kann*. Both are preserved in the two English words given. The pronunciation of *know* may well explain how easily gutturals are dropped at the beginning of words, particularly before consonants, (in English always before N in pronunciation, as *Knot*, *Knee*, &c.) Latin, as we have seen already, is much inclined to do it. A strict English orthographer will allow neither k nor w to be written in *know*, but will have the simple form NO. That is the very form we find in Sanscrit, Greek and Latin, whenever the

initial guttural of the root had been dropped in pronunciation. Full forms in Sanscrit: jná (to know), jnána (knowledge, science); in Gr. γνῶμ, γνῶσις, γγνώσχω; in Lat. co-gnosco, i-gnosco, gnarus, i-gnoro (Bopp s. v. fortasse Gloria e gnoria, cf. Sanscr. anyas and Lat. alius). Forms without the initial guttural, in Sanscrit: náman f. jnáman (name); in Lat. nomen f. gnomen, nosco f. gnosco; Gr. νοέω f. γνέω, νοῦς f. γνοῦς, ὄνομα f. γνόμα or γῶμα.

J. Grimm (*History of the German Language*, p. 153,) does not derive *Name*, *Nomen*, &c. from the verbs know, gnosco, &c.; but says, that as Gothic *namo* is derived from *niman* (to take, to receive), so every other word signifying "*name*," is derived from a verb signifying "to take, to receive, to accept." For "*Name* is das was man nimmt, zur gabe empfängt." The following is his list of words, in proof of his assertion: "Goth. namô, n.; Ahg. Old Sax. namo, m.; A.S. nama, m.; Norse. nafn, n.; Swed. namn; Dan. navn, from niman (capere, prehendere); Slav. imja; Pol. imię; Bohem. gmě (gen. gmeně), and gmenu, from imu (capio); Inf. jati, imati, gimati; Litth. immu (capio); Lett. iemmu, niemmu, has no such substantive signifying *Name*; but Pruss. has imma (capio) and emnes (nomen). The last form may be compared with Gr. ὄνομα, Ir. ainm, ainim, Wel. enw; Goth. namo with Lat. nomen, It. nome, Fr. nom, Sp. nombre, Sanscr. náman, Osset. nom, Finn. nimi, Est. nimmi, Lapp. namm and nabma, Hung. nev, cf. Pol. nazwa, denomination."

7. *Knee*.—Another good example of the regularity with which the process of softening and polishing ancient words goes on. Sanscr. jānu; in Greek and Latin the vowel is shortened, γένυ, gēnu. In Gothic the short vowel is dropped altogether, kniu; in English even the initial guttural has been dropped, nee (knee). Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin have lost the root of this substantive; it is found in the ancient Egyptian kna (flectere), kne (a bending of the arm), kneb, keneb (knee); Kopt. s'no, s'ne (flectere). See Schwartz, *Comparison of Ancient Egyptian and Koptie Words*, in Chev. Bunsen's *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. I. p. 599.

8. *Choose*.—Pott, as quoted by Bopp s. v., considers the primitive meaning of *jush* to be, to taste, to like, Fr. goûter; Gr. γέω, to give one a taste of, γεύομαι, to taste, γεῦσις, s. f.; Lat. gustare; Goth. kiusan; Fr. choisir. Thus, French goûter and

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choisir have not two different roots, but are merely two different forms of one and the same root; the one imported by the Romans, the other by the Franks. In respect to Lat. *gus-tus*, Bopp adds, "*nisi hoc pertinet ad ghas (edere).*" See Guest.

II. *H—Anlaut*.—This sound has a twofold character in English; it may be *either vocal beginning of the guttural series, or guttural aspirate* (= kh, gh, h, or χ). In its former character it does not follow the law of the mutes, but that of the sibilants and liquids; it does not change then from Sanscrit to English, as :—

English H—Anlaut and Sanscrit H (spirans).

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Heave	há (deserere),	Caus. heafjan .	hafan, hefjan ; heben.
Heart	hríd, hard (cor);	Gr. heort ;	Goth. herza ; Herz.
	χαρδία; Lat. cor,	hairto	
	cord-is		
Horse	hresh (hinnire);	Gr. hors . .	hros ; Ross.
	χρέμω, χρεμίζω, χρε- μέθω, χρεμετίζω, id.		
	cf. Nag from neigh, q. v.		
Hill	hul (tegere) cf. chil (vestire, tegere); Lat. collis, cf. Mhg. Berg (mons) from bergen (celare, te- gere).		
Hit	his (ferire, pulsare), cf. Scr. has-tas (manus).		
Hint	han (ferire, pulsare) cf. hand : han(hint) : : Scr. hastas : his (pulsare).		

In its *character as aspirate of K*, it loses like K its sound before N and other consonants, yet without being written as K is,

e. g. knee f. nee, but rook, loaf f. hrook, hloaf, A.S. hroc, hlaf.
—Examples with Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin :

English H—Anlaut dropped.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Ear	s'rota, id. . . Gr. οὖς; Lat. auris, r. s'ru (s'ur, audire.)	ear; Goth. auso ora; Ohr.	
Lean v.	s'ri (ire, with præp. sam, se inclinare); Gr. κλίνω; Lat. in- clino.	hlionan	hlinjan; lehnen.
Loaf	s'ra' (coquere, caus. s'rapayāmi)	hláf; Goth. hlaifs hlaib; Laib.	
Loud	s'ruta (auditus) r. s'ru (audire); Gr. κλυτός, η, εν (loud)	hlúd, cf. hlystan, hlút; laut listen.	
Lame	klam (defatigari) klánta (defatiga- tus); Lat. lentus = elentus cf. clau- dus; Gr. χάλυω.	lam	lam; lahm.
Name	náman = jnáman, r. jná (to know); Lat. nomen; Gr. ὄνομα.	nama; Goth. namo	Namo; Name.
Neigh v.	hve (vocare) cf. Nag: hve:: horse: hresh; Lat. hinnire; Sans. hesh.	hnegan (hinnire)	hweion; wiehern.
Ram v.	ksham (tolerare, per- ferre)	hremman (to impede, to stop.)	Mhd. hemmen, remmen.
Rook	krus' (clamare) .	hroc.	
Raven	kárava (corvus) cf. ru (sonare.)	hræfn, hræm	hraban, hram; Rabe.
Warp, kship wrap	(conjicere)	weorpan, wer- pan, f. hweor- pan.	werfan; werfen.
Wide	s'vita (cretus, amplus) r. s'vi (crescere.)	wíd, f. hwid	wít; weit.

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In Wick and Waste an initial K has been dropped.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Wick (habitation=ham)	jív (vivere), Lat. vivo, vic-si; vicus. Gr.	wic	wích; weich (bild).
See Quick.	οἶκος		
Waste	jas (lædere, occidere, west, westan spernere) = jvas; Lat. vastare=gvas-tare; It. guastare; Fr. gâter	jas	wuost; wüste.

Ridge is derived from *Bridge*, but has preserved the original meaning; Sanser. prishtha (dorsum); A.S. hryge, hrycce, brycg; Hg. hrucki, brugge, brucca; Rücken (back), Brücke (bridge).

The CV or QU—Anlaut has also a corresponding aspirate, HV, HW, written WH. It points, like QU, to a language older than Sanscrit; Lat. QU generally corresponds with A.S. HW or Engl. WH.

(a.) English H—Anlaut and Sanscrit K.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Hut	kutí (casa), r. kut' (calefacere); Lat. casa?	.	hutta; Hütte.
Hell	kali (dæmon impietatis)	helle; Goth. halja	hella; Hölle.
Hire	kri (émere)	hyran, hyrian	Mhd. Provinc. heuern.
Help	klríp (instruere, efficerere)	helpan; Goth. hilpan	helfan; helfen.
Head	kapála (cranium); Lat. caput; G. κεφαλή	heafod; Goth. haubith	haubit; Haupt.
Hunger	kánksh (desiderare) cf. kshudh (esurire)	hunger; Goth. huggrjan (esurire)	hunger; Hunger.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Hair	kes'a (coma), kes'a- ra (juba leonis); Lat. cæsaries, cir- rus, crinis; Gr. κόμη	haer, heare, her	hár; Haar.

In a few instances English H—Anlaut answers to Sanscrit ksh.

Home	kshamá, kshamá (terra); Gr. χα- μαί, χαμαῖ-ζε, χα- μά-θεν	ham, hæm (ha- bitatio); Goth. ham, s. a cov- ering	haim; heim, Hei- math
Heath, Heather	kshetra (campus)	hæth; Goth. haithi	Haide, Heide.

English H—Anlaut in WH (= HW) and Sanscrit K.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Who	kas, ká, kim, interr.; Lat. quis, quæ, quid; Gr. τίς, and ποῖος, α, ον	hwa (quis)	hwer, wer.
What	kad, kat (quid)		
Where	kva (ubi); Lat. qua, quo; Gr. ποῦ	hwar; Goth. hvar	hwár; wo.
When	kadá; Lat. quando; Gr. (ὅτε) πότε.	hwan	hwenne; wann, wenn.
Whence	kutas (unde).		
Whither	kutra (ubi)	hwider	hwara; wohin.
Whether	katara (uter); Gr. τίς- τερος, πότερος; Lat. uter	hwæther, Goth. hvathar.	
Which (whilk)	kídris'a (qualis); Lat. qualis; Gr. ὅστις, πῶς	hvi-le, Goth. hveleiks	hwelih; welcher.
Whole, cf. hail	kevala (totus), sarva, id.; Lat. salvus; Gr. ὅλος	hal, Goth. hails	hail; heil (sa- nus, salvus.)
Whine	kvan (sonare, susur- rare)	wanian	Mhg. weinen (weep).

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English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
While, s.	kála (tempus); κᾱλός, ὁ; Lat. ca- lendæ, i.e. qui tem- pus dat Bopp, s. v.	hwile, Goth. hveila	hwila; weile.

b. English H—Anlaut and Sanscrit CH.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Hurry	char (ire, incedere) Lat. curro (scurry =scouringly, Rich- ardson, <i>Dict.</i>); to scour, scar, shear =Sanscr. chhur. Hurry-scurry, San. char-chhur, or charnta-chhurnta.		
Hel-m, hel-met	chil (vestire, tegere) cf. hul (tegere)	helan (celare, hilon (celare); tegere), Goth. huljan	Helm (helmet).
Hand	chan, han (lædere, ferire)	hand, Goth. handus	hant; Hand.
Heap	chi (colligere,) Caus. chap-agámi	hype, heape	hufo (cumulus); Haufe.
Hate, v. s.	chand (irasci) cf. kad (terreri); Gr. κήδω, I cause care; Lat. odi, I hate	hatan	hazan; hassen.
Hop, v.	chup, chap(semovere); Gr. κουφίξεν ἄλμα, to make a light leap	hoppan	hüpfen.
Wheel	chall (semovere, va- cillare); Lat. va- cillare; Gr. κωλ-ί- νω, fut. κωλ-ίσω, to roll	hveogul.	

(c.) *English H—Anlaut and Sanscrit S'.*

(English WH = HW.)

English.	Sanskrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Whet	s'o (acuere); s'ita, s'ata (acutus)	hwettan	hwezjan; wetzen.
Hone	s'ana (a hone), r. s'o; Lat. a-cuo, a-cutus, cos, gen. cotis (a hone, whetstone); Gr. ἀ-κί, ἀ-κίς, ἀ-κύνη, (a hone.)		
White	s'veta (albus)	hwit; Goth. hveits.	hwiz; weiss.
Hail. ³ Sees'iva (felix) Whole		hal, hæl; Goth. hail, hail	(salvus, sanus); Heil (salus.)
Horn, cf.	s'rīnga (cornu), cf. s'iras (caput.)	horn; Goth. hauru	horn; Horn, cf. Hiru (cerebrum.)
Hart (a horned animal)	Gr. κέρα, gen. κέρατος, cf. κέρα, το (caput), κέρανον, κέρανον, &c.; Lat. cornu, cf. cervix, cerebrum, crista, cervus.	heort, heorot, (Gr. κέρα-)	hirz; Hirsch.
Hemp	s'an'a, n.; Gr. κάνναβις; Lat. cannabis.	hænep	hanaf; Hanf.
Hoof	s'apha (ungula equi)	hóf	huof; Huf.
Hound	s'van (canis); Gr. κύων, gen. κύωνος; Lat. canis.	hunde; Goth. hunds	hunt; Hund.

³ In a poem of the Latin Anthologia, inscribed *De Conceitis Barbaricis*, there is an incomprehensible beginning with Gothic words, as: Inter eils gotticum scapiamatziaia, &c. Grimm, *History of the Germ. Language*, p. 454, gives the verses thus:

VII.

Inter hails goticum skapjam atazja jah drigkam
Non audet quisquam dignos educere versus.
The meaning of the Gothic sentence he renders by the Latin words: paremus pocula et bibamus.

E

66 RELATION BETWEEN THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEMS

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Hundred	s'ata (centum); Gr. $\xi\alpha\tau\tau\acute{o}\nu$; Lat. centum.	hund . .	hynterit; hundert.
Hare	s'as'a (lepus)	hara . .	haso; Hase.
Hang	s'ajj (adhærere)	hangan, hangjan	hahan, hangen; hängen.
Hot	s'vad, s'vand (album esse, splendere.)	hæt . .	heiz; heiss.
Hear. See	s'ru (audire)	s'ro-tra hyran; Goth. hörjan; hören.	
Ear.	(ear); Gr. $\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\omega$.	hausjan.	

(d.) *English H—Anlaut and any other Sanscrit letter but the Tenues K, CH, S', or the Spirans H.*

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Hew	chho (findere, abscindere; Gr. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ (to sever, to split)	heaven .	hauan; hauen.
Hide	chhad (tegere); Lat. cutis, s. skin, s-cutum? Gr. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\omega$, to hide, to conceal, $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, s. hide?	hyd, hyde .	hút; Haut.
Heed; chhud (tegere) .		hedan (cavere, curare)	huotjan (custodire); hüten.
Hat			Hút s. (heed, hat.)
Hard jaratā (durus) .		hard; Goth. hart. hardus	

English H—Anlaut corresponding with Sanscrit

		Spirans H	in 7 examples.
		... { K	... 25 ...
...	...	Tenues { CH	... 7 ...
		... { S'	... 19 ...
...	...	Aspiratæ CHH	... 3 ...
...	...	Mediæ J	... 3 ...

that is, among 64 examples, there are 51 which confirm Grimm's

law, viz. that Gothic aspirate answers to classic tenues, Gothic H to Greek K and Roman C; or as our case is, that *English H answers to the Sanscrit tenues K, CH, and S*.

3. *G—Anlaut*.—Rask, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, translated by Mr. Thorpe, says, p. 12: "G sounds as in Icelandic; 1. *hard* before a, o, u, as *gán*, to go; 2. before e, i, y, as the Italian ghi, or as g in give; as *geald*, paid, requited; *georne*, willingly, fain, (in Ital. orthog. ghiorne); *gifan*, to give." No English grammarian, as far as I know, has stated any difference between g in go, and g in give; for the whole practice would be against it. Besides this, if A.S. G—Anlaut had really had before e, i, y a softer sound than before a, o, u, that G would have changed into j (=dsh) at the time when C changed into CH (=tsh), as A.S. cild (kild) into Child. There are yet several examples where A.S. G has been softened into English, but to Y, not to J; and, with the exception of one example, not in words where G is followed by e, i, o, but on the contrary, by a, as *Yawn*, which contains the root of the words Gander, Goose. The Greek shows best the connection: *χαίνω*, to gape, to yawn, perf. *κέ-χην-α*, ἔ, ἦ *χίη*, gander, goose. Gr. *χαίνω* is a derivative of *χα-ίνω*, *χά-σχω*; Lat. hi-o, hi-seo; Sanscr. há (recedere.)

Yellow is the exception; for the corresponding Anglo-Saxon, German, and Latin words have G followed by e or i; A.S. *geoleve*; Ahg. *gelo*, *gelaw*; Mhg. *gelb*; Lat. *gilvus*; but Sanscr. *gaura*; Gr. *χλωρός*, cf. *χολή*, f. See Gall. *Yard* is derived from *Gard-en*; *Yell* from *Gale*; A.S. *gelan* (canere); Lat. *gallus* (cf. A.S. *han* (gallus) and Lat. *can-ere*.)

As to the character of G, the place it takes in the system of the mutes, and its disinclination to pass into K or any other tenuis;—all this has been glanced at already.

(a.) *English G—Anlaut and Sanscrit G or J.*

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Go	gá (ire)	gán, gangan	gén, gangen; gehn.
Gang	jangam, id.; be-gin	Goth. gaggan	Gang.
See Come	(ad-ire), Gr. βῆ-ναι, βῆμι, [cf. Sans. gaus and Gr. βούς,] βαίνω, gam (ire, venire)		

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English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Greedy	grīdh (appetere) grī (gar, gvar ; Lat. gvorare, vorare)	grædig (gulosus), Goth. gredon (esurire)	grátag, giri; gierig, Gier, s.
Gore	cf. gara (venenum).		
Gale (nightingale). See Cry, Crow, Yell	grí (sonum edere); Lat. gallus, garrio; Gr. γῆρῶ (to sound, to low) γῆρς, f. voice, Sanscr. gir (vox)	galan (canere)	nahti-gala; nachtigall ; Mhd. girren.
Grunt	Lat. grunio, cf. Ser. krand (ejulare)	grunan, granian (gemere)	grinan (mutire), grunzian; greinen, grinzen, grunzen.
Gold See Gall, Yellow	jvalita (flagrans ; splendor) cf. gaura (flavus); Lat. aurum, f. gaurum. Grimm.	gold, Goth. gulth	gold; Gold.
Groom (bridegroom)	jana (vir, homo), jam, indecl.	Old Sax. guma (vir, homo), brydguma	gomo, brutigomo; Bräutigam.
Girl	gaurí (puella)	Girl=gaurilá—Bopp.	
Glow See Coal	jval (flammare, flare) grare)	glovan	glojan ; glühen.
Grind See Quirn	jrí (conteri), Caus. jrinámi	grindan (conterere).	
Gras	gras (vorare) Lat. gramen f. grassmen. Bopp.		
Gape	jabh (oscitare)	.	kaphen ; gaffen.

(b.) English G— Anlaut and Sanscrit H.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Gander, Goose See Yawn	hansa, m. hansí, f.; Gr. χῆν, c. χάλω, to gape; Lat.anser, m. f. hanser	gandra, gos	ganso, gans; Gänserich, Gans.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Gris-ly	hrīsh (horrere); Lat. horrere, f. horsere, as: hinnire (scr. hesh) f. hisnire	grislic .	gruslih; grauslich.
Glad	hlád (gaudere); Gr. γηθῆω (to rejoice), γῆθος? Lat. gaudeo?	glade, glæd	glat, glanz (splendor); glat, Glätte, Glanz.
Garden	hára (sertum); Lat.	geard (area);	garto; Garten.
See Yard	hortus, m.; Gr. ὄρετος, m. a yard	Goth. aurtigards (orchard)	
Gall. See	hari (viridis); Gr.	gealla .	galla; Galle.
Yellow	χολή, f. bile, χλωρός, α, σ, green; Lat. fel, n. gall, yellow bile, flavus, a, um, yellow, gilvus, a, um, pale yellow		

(c.) *English G— Anlaut and any other Sanscrit letter but G or H.*

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Good	s'udh (purificari)	gód; Goth. goth	gót; gut.
God	s'udhras (purus); Gr. καθαρός, α, σ, pure, καθαίρω, to purify	God; Goth. Gud, Guth	Got; Gott.
Grow	s'vi (crescere) .	grovan (virescere)	grojan; grünen.
Green= grow- ing, cf.	s'vúna, part. pass.	grene; Norse gróinn	groni; grün.
Great= grown	s'vita, part. (amplus, latus); Lat. cretus, cresco? cf. Sanscr. s'vas = Lat. cras	great	groz; gross.
Grits	kshud (frangere, conterere); Gr. χριθῆ, f. and Mhg. Gerste	grut (far), grit- ta (furfur), gryt (pollis)	gruzi; Grütze.

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English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
	(barley); Lat. hor- deum, n. id.		
Gut	chut (stillare, effun- dere)	geotan (effun- dere); Goth. giutan	giuzan; giessen.
Goat	ohhága (caper, cap- ra); Lat. hœdus, m.	gat, gæte (hir- cus)	geizi (capra); Geiss.
Guest	ghas (edere); Gr. γαστήρ, c.; Lat. hos- pit-(hospes), Bopp s.v. qui cibum petit	gest; Goth. gast	gast; Gast.
Give	dá (dare); Gr. δίδωμι (G=D, as Γημύτηρ and Δημύτηρ); Lat. do.	gifan; Goth. giban	geban; geben.

The following table shows the results of our comparisons.

Eng. G—*Anlaut* corresponds with Sanser. G or J in 15 examples.

...	...	Aspiratae,	{	H	...	5	...
				CHH	...	1	...
				GH	...	1	...
				S'	...	4	...
...	...	Tenues,	{	CH	...	1	...
				KSH	...	1	...
...	...			D	...	1	...

According to Grimm's law, Goth. G ought to answer to a Classic aspirate χ or H. Between English and Sanscrit we have here only 7 examples that follow the law. More than double that number—15, are stationary Mediæ, that is, instead of transforming themselves into tenues, as the law is, they have preserved the Sanscrit media. And this I take to be another conclusive proof of what I asserted above, namely, that *the MEDIA is not the foundation of the Consonantal System, not the first degree, the highest power among the Consonants, but it is the very weakest sound, though the most polished and refined; it is the last degree in the development of the mutes.*

B. GÄBLER.

VI.

MUSEUM DISNEIANUM:

Being a Description of a Collection of various Specimens of Ancient Art, in the possession of John Disney, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; with Engravings by George Measom. Part II. London, J. Rodwell, 46, New Bond Street. 1848.

It may be remembered, that some months ago there appeared in the pages of this periodical, a review of the First Part of the work whose title stands at the head of this article. It was then stated by the reviewer, that Mr. Disney contemplated publishing, at some future period, a Second Part, containing a description of Bronzes and other antiquities, the enumeration of which did not enter into the plan of Part I. This period belongs no more to the future, but to the past. The contemplated intention became, in the course of last year, a *fait accompli*; and we may now look forward with pleasure to a Third Part, embracing the remainder of the collection at the Hyde.

Before, however, we proceed to enter into any details respecting the contents of the work before us, we would gladly be permitted to make some remarks, which, if not immediately suggested by the subject of this review, still cannot, we think, be looked upon as any very flagrant abuse of that privilege, which usage has rendered the prescriptive right of all reviewers. Indeed, so far is it from our intention to arrogate to ourselves the legitimate exercise, much less the abuse, of this right, that we confidently assure our readers, that what now follows will be but a brief digression, not the sum and substance of the whole; a lingering by the road-side, not a forsaking of the road; and that, with a little patience, they will soon be enabled to gain some information respecting the Museum Disneianum, and all the treasures it contains.

It is scarcely surprising that discussions on the beautiful are for the most part considered more curious than useful. The most subtle intellects have been engaged in endeavours to fix the idea, of which the word beautiful is the embodiment; but these endeavours

seem hitherto to have been made without leading to any tangible result. - On the contrary, systems of æsthetics have almost unanimously "agreed to differ" upon this most important subject, which meets the inquirer at the very threshold of æsthetical studies. Their several authors seem, as they approach this point, to forsake the sure ground and steady gait of scientific research, and to begin floundering in the shoals and quicksands of untutored dilettantism. In all other subjects, indeed, the conclusions of science arrest the attention, if they do not gain the convictions, of those who pass current as competent judges of the points at issue. But here it is quite the reverse. Your connoisseur would repudiate with contempt the notion of submitting his judgment to the schooling of any abstract principles. A passport for Rome or Paris, for Munich or for Dresden, is for him a sufficient diploma "ad practicandum:" a lounge in the Vatican or the Louvre is all the training that he needs. It is not long, however, before we discover, that what we may call the *practical* school, presents almost as many discrepancies as we have above noticed in the theoretical. The jury can as little agree in the one court as in the other, and we fly from the patent taste of the connoisseur, to the abstract reasonings of the philosopher, dissatisfied alike with the verdict each pronounce.

For these reasons, it is not, we repeat, surprising that, notwithstanding every work of art involves conceptions pre-eminently abstract, the labours of those who have from time to time endeavoured to look through the breathing marble to the spirit by which it is animated, should be considered by many as of too transcendental a character to be applicable to practical purposes. And it is at the risk of incurring some of this odium, that we are now about to offer some few observations on the æsthetical view of Art, which have more than once been suggested to our minds, while turning over the pages of the *Museum Disneianum*. We feel indeed the less apprehensive about any charges which may be brought against us, of enunciating vague and transcendental theories, because we are firmly persuaded, that a merely notional acquaintance with the *chef-d'œuvres* of classical antiquity, is far from sufficient to inform the judgment with sound principles, and to bring the taste to its highest state of cultivation. Something more is required than the drawing-room faculty of expressing in appropriate language, all the hallowed associations which are awakened in the

breast, not only of every educated gentleman, but of the humblest artizan, as they recall the day when the great creations of limner or of sculptor first met the eye. This faculty is after all little more than of a purely mechanical order. It may enable a man, as we have said, to shine in a conversazione; but unless the flame be fed by fuel of a higher and nobler quality, his taste will soon become cold and dead; he will be found to possess but the veneer, the lacquer, and the paste, not the solid wood, and gold, and diamond. He may talk with simpering prettiness about spirit, grace, energy, and the like, but he must not be chagrined at being reminded, that if he stop here, a well-trained parrot might do the same. Neither must this be thought a strange thing; it is but what we find to be the case in every department of knowledge. To put asunder theory and practice, is to take away the handle from the blade, the feather from the arrow, the soul from the body, volition from the limb. The one should ever be the handmaid of the other,—the one should ever guide, support, uphold the other. So in Art there are many general æsthetical principles, which have altogether substantive existence, independent of the contour of the marble, or the tint upon the canvas,—principles which are not indeed to be found, like those of geometry, in any æsthetical Euclid, in any particular system of any particular school of thinkers, but which it must be left to each individual, either to shape and fashion in his own mind, or to gather, as best he may, from the written thoughts of others. On the present occasion, we do not presume to hope that the views held will meet with general acceptance: we must leave it to Morrison's Pills and Holloway's Ointment, "to adapt themselves to the constitution of every individual." We say to each and all of our readers, "*Si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*" We offer no connected system of æsthetics, (methinks I hear it exclaimed, "Heaven forbid!") we do but present a few stray thoughts and "*disjecta membra*;" and if we are accused of being dull, we will promise, by way of compensation, to be brief.

What is the leading idea of Art in general, and of each department in particular? what are the features which the several branches hold in communion? what those which form the peculiar property of each? Such are the questions, in connection with which we would now overthrow some errors, and establish some truths.

In speaking of the leading idea of Art in general, we would, in the first place, run full tilt against what we believe to be a very general fallacy, which, though it may be said, in a majority of cases, to vitiate habits of speech more than habits of thought, is, on that account, none the less an error, and to be met by the cry, "Delenda est." We constantly hear it stated or implied, that the excellence of a work of art consists in its resemblance to nature. "How natural!" "So like nature!" are, as it were, stereotyped expressions in the mouths of all who profess to give an opinion on works, whether of painting or of sculpture. There seems to be a notion that works of art and works of nature, have in them principles which are, in a great measure, identical. We shall presently shew, what meaning must be attached to such expressions as these,—what reserve must be made, in order to guard them from the absurd and erroneous notion which their literal acceptance is calculated to convey. In nature there is a teeming fullness of life and energy, a constant ferment of animated might, a warring and a strife, an antagonism between conflicting powers and elements, a richness of alternating phenomena and events, a thousand shoots nipped in the bud, a thousand more springing into life, destruction and desolation blighting the seed and marring the increase, the clouds dropping fatness and hail alike, the breeze succeeded by the hurricane, the calmest stillness broken by the thunder-clap,—in a word, life and death, good and bad, fair and foul, all going hand in hand, all claiming and exercising alike their privilege, of severally adorning and despoiling the face of nature. Now, can any thing be more opposed to all this, than the harmony and repose which are so peculiarly the attributes of Art? and in what sense can the constitutional language above alluded to, be redeemed from the charge which has been brought against it? This let Goethe answer; and, most assuredly, no man is better qualified for the task. To say nothing of the value which must ever be attached to the opinions of a master-mind, on whatever subject they be expressed, in this case the value is greatly enhanced by the fact, that the author of *Faust* devoted his attention most especially to the subject of Art in general, and of its several branches in particular. Pages upon pages of his writings on these subjects we find teeming with the warmest enthusiasm on the one hand, and with the profoundest discernment on the other. And now listen to what he

says, on the connection between art and nature. The passage is taken from an imaginary dialogue, entitled "Über Wahrheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit in der Kunst," and inserted in his *Propyläen*. (See Goethe's *Saemmtliche Werke*. Paris, 1840. Vol. iv. p. 508.)

Spectator.—"It is only to an ignoramus, you say, that a work of art can have the appearance of a work of nature?"

Artist.—"Certainly; remember the birds who flew at the cherries of the great master."

Spect.—"Well, does not that prove that the fruit was admirably painted?"

Artist.—"No such thing; it only shews that these amateurs must have been genuine sparrows."

Spect.—"I cannot help thinking, that such a painting must be of great excellence."

Artist.—"Shall I tell you a more modern story?"

Spect.—"I generally prefer stories to arguments."

Artist.—"A great naturalist kept among other domestic animals a monkey, which he once missed, and after a long search found in the library. There was the brute sitting on the floor, and there lay scattered around it the plates of an unbound work on natural history. Astonished at this ardour for study in his friend, the gentleman approached, and saw to his surprise and disgust that the dainty monkey had gobbled up every one of the beetles, impressions of which it had found in various parts of the work."

Spect.—"The story is amusing enough."

Artist.—"And to the point, I trust; you surely would not place these illuminated plates on a par with the painting of so great a master?"

Spect.—"Not well."

Artist.—"But you would place the monkey, would you not, among the ignorant amateurs?"

Spect.—"Aye, and among the hungry ones besides. You have put into my head a curious notion: might not an ignorant amateur want to make out, that a work of art is natural, solely that the enjoyment he derives from it may be of a natural, often raw and commonplace order?"

Artist.—"I am quite of your opinion."

Spect.—"And this was the reason why you affirmed that an artist lowered himself, who strained every nerve to produce such effects?"

Artist.—"This is my firm conviction."

Spect.—"But here I still feel an impediment: you just now paid me the compliment of placing me among those amateurs whose taste is, at any rate, half cultivated."

Artist.—"Yes, among those who are on the way to become connoisseurs."

Spect.—"Well, then, tell me, why does a perfect work of art appear to me also like a work of nature?"

Artist.—"Because it accords with your better nature: because it is *supra naturam*, but not *extra naturam*. A perfect work of art is a creation of the human mind, and in this sense it is also a work of nature. But whereas the scattered parts are here gathered up into one, and even to the most insignificant are assigned their due import and dignity, on that account does it rank above nature. In conception, and composition, it is the creation of a mind which, by origin and cultivation, is at harmony with itself; and such a mind finds that by nature it is in unison with all that is intrinsically excellent and perfect. Of this the common amateur has no conception: he treats a work of art as any object that he stumbles on in a market; whereas the genuine amateur not only sees the truth of the portraiture, he also appreciates the excellencies of the selection, the richness of talent in the composition; he enters into all that there is of supernal in the little world of art; he feels that he must raise himself to the artist's level, to reap enjoyment from the artist's labours; he feels that he must gather himself together from amid the cares of a distracted life, that he must dwell and abide with a work of art, that he must gaze upon it again and again, and thereby ensure to himself a higher and a nobler life." —

Such are Goethe's sentiments on the connection between art and nature. Many other passages to the same effect will readily occur to any one who is at all familiar with the writings of that great man. It seems to have been a point on which he laid particular stress, for he recurs to it again and again, and never fails to take advantage of every opportunity where the topic may fitly be introduced.

Our limits will not admit of our enlarging any more on this subject; we leave our opinion on the vantage-ground, which Goethe has enabled us to occupy, and should any ridicule fall on what has been advanced, it will be our lasting consolation to remember that Goethe shares the sneer!

We now proceed to speak of the distinctive features of each particular branch of the Fine Arts. The neglect of such distinctions is one of the surest tokens of their decline. The various departments of Art have indeed a natural tendency to run one into the other, to be united, nay to be confounded, with each other. But it is here that the duty, and the dignity, and the

merit, of the true artist is to be seen ; it is for him to keep separate the art in which he labours from every other, to keep every branch of art on its own basis, and to isolate it by all available means. We have already observed, that the phenomena which nature presents do not realise the idea of the beautiful, and therefore do not fulfil the objects of art ; and that because they are *more* than phenomena, because they exhibit all the mighty outgoings of a hidden life ; because nature not only creates, and renovates, but also withers, and destroys. It is from amid these conflicting powers, this internecine war of nature, that the mind flies for refuge to the bosom of art : it is there, and there only, that the beautiful may be wooed and won. Art does not contemplate the elemental powers of nature in all their confusion and troubled strife : she separates them, she analyses them, she subordinates them the one to the other. The idea of a work of art, is the representation of the subject in a perfect harmony and proportion between all its parts and incidental features, in a perfect independence and freedom from all extraneous influences, and in the removal of all that there is of jarring and of grating in the elements of which it is composed. This done, it is for the fancy, with all the warmth of inspiration, to trace back the subject to its ruling element, to watch its development from that element as from a nucleus, and to consider all that is allowed to intervene for the more perfect representation of such development, as adventitious and subordinate. In speaking of elements, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that we do not, of course, mean those four elements which ancient science thought to recognize ; we do not mean those countless elements to which the analysis of modern chemistry is ever adding : we mean the elements of things, solely as regards their aspect and representation, solely with reference to the effect which they produce on the eye, the ear, and through them on the mind. These elements are three in number—space, time, and being.

Let us imagine ourselves to be *looking* at something,—a landscape, suppose, be it valley, plain, or mountain,—and let us confine our attention closely to what, in the narrowest sense of the word, constitutes a view, to all that meets the eye, and that *alone*. Let us put aside every thing that does not fall within this limit,—all sound, all movement, all notion of time, all reference to the use, the fitness, and the significancy of things,—

and nothing will remain but space, and the image or view by which it is filled up, with the shapes and the tints of various objects it contains.

Let us place ourselves anew before the landscape, let us lay aside everything which at first absorbed our attention, let light be withdrawn, let the eye be closed, let hearing be the only sense engaged. We shall now catch the rustling of leaves, the twittering of birds, the purling of streams, the moaning of the forest, the silvery fall of waters, all of which may be said to be single and unconnected sounds; yet if we pause awhile, we shall recognise a something which links them together,—there is the waft of air, on which the sounds are borne,—a something, which is deeper and softer still,—a something, of which our own hearts can best describe the nature,—a something, which lies at the bottom of all these sensations, and which, in its most abstract form, may be designated by the element of Time or Rhythm.

Now let the ear, as well as the eye, be closed, and let us content ourselves with all the associations produced in our minds, through the channels of sight and hearing; let us contemplate the scene as a whole, its hues and its forms, and all that it presents of motion and of sound, and the picture which we shall form of the entire landscape will be, as it were, to the *life*; the being and reality of all and every component part and feature of the scene will have made a *vivid* impression on the mirror of the mind.

These three elements, on the abstract character of which much more might be said if our space permitted, must be brought into a more concrete shape before the artist can employ them as materials on which to exercise his labours. The element of space will thus be found to comprise all that is palpable, all that has substance, body, or bulk; it will accordingly involve all the laws of dimension and proportion, of height, breadth, and depth, all the relations of light, of shade, and colour. The abstract idea of time will take the more concrete form of sound, the channel through which is revealed in things that inward, invisible life, which baffles the eye, while it enchants the ear, “untwisting all the chains that tie The hidden soul of harmony.” The third element presents itself under the head of speech, that mysterious utterance, and, as it were, incarnation of man’s inner life, an utterance in which the

essences of things and of thoughts, of matter and of mind, seem to be inseparably united the one with the other.

It is on the entire severance of these three elements that Art mainly depends for her well-being: it is only by a complete surrender to the laws of these elements respectively, that the corresponding branches of art can really thrive and flourish. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that to the element of space belong the so-called plastic arts, viz. architecture, sculpture, and painting; to the element of time or sound, belongs the art of music; while under the third element of speech, are included all the various kinds of poetry.

Thus have we endeavoured to classify the various departments of art, according to the ruling principle or element which obtains in each respectively. Much, very much, might be added in connection with this interesting topic, "*sed fugit interea, fugit irrevocabile tempus, Singula dum capti circumvectamur amore.*" Indeed, in what has been already said, our readers must remember that we have been giving but a hasty outline, not a finished picture; we have been stating but some few of the leading principles which we believe to have presided over the creations of Classical ages of Art; we have not shewn, as we might have done, how the neglect of these principles, tends every day to widen the gulf which separates the mediocrity of the present, from the excellence of bygone times; and on many of the points advanced, whole pages might be written, and the subject would not even then, perhaps, be exhausted. For the present, we will not be betrayed into the mere enumeration of the topics, on which we would now gladly have enlarged. We leave what has been said, with all its imperfection, to the judgment of our readers, thinking ourselves amply repaid, if we shall have succeeded in awakening in the breast of any one of their number, those deeper æsthetical views of Art, which are so liable to be lost sight of in an age like the present, which is constantly exulting in the fancied discovery of royal roads to knowledge, which abounds with a fevered craving after "art and science for the million."

We now resume the Museum Disneianum, the object we propose to ourselves being to furnish our readers with the means of judging how much they are indebted to its accomplished author, for the instruction and gratification which may be derived from its perusal.

"The former part of this work," says Mr. Disney in his Introduction, "was exclusively dedicated to marbles. It is now proposed to give engravings of some bronzes, and Anglo-Roman pottery, and three cinerary urns, with other objects in terra cotta and glass."—Mr. Disney adds, further on, (*Introd.* p. iv.) "I have designedly omitted every thing here, which is any way connected with ancient painted vases, or comes under any other designation, which might be considered as what now I believe are generally denominated 'Fictilia.' Having several of these, properly so called, I shall reserve them for a future Part, which I may possibly give to the public in a form, and under a classification, which will make them acceptable and intelligible to those who may feel an interest in such inquiries."

We must not here omit to mention, that Mr. Disney has devoted some pages of the Introduction, to the very praise-worthy task of refuting an error, which has existed by sufferance for many a year. Were any one asked what was the use and meaning of a lacrimatory, the answer would undoubtedly be to the effect, that it was a bottle used by the ancients to collect tears at funerals. But if the respondent were informed, that not only is no trace to be found of any Latin form of the word, but also, that, as far as we know, not the most distant allusion to the custom itself is to be met with in any classical author, whether of Greece or Rome, he would probably be somewhat surprised, unless he were reminded, how often it has happened that errors of the most flagrant kind have, from time to time, crept into every department of knowledge, but especially into history and archaeology, from sheer carelessness and laziness, not to use stronger terms, on the part of those who have in any way contributed to the common stock. Statements are boldly made, without the slightest foundation; they are adopted, second-hand, by succeeding writers, who often will not pause to inquire from what source they have been gathered, and out of these repeated incrustations of falsehood, is collected a 'something' which a good-natured and credulous world is pleased to call a 'fact.' It will probably be alleged, that the dishonesty of such a procedure rests with the first inventor of the statement; but we really think that both he and his successor are alike guilty of fraud, though in a different degree. Is the man who carries forged money in his purse, less guilty than he who has fashioned it in the crucible? At any rate, if

the manufacturer alone be the knave, the retailer must allow that he is a fool.

Now Mr. Disney might, if he chose, have called in the ludicrous to his aid, in refuting the vulgar notions respecting lacrimatories: he might, we think, have dwelt with considerable effect on the very comical idea of a number of persons, assisting at the most solemn of all rites, and engaged the while, in the very height of their grief, in catching their tears, as they dropped, in a bottle. He might aptly enough have termed it the 'Drop-scene;' with a little ingenuity, he might have made out a sort of sliding-scale according to the different degrees of affinity; so many drops for a husband, so many for a child, and so on: and a little research might, perhaps, have enabled him to concoct some phrase out of Latin authors, which might be translated by the vernacular words, 'Mind your eye!' But this he has not done: he has contented himself with sober facts and arguments: he has looked into Facciolati and Johnson, and he has looked in vain, not a trace has he found of the so-called lacrimatory. He has then turned to the *Nouveau Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* par M. Laveaux; he there has found indeed the word, but the Frenchman, before admitting the vulgar explanation into the interior of his dictionary, has asked it for its passport, and finding that it is not provided with any satisfactory documents, he very wisely sets it down as suspicious, and to be received with caution. His words, when translated, are as follows: "Lacrimatory, from the Latin, lacryma, a tear. This name is given to phials of earth or glass, in which *it has been supposed* that they received the tears shed for any one at his death; but *the figure alone* of these phials, which the ancients enclosed in tombs, proves *that they could not have been made use of for catching tears*, and that they were intended to contain balms, or liquid unguents, with which they sprinkled the burning bones."

On the other hand, the supporters of the vulgar notion are so straitened for resources, to give it even the *disguise* of truth, that they are compelled to betake themselves to the book of Psalms; scarcely the quarter where one would have thought to find a sanction for the rites and customs of pagan Rome. But in a case of such extreme destitution, 'the smallest contributions must be thankfully received.'

"The passage referred to," says Mr. Disney, (*Introd.* p. vii.) "is the 8th verse of the 56th Psalm:—'Thou tellest my flittings: put my tears into thy bottle: are not these things noted in thy book?' I must confess I cannot find the slightest pretence for supposing this passage to justify the conjecture, that men caught their own tears in their own bottles. The whole of this psalm is addressed by the Psalmist to God, complaining of the treatment he had received from his enemies; and in this particular verse, he begs God to remember his misfortunes. And by a beautiful allusion, rich in Eastern figure, he uses 'tears,' as expressive of his mental distress; and 'bottle,' as the well-known means of preserving liquids."

Mr. Disney then refers to another passage in the Psalms, (LXXX. vs. 5,) where a literal interpretation of the words would lead to still greater absurdities.

In page x., however, of the *Introduction*, we find that in a note to the *Pictorial Bible*, published by Mr. Charles Knight, 1839, with Original Notes, the passage in the 56th Psalm is supposed to allude to a custom in the East, and particularly among the Hebrews. The value of this supposition is certainly not very much enhanced by the fact with which the annotator himself somewhat naïvely acquaints us, "that there is no trace of such a custom in ancient writings or sculptures." The note goes on to inform us, that the Persian priests have a custom, annually, of going about collecting the tears of persons in pieces of cotton, and preserving them in a bottle: a kind of tithe which is certainly more novel than lucrative. For a due appreciation of this note, the reader should bear in mind what Mr. Disney, with a quiet sort of irony, subjoins: "There is no name to this comment, nor any authority referred to." And even supposing, merely for the sake of argument, that any authorities could be found, we should very much wish to know, what connection can be established between Hebrew rites or Persian tithe-gatherings, and the funeral ceremonies of Roman antiquity. But not to spend any more time in beating the air, we will merely observe, that after shewing what these bottles were *not* used for, Mr. Disney brings forward ample evidence, to indicate the purpose for which they were in fact designed. The *well-established* usage (See *Dict. Gr. Rom. Antiquities*, s. v. *Funus*.) of bespreading the sepulchre with flowers, and the funeral pile with unguents or perfumes, (called, in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, "*sumptuosa respersio*," Cic. *Leg.* II. 23.)

scarcely leaves us at liberty to withhold our assent from Mr. Disney when he says, "It appears to me, therefore, that these bottles were made to hold flowers or perfumes, and had nothing to do with tears at all."

Towards the conclusion of the Introduction, Mr. Disney furnishes us with some useful warnings against forming too hasty an opinion against the antiquity of a bronze, because the rust or patina on its surface is either doubtful, or even really factitious. These warnings are backed by the authority of such men as Flaxman, Christie, and Combe, the first of whom said to Mr. Disney, "He had no doubt of this false covering having been put, in several instances, upon genuine pieces of antiquity, for the purpose of suiting the taste of the times or the market, as in *appearance* the object was made to *look* older." Mr. Disney himself adds: "The converse of the practice is also true; viz., that the genuine patina is in many instances taken off to suit particular tastes; to show the work more sharp and clean; or from ignorance, by those who ought to know better." (*Introd.* p. xii, xiii.) Instances of this have come within Mr. Disney's own personal knowledge.

We cannot take our leave of the Introduction without thanking the author for the pleasure it has afforded us, and without complimenting him on the masterly style in which it is penned. We feel assured, that the glimpse which our readers have had of its contents, will have been sufficient to convince them that our thanks and compliments are not misplaced.

We now come to the work itself, and will preface such remarks as we have to offer on some of the specimens, by a list of the whole, taken *verbatim* from the Museum Disneianum. The reader will observe, that the numbering of the Plates is continued from Part I.

Plate LIX. Ibis. LX. Thuribulum (Tripod). LXI. Lamp (Bull's head). LXII. Lamp (Three burners). LXIII. Lamp (Six burners). LXIV. Lamp (African slave, two burners). LXV. Printing Stamp . . . Lamps (Two). LXVI. A Vase Handle—Lamp (shoe-shaped). LXVII. A Stew-pan. LXVIII. A Vase Handle—Armilla. LXIX. A small Tripod (Egg-cups). LXX. Jupiter Stator. LXXI. Jupiter Serapis. LXXII. Hercules (fatigued). LXXIII. Bacchus (Young). LXXIV. A Wrestler. LXXV. Pan on a Goat. LXXVI. Pan (kneeling). LXXVII. Roman Horse. LXXVIII. Acerra. LXXIX. Horse's Head. LXXX. Candelabrum

(Benevenuto Cellini). LXXXI. Lucretia. LXXXII. Vesta sedens—Isis. A nondescript. LXXXIII. Egyptian Antinous. LXXXIV. Roman Matron. LXXXV. Etruscan Urn (The Marriage). LXXXVI. Etruscan Urn (The Door).—Chiusi Urn. LXXXVII. Pompeian Glass. LXXXVIII. A Boar's Head—A Stele. LXXXIX. Left Foot (votive). Part of an Earthen Vessel. XC. Samian Fragments (Colchester). XCI. Three Celts (Dolabra). The Bull's Head. XCII. Anglo-Roman Pottery. XCIV. Table-leg (black). Table-leg (red). XCV. Egyptian Cone.

We assure our readers that this list of plates is a very poor substitute for the plates themselves, which are of the choicest execution, and do great credit to Mr. George Measom and Mr. Scharf, by the latter of whom Plates LXX. to LXXIV. inclusive are lithographed. The rest are engraved by Mr. Measom on wood.

The Ibis in plate LIX. (the first of Part II.) is a very rare and ancient specimen of that earliest mode of working in metal, commonly designated by the name *σφυρήλατον*, from *σφῆρα*, "a hammer,") and is formed of one sheet of iron, cut out and hammered into the shape of this bird. As regards the whole class of works of this description, we would observe, that there were two different modes of execution adopted by the ancients, (See Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* s. v. Bronze). In one case, the figure was of solid hammerwork, being formed by beating lumps of the material into the shape required, and then joining the various pieces by pins. In the other case, a sheet of iron was plated on a model of wood. In the words of the article referred to, "it is probable that the terms *holosphyraton* and *sphyraton* were intended to designate these two models of hammerwork." The writer, Mr. R. Westmacott, might have quoted *Anthol. Gr.* xi. 174, for an instance of the word *ἡλοσφυρήλατος* in a Greek author: it is there applied to a statue of Adonis. We should mention that Mr. Disney quotes a passage from a lecture by this Mr. Westmacott, at the Royal Institution, (1845) on Ancient Art, in which he produced this figure of the Ibis, declaring it to be an undoubted specimen of very great antiquity.

Plate LX.—The tripod here represented Mr. Disney terms a *Thuribulum*. With this designation we are scarcely prepared to agree; and much less with the statement, "that a *thuribulum* was more commonly a box." We believe we are correct in affirming, that the incense-box was always denoted by the

word *acerra*, and that the *thuribulum*, as well as the Greek *θυμιατήριον*, is always the censer, or small moveable grate or brazier. The two handles would seem indeed, in some measure, to countenance the name given to this specimen by Mr. Disney; for the *thuribulum* was carried about from place to place (*Ælian, Var. Hist.* xii. 51,) otherwise we think it would be nearer the truth to consider it simply as a tripod offered to some deity.

The following plate (LXI.) is an engraving of a splendid lamp, with ten burners, each terminating in a bull's head. On the necks of the bulls are letters forming the word MNHΣ, which Mr. Disney interprets as *Mnevis*, "the mystic bull of Heliopolis," an interpretation which is borne out by two engravings of the *Museum Odescalcum*, (Roma, fol. 1747,) as intimated to Mr. Disney by a friend.

Plate LXIV.—The design of this lamp is somewhat curious. It is placed on the head of a figure eight inches high, standing on a tortoise, with the arms raised up, so as to support it. The figure wears the Egyptian apron and a cap of feathers, one on each side, bending down to meet the hands. The height of the whole specimen is ten inches and three quarters. On the surface of the lamp is a figure of Jupiter, and an eagle with extended wings.

One of the objects in Plate LXV. is a very interesting specimen of a printing stamp, two inches and a quarter long, by one inch and an eighth wide, and about three-sixteenths thick. The letters, we are told, are raised and reversed, forming a perfect stereotype. Mr. Disney has no doubt that it was used to mark pieces of pottery. (He possesses a lamp in *terra cotta*, which seems to have been thus stamped.) The inscription it bears is: "M. Ulpi, Cenantiani." (*opus.*) Mr. Disney refers this to a town Cenantia of Sarmatia, on the north coast of the Euxine Sea, overhung by the Caucasus mountains. The modern name of S. Sophia, given to it by some, is not to be found in the modern maps. Without in the least wishing to impugn Mr. Disney's opinion on this subject, we think it worthy of mention, that the town Ceanthe, of the *Locri Ozolæ*, (*Thucyd.* iii. 101,) now called Galaxidi, near the bay of Salona, in the gulf of Lepanto, is in *Polybius* (iv. 57, v. 17,) called Cenantia, which would suit the inscription of this lamp, as well as the town in

Sarmatia. The remaining objects in this plate are two small lamps.

PL. LXVII.—This highly ornamented pan Mr. Disney terms a stewpan, and says it was used to serve up the viands hot at table. The fact, however, of the inside containing an engraving of a priest standing before an altar, would seem to indicate that it was used for sacrificial purposes, either to hold solid food, or to receive the blood of the victim, or any other libation. In fact a patera, of much the same shape as this, engraved in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Antiq.* s. v. patera, referred to by Mr. Disney, is also there stated to have been used in the worship of Mars.

We must not omit to call attention to the two beautiful figures in plates 70 and 71. We are at a loss to understand the derogatory remarks of Mr. E. Hawkins of the British Museum, which Mr. Disney has not hesitated to append to each of these specimens. It is but fair to state that Mr. Hawkins' opinion is completely at variance with that of Combe and Christie: the former of whom pronounced pl. 71 to be of the very best times of Greek art.

PL. LXXII.—In this beautiful figure Hercules, with the lion's skin and a club, is supposed to be returning from one of his labours. We assure our readers, that although the plate is admirably executed by Mr. Scharf, they should see the original to form any adequate idea of the very striking expression of fatigue and lassitude which Flaxman, Combe, and Christie, all concurred with Mr. Disney in attributing to this bronze. Towards the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Disney says: "I take it, this may be one of those cases of borrowing an individual character or countenance, not unfrequent among the ancients." Information has reached us, that since the publication of this work the author has received confirmation of his conjecture; this figure being, in fact, a statue of Commodus in the character of Hercules, so often assumed by that detested tyrant: there is a coin of him, in large brass, with his head in the lion's skin, and on the obverse a club, and bow and arrow, inscribed "Herculi Romano," which seems to Mr. Disney to set the matter at rest. He might also have enlisted the testimony of the contemporary historian, who, in his life of Commodus, informs us that very many statues of that emperor were struck in the character of Hercules: ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ παμπληθεῖς ἐν Ἡρακλέος σχήματι ἔσθη-

æv. (Dion Cass. LXXII. 15.) It is perhaps scarcely worth noticing, that Mr. Hawkins considers the figure to have been originally intended for Christ! pl. 75. The goat in this plate has a bell hung round the neck. Mr. Disney quotes two lines of J. Gronovius,—

“Semicaper nimis lassatus amoribus, acrem
Scando caprem retinens cornua : cede nola.”

From the allusion to the bell, Mr. Disney thinks it possible that this very figure may have been seen by Gronovius, the author, as he believes, of the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum*. All we wish at present is to call attention to the word *nola*. Every one is aware of the story, that *campala* and *nola*, the words used to signify a large and a small bell respectively, are derived from the fact (?) that Paulinus, the pupil of the poet Ausonius, and bishop of *Nola* in *Campania*, at the commencement of the 5th century, was, it is said, the first to use bells in churches. But not knowing whether this story rests on any other foundation than a desire to account, at all hazards, for the meaning of *nola*, we should be glad if any of the readers of this journal could give some more plausible information upon the origin of a word which Facciolati calls “*vox nove conficta ad ænigma conficiendum, quod expedit adhuc nemo.*”

Pl. LXXVIII.—This is a singularly beautiful specimen of the incense-box, or *acerra*, used by the Romans in their sacrifices. In the year 1761 it belonged to Count Caylus (who has engraved it in his *Recueil* iv. p. 281, and speaks of it in the highest terms,) to whom it was given by Paciandi, an historian and antiquary of Turin. At the time the Count received it, the lid was wanting. Mr. Disney can, however, vouch for the fact, that the *acerra*, together with the lid, passed from the Count, who died in 1765, to Mr. Hollis, and thence to Mr. Brand, from whom it came to Mr. Disney's father, the lid being still with the box, but not attached by hinges. Up to the year 1816 it was covered with the rust, called *patina*, a valuable but not indispensable evidence of age. A subsequent possessor “put it into the hands of the late celebrated silversmiths, Messrs Rundle and Bridge of London, solely for the purpose of putting on hinges, believing that they were trustworthy as to matters of taste; but most unfortunately, and unjustifiably, not only did they put on the hinges as they now are, but took off the *patina* entirely!! and they did not even

leave the metal surface to reacquire a natural rust, but washed it with a lacker, now visible upon it." We may imagine the dismay which this monstrous want of taste must have occasioned to the possessor of this cherished relic. And it is indeed most fortunate that Mr. Disney is so well acquainted with all the facts of its history for nearly a century past.

Pl. LXXXII.—As to the so-called nondescript in this plate, we have seldom seen anything which better deserved the name. We think that the reader, though he may not have seen it, will be inclined to agree with us, when we tell him the three conjectures which have been proposed as to its use. Count Caylus at first calls it a "*Chausse-trappe, pour enclouer la cavalerie*," but afterwards confesses that it baffles his ingenuity. Dr. Meyrick, in his work on Roman armour, takes it for a portion of the snaffle-bit called "*frænum lupatum*," and others suppose it to have been used as an instrument for pulling a bow-string. We think it would be difficult to say which of these three conjectures has least the appearance of truth. Mr. Disney himself suggests it may have been an instrument of torture: it certainly is so in one sense, for it seems to have put to the rack the ingenuity of all under whose notice it has happened to come. Mr. D., however, wisely concludes by remarking, that it may have been a *part* only of something, quite unintelligible without the other parts.

Mr. Disney proposes the following interpretation of the group of figures in front of the square cinerary urn in pl. 85,—“The man and woman in the centre, holding each other's hands, are the bride and bridegroom; behind the bride is the person who gives her away, receiving the hymeneal torch from the attendant near him. Next to the bridegroom is the winged genius Alastor (or *Θάνατος*, the genius of death,) with the torch reversed, and putting it out, the well-known emblem of human dissolution.” (p. 199.)

There is a very interesting and valuable essay, by the pen of the celebrated Lessing, entitled *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*, (“On the manner in which the ancients represented death.”) It is divided into two heads; the first being intended to prove that the ancient artists, in their designs of death, gave it quite a different form from that of a skeleton; while in the second, he shews, that when a skeleton is found in the works of ancient

artists, it was meant as an emblem of something altogether different from death.

Lessing possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of throwing over all his archaeological investigations, a grace and a spirit, which less genial minds are generally unable to bestow on writings of that nature. To use a somewhat common, but significant expression, there is a *spiciness* about them, which renders them peculiarly agreeable to the mental palate. For the present, we shall not enter into any details as to the arguments by which Lessing endeavours, and we think successfully, to establish the two points above mentioned. We shall content ourselves with quoting a paragraph from the Essay, which seems to bear upon the figure of Θάνατος in Mr. Disney's urn.

Lessing has been engaged in proving that the figures of death and of sleep, are ordinarily represented as standing with one foot crossed over the other. He subjoins: "Strongly as I am convinced that this peculiar position of the feet is CHARACTERISTIC, I am by no means prepared to assert that it is absolutely indispensable to *every* image of sleep and death. Quite the contrary; I can readily imagine a case in which such a position would be at variance with the idea of the whole. And I think I shall be able to produce instances of such a case. For if one foot crossed over the other, be an emblem of repose, it can only be adapted to a decease which has already ensued. On the other hand, a death which is yet to take place, would, on that very account, require a different attitude."

It will be observed, that in Mr. Disney's urn, the feet are not crossed, one over the other; which agrees with his interpretation of the group. "The genius here has hold of the husband's arm, and is giving him warning of the instability of human expectations and happiness."

Plate LXXXVI.—We have here another Etruscan urn, in which, as in the former, we have a figure of death.

In the same plate, is given an urn found at Chiusi, on the front of which is a bas-relief, representing the story of Echelus rushing into the battle of Marathon, and slaying the barbarians with his ploughshare. Mr. Disney might have added the remainder of the tradition, that on his sudden disappearance after the battle, the Athenians consulted an oracle, and were commanded to worship the hero Echelæus, *i. e.* the hero of the *εχέτης*, or ploughshare. It is also worthy of mention, that in

the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Pœcile, or Painted Portico (previously called the Portico of Peistianax) at Athens, and variously ascribed to Polygnotus, Panæus, and Micon, possibly the work of all three conjointly, this same Echelus is represented as slaying the enemy with his rustic weapon. Facts with which we are made acquainted by Pausanias (I. 15, 32). Mr. Disney gives a parallel incident from Scotch history, (A.D. 980).

Of the remaining specimens, the most worthy of remark are, we think, Plates LXXXIX. XCI. and XCV. The observations on "Ex voto's" in the first of these three, the collection of so-called "Celts" or Dolabra, in the second, and the notes upon the Egyptian cone, in the third, which crowns the work, are well deserving of attention; and if we forbear noticing them in detail, it is only because, on the one hand, they are so fully and so ably illustrated by Mr. Disney himself, and on the other, because we fear we have already trespassed too long upon the indulgence of our readers.

Two parts of the Museum Disneianum have now been brought before the public. They comprise nearly a hundred plates, and a yet larger number of actual specimens; they are illustrated in a manner which, every one must allow, gives ample evidence of the learning and elegance of mind of their accomplished author. The fact of the value and genuineness of these specimens does not rest, as we have seen, on the opinion of their fortunate possessor alone, it is repeatedly borne out by the testimony of some of the most competent judges of past and present times.

The publication of works like the one before us, is in this country rare; contributions to classical antiquity, whether as regards philology or archaeology, are doled out by Englishmen with niggard measure; the supineness of the resident members of our universities in these points, is as much a matter of proverb, as of shame; whatever may be their differences in political opinions, in other respects, they almost all seem to agree in repudiating the Republic of Letters, they almost all seem determined not to shed a drop of ink in its support: but surely all these considerations, humiliating as they are, should but enhance our gratitude to Mr. Disney, and urge us, with a tenfold force, not to conclude our notice of his work, without thanking him most sincerely, for the really valuable contribution he has

made to the study of art ; without congratulating him on being the possessor of so choice and beautiful a collection ; and without expressing an earnest hope that he may have health and strength vouchsafed him, to carry to its conclusion a work which he has so admirably begun.

C. K. W.

TRIN. COLL. CAMB. February 24, 1849.

VII.

MISCELLANIES.

1. ON SOPH. *ŒDIPUS TYRANNUS*, 40-45.

νῦν τ', ὃ κρᾶτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδίπου κἀρα,
 ἱκετεύομέν σε πάντες οἶδε πρόστροποι
 ἀλκὴν τιν' εὐρεῖν ἡμῖν, εἴτε του θεῶν
 φήμην ἀκούσας εἴτ' ἀπ' ἀνδρὸν οἴσθ' ἄ ποιν·
 ὣν τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι καὶ τὰς ξυμφορὰς
 ζώσας ὁρῶ μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων.

In the last number of the *Classical Museum*, Mr. Conington has called attention to the two last of the above lines, which certainly are difficult. To me the fault of the usual interpretations appears to be in giving to ζώσας a sense not natural and not necessary (viz. "prosperous" or "effective,") which other passages adduced as parallel, do not justify, and which seems inconsistent with the construction of that participle with the datives τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι. In v. 482, τὰ (μαντεῖα) δ' αἰεὶ ζῶντα περιποτᾶται, and *Antig.* 457, (νόμιμα) ἀεὶ ποτε ζῇ ταῦτα, the word is used in no very figurative or peculiar way, to denote *existence*, or *continuance of being*. In the present passage, taking ζώσας in a like natural and obvious sense, and ξυμφορὰς in the sense of ἀποβάσεις, the meaning would seem to be, *Since I see that with the experienced even the issues of their councils LIVE : i. e. are present to their minds*, so that they know what those issues will be ; they give counsel with a fore-knowledge of the result. But I think that another sense for ξυμφορὰς is suggested by the foregoing lines. The chorus had been entreating Œdipus to *discover* some remedy, supposing it likely that in the course of his experience he had heard, whether from god or

man, some ominous word, some pregnant, perhaps dark suggestion, which he could now with his former skill unriddle, and turn to present account. This supposition the chorus seems to support by adding, *Since with men of experienced wisdom* (such as thine,) *I see that even casualties of counsel*, suggestions incidentally dropped, *for the most part live*,—live in their minds and memories, so as to be by them produced, and made to avail, at the right time. The situation of *ξυμφορὰν*, so far before *τῶν βουλευμάτων*, is evidently designed to give strong emphasis to the former word. Mr. Conington's suggestion, that *μάλιστα* should be joined, in the sense of *μᾶλλον*, with *τῶν βουλευμάτων*, does not commend itself to my mind.

In the 43d line, may we not join *οἶσθα* with the participle *ἀκούσας* in the sense of *you remember to have heard* (some *φήμην* which may bear on the present case): as in v. 1142, *τότ' οἶσθα παῖδά . . . δοῦς*; *you recollect that you gave*?

HENRY S. RICHMOND.

2. ARISTOPHANICA.

ΓΥΝΗ Ζ. Νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρ' ἐπιτήδειός γ' ἂν ᾔην
 Τῇν τοῦ Πανόπτου εἰσθέραν ἐνημμένον
 Εἴπερ τις ἄλλος βουκολεῖν τὸν δῆμιον.

Ecclesiaz. 1. 79.

ALL commentators, from the ancient Scholiast downwards, seem to have considered the above sentence as very obscure, and having reference to some story of the day, which has not been handed down, and, one after another, they have more and more mystified the interpretation, while, in fact, it is very simple and easy of solution. Among the absurd explanations that have been offered, one is, That Lamias was a jailer, who was imposed upon by a staff clad in man's attire, and substituted for some condemned criminal; and this opinion has been very generally stated. Another supposes a quiz on the drama of some antagonist comedian, where this substitution of a staff for a culprit was introduced. Faber imagines this, and that the joke is intended against Cratinus. He must thus however hold the *ἐπιτήδειος* to refer to the cudgel, which of course cannot be, as *ὁ σκύταλον*, *masc.* is not found, but always *τὸ σκύταλον*, *neut.* Brunck conjectures a satire on the *Inachus* of Sophocles. Invernizius takes it to have some reference to the form of ancient staves and truncheons on which the laws were engraved, wandering perhaps to the *σκύταλη*, "the cypher," or "despatch-staff of the Spartans." Hotibius understands Lamias to be likened to the shepherd Argus, and the Athenian people, (reading *τὸ*

δήμιον,) to the heifer Io, whom he can easily tend and drive about with his club.

I rather believe it to be merely a simile of the Athenian dame on the watchful and sharp character of her husband Lamias, from whom it was not easy to keep any thing secret, and enhancing her own zeal and activity in the cause, in being able to steal his walking-stick while asleep,—dividing the dialogue thus :—

ΓΥΝΗ Ζ. Ἐγωγέ τοι τὸ σκύταλον ἐξηνεγκάμην
Τὸ τοῦ Λαμίου τουτὶ καθεύδοντος λάθρα.

"I for my part 'faith have stealthily brought out this cudgel—this one here, (*holding it up*), from my husband Lamias while he was sleeping."

ΠΡΑΞΑΓ. Τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκείνων τῶν σκυτάλων ὧν πέρεται.

Praxagora here makes this jocular remark on the unsavoury effects of such a load pressing on the shoulder; while, without noticing the interruption, the other dame continues enlarging on her husband's sharpness :—

ΓΥΝΗ Ζ. Νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρ' ἐπιτήδειόν γ' ἂν ᾔην
Τῇν τοῦ Πανόπτου διφθέραν ἐνημμενός
Εἴπερ τις ἄλλος βουκολεῖν τὸν δῆμιον.

"Ay, by Jove, the preserver too, he would be able, clad in the goat-skin cloak (what the modern Greek calls a *grego*), of Argus, if ever any man could, to cheat the executioner :—" Simply meaning to magnify her own skill and cunning in stealing his staff from such a sharp fellow of a husband, who, if placed in the position of Argus, would not have slept like him, but have been quite able to have cheated his executioner Mercury.

The passage treated thus seems very plain, and to have no obscure story of the day attached to it at all, as Kuster and others have imagined, and so slurred it shortly over. Βουκολεῖν τὸν δῆμιον,—"to cheat the hangman," *Scotticè*, "to cheat the woodie," is in some editions, βουκολεῖν τὸ δῆμιον,—"to cheat," or perhaps rather, "to watch as a shepherd the commonwealth." Βουκολεῖν τὸν δῆμιον, in the foregoing passage, also comes out, by way of joke, unexpectedly for βουκολεῖν τῇν Ἰώ.

WM. BELL MACDONALD.

RAMMERSCALES, 10th February 1849.

3. REMARK ON MATTHEW IV. 16.

IN No. XIV. of the *Classical Museum*, I submitted a critical remark which enabled us to reconcile Jer. XXXIII. 15, 16, with Jer. XXIII. 5, 6; the principle of which remark was derived from the observation, that in Hebrew nouns that stand in definite construction, are sometimes so intimately joined that the concord, which they prefer, takes the form of the latter noun instead of that of the former, as from the analogy of Western languages we should expect. Further investigation has led me to observe that their compound words are equally different from European compounds, and I think the difference may be traced to the union of nouns in definite construction. For instance, the Greeks write εἰδωλολατρεία, which the Latins translate in general by two words, (these compounds being foreign to the structure of the Latin language); but we unhesitatingly render it idol-worship: so the Germans have "Ehebruch, Festtag," &c., and we have "birth-day," &c., numerous words in daily use which are compounds of nouns, that have at first stood in definite construction, the sign of which has in some cases disappeared, (not in all, Geburtstag, &c., doomsday, &c.); but the construction in all these cases of union has inverted the order of the nouns: hence λατρεία τῶν εἰδώλων has become εἰδωλολατρεία; "day of birth," has become, first, birth's-day, then birth-day, &c. The Hebrews, on the other hand, when they form a construction of this kind, change, if possible, the sound of the former noun; and if they would compound a word of the two nouns, the direct order, which has been observed in the construction, is preferred: instances are innumerable in Hebrew names, as Bethel, Bethlehem, Benjamin, &c.; but not so frequent in nouns substantive. We have, however, in the above verse, a curious illustration of the difficulty which has arisen from this difference of idiom in the two languages: צִלְמֵת Is. IX. 1, is an example of a compound Hebrew noun, which has arisen from a construct form. The LXX. endeavouring to preserve the same order, render it σκία, θανάτου, as if it was in apposition, instead of being a definite construction, with χώρα. The Evangelist, however, alive to the harshness of such an apposition, and afraid of coining the word θανατοσκίης, has inserted the conjunction καὶ, and written χώρα καὶ σκία θανάτου. As my remark is entirely grammatical, I forbear to enter upon the meaning of the word.

PARAPHRASTIC TRANSLATION OF GAL. III. 15-29.

Brethren,—I bring forward the instance of a *man's* covenant. Even then, when once ratified, no one sets it aside, or adds fresh terms.

But the promises were spoken to Abraham and to his seed. The Holy Ghost (see *Heb.* iii. 7,) saith not "and to seeds," as referring to many, but as referring to a single *one*. He saith, "and to thy seed," which is Christ; and I say this, that a covenant which has previously been ratified by God unto Christ, the law which was 430 years afterwards would not undo, so as to render void the promise made therein: for if the inheritance descend by a law, then can it no longer be said to come by promise; yet God gave it to Abraham by promise. What then is the law? It was added for the transgressions of our fathers, until the seed should come unto whom the promise referred, and was laid down by angels (see *Acts* vii. 38, 53; *Heb.* ii. 2,) through (יְהוָה) a mediator; but this mediator was not of a single *one* on either side, for Moses mediated between the angels and our fathers (many seeds of Abraham), but God, the giver of the inheritance by promise, is *one* (see *Deut.* vi. 4; *Mar.* xii. 32; *Rom.* iii. 30; 1 *Tim.* ii. 5; *Jo.* ii. 19,) and therefore there must be a different mediator (ye being also *one* in Christ.) Is then the law contrary to God's promises? Surely not; for if a law capable of quickening men had been given, then indeed the heritage, justification, would have been by that law; but the Scripture hath included all under sin, that the fulfilment of the promise, justification by faith in Jesus Christ, might be given to those who believe on Him (see *Rom.* xi. 32.) But before this faith appeared, we being shut up together, were guarded by the law for the better reception of that faith which was about to be revealed; so that the law was our guide unto Christ, that we might be justified by that faith; but now that the faith is come, we are no longer under a guide; for ye all are sons of God through the faith in Jesus Christ, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ; there is no longer the distinction of Jew and Greek, of slave and free-man, of male and female: for ye all are *one* in Christ Jesus, and if ye are part of Christ, then are ye "the seed" of Abraham, and inherit justification according to the promise.

G. and C. C. (K.)

February 10, 1849.

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4. NOTICE OF OBSERVATIONS BY PROFESSOR DUNBAR, RELATIVE TO "REMARKS ON THUCYD. II. 65." (See No. XVII. for Oct. 1847, with No. XVIII. for Dec. 1847.)

In reply to questions in No. XVIII. of the *Classical Museum*, p. 476, which I did not see till long after date, I have to say—

1. That "data, premisses, or grounds," *can* and *must* be called "*mental* resources," as opposed to other resources which *are*, and therefore must be called "*physical*." ["*Ut sunt, ita nominentur.*"]

2. That, as Pericles himself did not *possess* the physical resources, but only knew of them as *grounds*, or data, for his opinion, there seems to be *no choice* as to the interpretation of τοσούτον ἐπερίσσευσε τῇ Περικλεῖ. A very Greek-thinking barrister, on reading the passage with me since, said, "*we* should say that Pericles *understated* his case."

3. That περιγίνεσθαι not only *can*, but generally *does* signify "*to conquer*," or, as Professor Dunbar himself renders it, "*to get the better of.*"

4. That, as to the sentence he quotes against me from the same chapter, I render it so as to favour my *own* view, (*vide infra*) and that, should he pass this way in the vacation, I should be very happy to discuss it at my own *ingle-neuk*, (for which also *vide infra*.)

"ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντάς, καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτωμένους ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη περιγίνεσθαι."

Anglicè, *ut opinor*, "For he indeed said that they would conquer, (or '*get the better*,') whilst (or by) keeping quiet and tending their navy, and entirely *refraining*¹ from new acquisitions in the war, and from risking the interests of the state." I presume the Professor makes a different use of the μὴ and μηδέ.

His advice to commentators to "*look πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω*, when they meet with an obscure or difficult passage," reminds me forcibly of a scene in Aristophanes, *Eq.* 173 :—

AHM. ἔτι νῦν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν παράβαλ' εἰς Καρίαν
τόν δεξιὸν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον εἰς Χαλκῆδονα.

ΑΛΛΑΝΤ. εὐδαιμονήσω δ', εἰ διαστραφήσομαι ;

I therefore decidedly prefer *keeping to the point*, ἐξ ὁμμάτων ὀρθῶν τε καὶ ὀρθῆς φρενός. And I believe many a commentator, including Dr. Arnold, has been led away, by supposed analogies in the context or parallel passages, from the *plain Greek of the text*.

J. PRICE,

34, Victoria Place, Birkenhead.

¹ I adopt this rendering ("entirely *extra-negative* position of ἀρχὴν *important*," h. l. *refraining*") because I consider the

5. THE OPENING CHORUS OF THE AGAMEMNON, (πάροδος and first στάσιμον.) Translated into English Verse by J. S. Blackie.

[In the following version of the finest chorus in Æschylus, perhaps in the whole range of the Greek drama, I have rendered the Anapestic *παρόδος* in trochaic verse; seeking thus to avoid at once the peculiar difficulties connected with the handling of our own Anapestic verse (see Newman's Remarks, p. 444, last number,) and the "fatal facility" of the common octosyllabic iambic verse. In this part of the translation, as well as in the *στάσιμον*, or choral ode proper, I have used irregular rhyme—a procedure which both amuses the English ear, and throws fewer difficulties in the way of close translation than any other style except blank verse, or plain prose. Of the various lyric measures of the original I have attempted to give no exact equivalents, seeking only to avoid such light and trivial measures as would be out of keeping with the general solemnity and sobriety of the piece. A well-considered admixture of our heroic verse with lines of six, eight, and occasionally of two syllables—such as is frequently used by Southey—seemed to my ear to meet the demands of the case. Certain it is that a translator who should render the dactyles of the overture (*πρόπαις ὕμνος*, &c.) by English dactylic or anapestic verse, would shew himself altogether unacquainted with the genius of the English language, and the temper of English poetry.]

NINE years have rolled, the tenth is rolling,
Since the strong Atreidan pair,
Menelaus and Agamemnon,
Sceptred kings by Jove's high grace,
With a host of sworn alliance,
With a thousand triremes rare,
With a righteous strong defiance,
Sailed for Troy. From furious breast
Loud they clanged the peal of battle;
Like the cry of vultures wild
O'er the lone paths fitful-wheeling,¹
With their plummy oarage oaring
Over the rest by the spoiler spoiled,
The rest dispeopled now and bare,
Their long but fruitless care.²
But the gods see it: some Apollo,

¹ *ἰσπράστις ἀλγιστὶ περιβοδινῶνται* . . .
ισπράστις, quod sese continere nequit in
itinere suo; quod huc illuc vagatur.
KLAUSEN: SO CON.: "wandering." I
express the same idea by "fitful," with-
out, however, excluding the idea of
"lonely and desert, out of the paths of
men," which the word may surely im-
ply, and which is at all events not in-

appropriate in the picture of a vulture's
nest.

² *διμυστήρη πόνον ἰλίσσαντις*. There
has been a great deal of unnecessary
talk about this passage. The plain mean-
ing is given by Hesychius, as quoted and
approved both by Blomfield and Klau-
sen. He was a proser indeed, who pro-
posed to change *πόνον* into *γόνον*.

Pan or Jove, the wrong hath noted,
 Heard the sharp and piercing cry
 Of the startled birds, shrill-throated
 Tenants of the sky.³
 And the late-chastising Fury
 Sent by Jove to track the spoiler,
 Hovers vengeful nigh.

Thus great Jove, the high protector
 Of the hospitable laws,
 'Gainst Alexander sends the Atridans,
 Harnessed in a woman's cause,
 The many-lorded fair.
 Toils on toils shall come uncounted,
 Jove hath willed it so;
 Limb-outwearying hard endeavour,
 Where the strong knees press the dust,
 Where the spear-shafts split and shiver,
 Trojan and Greek shall know.
 But things are as they are: the chain
 Of Fate doth bind them; sighs are vain,
 Tears, libations, fruitless flow,
 To divert from purposed ire
 The powers whose altars know no fire.
 But we behind that martial train
 Inglorious left remain,
 Old and frail, and feebly leaning
 Strength as of childhood on a staff.
 Yea! even as life's first unripe marrow
 In the tender bones⁴ are we
 From war's harsh service free.
 For hoary eld, life's leaf up-shrunk,

³ This translation includes both the simple *μικροί* and the accessory idea of *μικροσθένες* given by the Scholiast. The first I express by "tenant," following Conington, and the latter by "startled," i. e. scared from its original habitation, and forced to become a *μικροί* in another. I may remark, that where a word may bear two meanings, or shades of a meaning, both appropriate, a translator enriches his version by taking them both in.

⁴ I cannot but regard as a most unfortunate idea of Hermann's here, to

change *ἀνέκω* into *ἀνέκω*; for the notion of *leaping* or *rushing* which the word *ἀνέκω* conveys is the very reverse of that feebleness of the infantine marrow which is here compared to the imbecility of age. I have taken the liberty of omitting even *ἀνέκω* in my version, because any English word with a particular strength or emphasis would spoil the passage; and there is no idea in the original word, here at least, which it is worth the while of a poetical translator to bring out.

Totters, his three-footed way
 Feebly feeling, weak as childhood,
 Like a dream that walks by day.
 But what is this? what wandering word,
 Clytemnestra queen, hath reached thee?
 What hast seen? or what hast heard
 That from street to street swift flies,
 Thy word commanding sacrifice?
 All the altars of the gods
 That keep the city, gods supernal,
 Gods Olympian, gods infernal,
 Gods of the Forum blaze with gifts;
 Right and left the flame mounts high,
 Spiring to the sky,
 With the gentle soothings cherished
 Of the oil that knows no malice,
 And the sacred cake that smokes
 From the queen's chamber in the palace.
 What thou canst and may'st, declare;
 Be the healer of the care
 That bodes black harm within me; change it
 To the bright and hopeful ray,
 That from the altar riseth, chasing
 From the heart the sateless sorrow
 That eats vexed life away.

I'll voice the strain. What though the arm be weak
 That once was strong,
 The breath of Heaven-sent memories suasive stirs
 The old man's breast with song.
 My age hath virtue left⁵

⁵ In ἀλλὰν σύμφορος αἰών. these words, says Butler, "*menda est scholiaste temporibus antiquior*," the truth of which remark is plain from the difficulty the commentators have in squeezing out a meaning from the words. All things considered, however, the matter is nothing mended by making *σύμφορος αἰών* refer to "the time appointed for the fulfilment of the omen,"—an idea thrown out as a sort of forlorn hope by Butler, and adopted rather too confidently by Linwood; for the *ἔτι* and the whole connection of the passage prepares the mind

of the reader to refer the *αἰών* to the old age of the singers, rather than to the time when the fulfilment of the prophecy might be looked for; besides that *ξύμφορος αἰών* cannot bear the meaning, "the appointed crisis," (Linwood,) without force. The *Kraftübende Kampfzeit* of Franz is (without his note) as unintelligible as the original. Amid such difficulties, I have thought it best to render the whole passage somewhat freely nor do I see the slightest cause to desert the old tradition of the scholiast for the modern invention of Butler.

To sing what fateful omens strangely beckoned
 The twin kings to the fray,
 What time to Troy concentuous marched
 The embattled Greek array.
 Jove's swooping bird, the king of all birds, led on
 The kings of the fleet with spear and vengeful hand :
 By the way-side from shining seats serene,
 Close by the palace on the spear-hand seen,
 Two eagles flapped the air,
 One black, the other silver-tipt behind,
 And with keen talons seized a timorous hare,
 Whose strength could run no more,
 Itself and the live burden which it bore.
 Sing woe and well-a-day! But still
 May the good omens shame the ill.

ANTISTROPHE.

The wise diviner of the host⁶ beheld,
 And knew the sign ;
 The hare-devouring birds with diverse wings
 Typed the Atridan pair,
 The diverse-minded kings ;
 And thus the fate he chaunted :—" Not in vain
 Ye march this march to-day ;
 Old Troy shall surely fall, but not
 Till moons on moons away
 Have lingering rolled. Rich stores by labour massed
 The violent Fate shall plunder. Grant the gods,
 While this strong bit for Troy we forge with gladness,
 No heavenly might in jealous wrath o'ercast
 Our mounting hope with sadness.
 For the chaste Artemis a sore grudge nurses
 Against the kings ; Jove's winged hounds she curses,
 The fierce war-birds that tore
 The fitful hare, dam with the young it bore.
 Sing woe and well-a-day! but still
 May the good omens shame the ill.

EPODE.

The lion's fresh-dropt younglings,⁷ and each whelp
 That sucks wild milk, and through the forest roves,

⁶ The famous Calchas of the Iliad.

⁷ I do not think Sewall and Conington

did wisely in retaining the *déjeux* of the original, as the version is unintelligible

Live not unfriended ; them the fair goddess loves,
And lends her ready help.

The vision of the birds shall work its end
In bliss, but dashed not lightly with black bane ;⁸
I pray thee, Pæan, may she never send
Contrarious blasts dark-lowering to detain

The Argive fleet.

Ah ! ne'er may she desire to feast her eyes
On an unblest unholy sacrifice,
From festal use abhorrent, mother of strife,
And sundering from her lawful lord the wife.
Ah ! sternly waits the child-avenging wrath
About the fore-doomed halls,

Weaving dark wiles, while with sure-memored sting
Fury to Fury calls.⁹

Thus hymned the seer the doom, in dubious chaunt
Bliss to the seer's dark-mingling with the bane,
From the way-haunting birds ; and we
Respondent to the strain,
Sing woe and well-a-day ! but still
May the good omens shame the ill.

STROPH. A.

Jove, or what other name
The god that reigns supreme delights to claim,
Him I invoke ; him only find, revolving
All powers that be,
Who from this bootless load of doubt can shake
My spirit free.

ANTIST. A.

Who was so great of yore
With all-defiant valour brimming o'er,¹⁰
Is mute ; and who came next by a stronger arm
Thrice-vanquished fell ;

to the English reader, for whom translations are intended. I have attempted to give my version a tinge of what lies in the original *δρόρος*,—with what success I scarcely know.

⁸ This excellent version I took from an article in the *Quarterly Review* published some years ago.

⁹ This passage, as being part of a prophecy, is purposely obscure. I agree

with Linwood, that *εὐνοόστροφος* refers primarily to the murdered children of Thyestes, but prophetically also hints at the fate of Agamemnon ; and *παλίλατος* I also take with him to mean "the wrath of the furies showing itself from time to time."

¹⁰ The "all-defiant" I took from Sewell, as being the best version that I have seen of *πάμπαχος* (:))

But thou hymn victor Jove : so in thy heart
Jove's truth shall dwell.

ST. B.

For Jove doth teach men wisdom, sternly wins
To virtue by the tutoring of their sins ;
Yea ! drops of torturing recollection chill
The sleeper's heart ; against man's perverse will
Jove works the wise remorse.
Dread Powers on awful seats enthroned compel
Our hearts with gracious force.

ANT. B.

The elder chief, the leader of the ships,
Heard the dire doom, nor dared to ope his lips
Against the seer, and feared alone to stand
'Gainst buffeting fate, what time the Chalcian strand
Saw the vex'd Argive masts
In Aulis tides hoarse-refluent idly chained
By the fierce Thracian blasts ;

ST. C.

Blasts from Stymon adverse-braying,
Harbour-vexing, ship-delaying,
Snapping cables, shattering oars,
Wasting time, consuming stores,
With vain-wandering expectation,
And with long-drawn slow vexation
Wasting Argive bloom.
At length the seer forth clanged the doom,
A remedy strong to sway the breeze,
And direful Artemis to appease,
But to the chiefs severe :
The Atridans with their sceptres struck the ground,
Nor could restrain the tear.

ANT. C.

Then spake the elder. To deny,
How hard ! still harder to comply.
My daughter dear, my joy, my life,
To slay with sacrificial knife,
And with life's purple gushing tide,
To daub a father's hand beside
The altar of the gods.

This way or that is ill : for how
 Shall I despise my federate vow ?
 How leave the ships ? That all conspire
 Thus hotly to desire
 The virgin's blood, wind-soothing sacrifice
 Is the gods due. So be it.

ST. D.

Thus to necessity's harsh yoke he bared
 His patient neck. Blew from no blissful art
 The gale that turned his heart
 To horrid thoughts unholy, thoughts that dared
 The extreme of daring. Sin from its primal spring
 With evil counsels mads the heart, and arms
 The hand with reckless strength. Thus he
 Gave his own daughter's blood, his life, his joy,
 To speed a woman's war, and consecrate
 His ships for Troy.

ANT. D.

In vain with prayers, in vain she beats dull ears
 With a father's name ; the war-delighting chiefs
 Heed not her virgin years.
 The father stood ; and when the priests had prayed,
 Take her, he spake ; in her loose robes enfolden
 Where prone and spent she lies, so lift the maid ;
 Even as a kid is laid,
 So lay her on the altar ; with dumb force
 Her beauteous-budding¹¹ mouth gag, lest it voice
 A curse to Argos.

And as they led the maid, her saffron robe
 Sweeping the ground, with pity-moving dart
 She smote each from her eye,
 Even as a picture beautiful, willing to speak,
 But could not. Well that voice they knew of yore,
 Oft at her father's gleesome board,
 Ringed with brave banqueters cheerly round,
 The virgin strain they heard
 That did so sweetly pour

¹¹ The epithet *καλλιπάρης*, *beautiful*
fronted, applied to *στέφανος*, seeming
 contrary to the genius of the English

language, the translator seems entitled
 to coin a substitute.

Her father's praise, whom Heaven had richly crowned
With bounty brimming o'er.¹²

The rest I know not, nor will vainly pry;
But Calchas was a seer not wont to lie.

Justice doth wait to teach

Wisdom by suffering. Fate will have its way.

The quickest ear is pricked in vain to-day,

To catch to-morrow's note. What boots

To strain the eye before the dawn, whose ray

Shall chase all dim disputes.¹³

But we, a chosen band

Left here sole guardians of the Apian land,

Pray heaven, all good betide!

VIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY.
Edited by William Smith, LL.D. London, Taylor, Walton, &
Maberly; and John Murray. Part XXVII. 1849.

It is a pleasing duty to notice the completion of this admirable work. It is not enough to say that it is superior to every thing of the kind in our own language. The truth is, that we have nothing which will at all stand comparison with it. And it is not only relatively to others above and beyond all contrast or resemblance, but, absolutely, considered in reference to its own merits and usefulness, it is a production, on account of which England may well be both proud and thankful.

There are various ways of reviewing a book. If the work be one which an author has elaborated for the few, or one to which it is not

¹² Franz, disconnecting the last clause of this beautiful chorus from that which immediately precedes, makes it refer to the moment of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, not of the banquet in her father's hall; but how could the father's life be called *ἰππορμος* at such a sad moment! to say nothing of the poetical damage

done to the preceding passage, by being thus lopped of so beautiful a close.

¹³ I have translated (with Wellauer, whose text I use) *σύνερχον ἀνγυαῖς*. The reading of Franz, however, *σύνερχον ἀτραῖς*, considering the *πρεσβύτης* that precedes, and the dark tone of the whole chorus, is perhaps preferable.

likely that the many shall have easy access ; and the subject is either new, as in travels, or treated in a manner peculiar to the writer, from originality of discovery, as in many branches of science,—the most graceful and becoming duty of the reviewer, is to communicate and distribute the pleasure and information which he himself has received. If the work be one which admits of doubt and discussion, of confirmation or refutation by new or adverse arguments and illustrations, the well-informed reviewer does a service both to the author and to the public,—he performs his proper part in the republic of letters, when he manfully appears in his own person to plead his own cause ; or, rather, in such cases, it is his province to state the merits of each side, and, himself both judge and jury, to pronounce an award, which he shall justify by reasons then and there rendered. The first method of review requires a clear comprehension, a clear style, and a competent knowledge of the subject handled. The second is manifestly, when worthily performed, a matter requiring in the reviewer, on some points at least, greater knowledge and skill than are possessed by the original writer himself. It certainly proceeds on such an assumption. And hence has arisen a third class of reviews, wherein an unhappy author is made to perform the mere part of a heading to a chapter, or of a text to a popular sermon. The name is there, but the reviewer reviews nothing but his own views.

Now, it is in none of all these capacities that we would wish at present to write. We certainly have no intention of compressing in some two pages of the *Classical Museum* the three thousand seven hundred (and upwards) pages of this Dictionary now lying before us, with its closely printed double columns. Nor are we disposed, single-handed, with all the advantages of our barred vizor and unscutcheoned shield, to enter into combat with the thirty champions whom that Arch-antiquarian Smith has led into the field, in such formidable array. Even were we to overthrow one, we should straightway have another doughty warrior to combat ; and long before we had gone half through the ranks, we should, through the sheer exhaustion of victory, be carried off the field, our breath gone, and our weapons exhausted.

What then is our object in noticing this work, especially seeing that, by this time, it must be in the hands of all to whom the *Classical Museum* can furnish themes of interest ?

Our object is two-fold. First, we should deem it a just ground of accusation against us, that the only periodical in this country, which professes to treat exclusively and critically of classical subjects, should leave unnoticed the most important contribution to our classical reputation that has been made for many a year. And, secondly, as a bad book cannot be too strongly condemned and put down at once ;

so a really great and good work like this, calls for some common expression on the part of the scholarship of this country, not so much to testify to its excellence, or prove its special merits, as to utter the language of mutual congratulation. It was in January 1843 that we received our first number, and we have put each succeeding part as it came to the test, in the course of a somewhat extensive professional practice, requiring us constantly to examine into the subjects with which it deals. Six years have now rolled on, and time has brought this, as it brings all labours, to a close. Anxious and laborious years they must have been to the editor, and to some of his *collaborateurs*. It would be an act of frigid ingratitude, after benefiting by a work so complete in accuracy and information, not to express in the strongest possible language, the high value which, we will take it upon us to say, the classical scholars of this country, and especially those concerned in the duty of education, attach to these interesting and learned volumes. That here and there criticism may find congenial employment, when criticism has had time to cool, we do not doubt; though this, the division of labour, so happily conceived and carried into effect, will cause to be much less, than could have been possible in other circumstances, even if double the number of years had been bestowed upon it. But, in the meantime, for the research, the erudition, the life-embodiment spirit, the precision, and the ability displayed throughout the work, we would, in the name of all to whom accurate knowledge, enlightened views, and a safe guide, on such subjects are valuable, tender our grateful acknowledgments.

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2. GREEK EXTRACTS: with Notes and Lexicon. By Sir Daniel K. Sandford. Fourth Edition. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1849.

This is a new edition of a well-known first book of reading in Greek. It consists of two parts: the first being composed of selections from the *Æsopic Fables*, *Hiérocles*, the *New Testament*, the *Anacreontic Odes*, *Tyrtæus*, and *Lucian's Dialogues*. The second part contains extracts from *Xenophon's Cyropædia*, *Homer*, *Callinus*, *Tyrtæus*, *Herodotus*, *Theocritus*, and *Lucian's Sale of Lives*. Then follow *Notes*, a *Lexicon*, and a list of the *Anomalous and Defective Verbs* which occur in the *Extracts*. To those who prefer a first book of *Extracts*, this work furnishes variety at least, and the *Notes* by Sir Daniel Sandford are judicious, and derived from the best sources. We have learned that this new edition is edited by Mr. Veitch, whose labours on the Greek verb we had occasion to commend in a late number. Its correctness may, therefore, be relied on. Besides his services in this

department, so important in a class-book, we find that Mr. Veitch has quietly and modestly, here and there, insinuated, by a mark of interrogation, a doubt on questionable statements in the notes, and made the list of verbs doubly valuable by inserting, within brackets, the fruits of his own researches. We are surprised that, when he was at it, he did not incorporate the list of anomalous verbs in the vocabulary. Few boys will be at the trouble of turning over *two* lists; most teachers are thankful to get them to refer to *one*. There are some slight oversights in the references from the general vocabulary to the anomalous list, of which we may notice a few as a specimen, that the matter may be corrected in a subsequent edition, unless the incorporation should take place then, which we strongly recommend,—ἀγνοέω, ἀμύνω, βάπτω, γελᾶω, δακρύω, ἐγείρω, &c.

3. CORNELII TACITI OPERA. Ad Codices Antiquos exacta et emendata, Commentario Critico et Exegetico illustrata. Edidit Franciscus Ritter, Professor Bonnensis. Cantabrigiæ, 1848. IV. Volumina.

The last year has brought us two valuable editions of the works of the great Tacitus, the one by the late J. C. Orelli,¹ and the other by Fr. Ritter, under the above title. The latter, which has been published simultaneously in Germany and in England, is a work deserving of the highest commendation; and in it the ordinary scholar will find every thing that can be desired. The text is preceded by an able proœmium, containing a life of Tacitus, and a critical history of his writings, from the time that they were composed, down to the present day; with a full list of all the more interesting works that have been written on the Roman historian. The most important various readings are printed under the text; and the critical and exegetical commentary, so far as we have examined it, is excellent. Nothing is omitted that can throw any light upon either grammatical, historical, or archæological difficulties. At the end, the editor has added an

¹ In speaking of Orelli, in whom, no less than in G. Hermann and Letronne, philology has, within the last few months, lost one of its greatest ornaments, we are glad to be able to state, that during the last year of his life, he was occupied almost exclusively in revising and improving his edition of his favourite author Horace. On the very eve of his death, he was engaged in correcting the proof-sheets of the third edition. All

arrangements were completed for this new edition, and it will be issued shortly. The completion of his second edition of Cicero has been undertaken by Professor Baier, in conjunction with Professors Halm and Jordan, both of whom have already done much for Cicero, and are an ample security that the work will be completed in the same spirit in which it was commenced by the indefatigable Orelli.

appendix, being a dissertation on Maternus' Nero, and two very useful indexes, one historical and the other grammatical. We have no space to enter into any detailed discussion of the merits of this new edition; but we have found it so excellent and useful in every respect, that we wish the publishers may be encouraged by its success to undertake editions of other ancient authors, equally worthy of the present state of scholarship.

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4. THE HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, BY THUCYDIDES; according to the Text of L. Dindorf; with Notes for the use of Colleges. By John J. Owen. New York, 1848. 12mo.
 5. SELECTIONS FROM THE FIRST FIVE BOOKS OF LIVY, together with the 21st and 22d Books entire, chiefly from the Text of Alschevski; with Notes for Schools and Colleges. By J. L. Lincoln. New York, 1848. 12mo.

These two works are fair specimens of the new class of scholars that has of late sprung up on the other side of the Atlantic. They make conscientious use of the materials furnished them by the scholars of England and Germany, and claim for themselves nothing but the merit of judicious selection, manifesting an anxious desire not to neglect any of the means by which their authors can be illustrated. Their works form a pleasing contrast to those of their countryman, Dr. Anthon, though there is still too much of the mere translation in their notes. Mr. Owen's Thucydides contains only the first three books: the text, from p. 1 to 178, and the remaining part of the volume down to 683, contains the commentary, which is very ample, and chiefly explanatory. The student will scarcely meet with any difficulty of which he will not find some solution. We have met with many which somewhat surprised us, as for instance in a note on π . 54, where it is said that $\sigma_{\tau\epsilon}$ is equivalent to $\sigma_{\tau\iota}$, although a proper explanation of the passage shews that $\sigma_{\tau\epsilon}$ there means what it always means. In a note on π . 56, the town of Epidaurus is said to be the town of that name in Laconia, though, from the tenor of the whole chapter, it is perfectly clear that Epidaurus in Argolis must be meant, unless we suppose Pericles and his fleet to have sailed backwards and forwards. Many such mistakes might be pointed out, but the book is nevertheless highly to be recommended; and we are glad to find that able and conscientious men are so successfully engaged in preparing editions of the classics for the use of schools and colleges, which are in many respects far superior to those in common use among ourselves.

IX.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Aristotelis Opera Græce et Latine, cum indicibus, &c. Vol. I. Royal 8vo., cloth. (Didot's Scriptorum Græcorum Bibliotheca.)
- Arnold's, T. K., First Greek Book. 12mo., cloth.
- Artis Logicæ Rudimenta, from the text of Aldrich, with notes and marginal references. By the Rev. H. L. Mansel. Oxford, 8vo.
- Demosthenes' Olynthiac Orations. With Notes and Grammatical References. Edited by T. K. Arnold. 12mo., cloth.
- Disney, J., Museum Disneianum. Part II. Illustrations by Measom. 4to., cloth. London.
- Euripides' Alcestis. Translated into English Verse, according to the Text of Monk. By the Rev. James Banks. 8vo., cloth.
- Græcæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta, in usum Scholarum. Editio Septima. 12mo., bound.
- Harrison, M., The Rise, Progress, and Present Structure of the English Language. Post 8vo., cloth. London.
- Herodotus, An Analysis of. By the Rev. R. B. Paul. New Edition. 12mo., boards.
- Horace, Literally translated into English Prose. By C. Smart, A.M. New Edition. 18mo., cloth.
- Joannis Saresberiensis, postea Episcopi Carnotensis, Opera Omnia, nunc primum collegit et cum Codicibus Manuscriptis contulit J. A. Giles. 5 vols. 8vo. Oxford.
- Latham's Elementary English Grammar. New Edition. Taylor, Walton, & Maberly.
- Layard, H. A., Nineveh and its Remains. With an Account of a Visit to the Chaldæan Christians of Kudistan, and the Yezids, or Devil Worshippers; and an Enquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians. 2 vols. 8vo. With Illustrations.
- Livy, An Analysis of; and the Second Decade. With Examinatory Questions and Notes. 18mo., cloth.
- McDoual, Charles, a Discourse on the Study of Oriental Languages and Literature. Edinburgh, 1849. 8vo.
- Niebuhr's Lectures on Roman History. 3 vols. 8vo., cloth. *Cheap Edition.* Edited by Dr. L. Schmitz. Taylor, Walton, & Maberly.
- Pindari Carmina ad Fidem Textus Boeckhiani. By G. G. Cookeley. 3 vols. 8vo. *A cheaper edition.*
- Plato; The First Book of the Republic. Translated into English. By A. R. Grant. 12mo. Cambridge.
- Plato; a New and Literal Translation. By Henry Cary. Vol. I. containing the Apology of Socrates, Crito, Georgias, Protagoras, Phædrus, Theætetus, Euthyphron, and Lysis. 12mo., cloth.
- Pütz, W., Hand Book of Ancient Geography and History. Translated from the German by the Rev. R. B. Paul, and Edited by the Rev. T. K. Arnold. 12mo., cloth.
- Riddle, J. E., Questions on Latin Style. 12mo., cloth.

110 WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Rich, A., *Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary*; being a Dictionary of all the Words representing visible objects connected with the Arts and Sciences. Illustrated with Wood Engravings. Post 8vo., cloth.
- Sallust; *The Catiline and Jugurtha* of. With Notes and Excursus. By Thomas Keightley. Post 8vo., cloth.
- Schmitz', Dr. L., *Grammar of the Latin Language*. Chambers's Educational Course, Classical Series.
- Smith's, Dr. William, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. By various Writers. Edited by Dr. Smith. Complete in 3 vols. Medium 8vo., cloth. Illustrated with numerous wood engravings. Taylor, Walton, & Maberly.
- Steven, Dr. W., *History of the High School of Edinburgh*. Fcap 8vo.
- Taciti, Cornelii, *Opera*, ad Cod. antiquos exacta et emendata, commentario critico et exegetico illustrata. Ed. Fr. Ritter. Vols. III. and IV. 8vo. Cambridge.
- Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, according to the Text of L. Dindorf, with Notes for the use of Colleges. By John J. Owen. New York. Vol. I., book I.—III.
- Virgil, literally translated into English Prose. By Davidson. New Edition. Foolscap.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

- Beidhawii *Commentarius in Coranum ex codd.* Paris., Dresd. et Lipsiens. ed. indicibusque instrux. H. O. Fleischer. Part 6 and 7. 4to. Lips. 16s. (Part 1 to 5, 10s. each. Complete £3, 3s.)
- Bibliotheca Græca. Cur. Jacobs et Rost, vol. 8. Thucydides ed. Poppo. Vol. 3, pt. 2, (liber 6.) 8vo. Gothæ. 3s. 6d.
- Chavee, H. J., *Lexiologie Indo-Européenne, ou Essai sur la science des mots Sanscrits, Grecs, Latins, Français, Lithuaniens, Russes, Allemands, Anglais, &c.* 8vo. 10s.
- Ciceronis, M. T., *Orationes*. Ed. C. Halm. Vol. II. pars II. *Oratio de Imperio Gnei Pompei*. 8vo. Leipzig. 3s. 6d. (Vols. I. and II. 2. 17s.)
- Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, Auctoritate et impensis Academiae Litterar. Reg. Boruss. Edidit August Bœckh. Vol. III, part 2. Folio. Berol. £1, 2s. (Vol. I. to III. 1. £6, 6s.)
- Demosthenis Philippicæ, ed. C. A. Rüdiger. 3d Edit. pars 1.: *Olynthiacæ tres; Philippica prima et de Pace*. 8vo. Lips. 3s. 6d.
- Duentzer, H., *De Zenodoti Studiis Homericis*. 8vo. Götting. 5s.
- Eidler, *die Deutsche Sprachbildung*. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 14s.
- Euripidis *Tragediæ cum fragmentis*. Versio lat. ad nov. Tauchnitzii edit. stereot. accommodata. Vol. II. *Alcestis, Andromache, Supplices, Iphigenia Aul., Iphigenia Taur.* 16mo. Lugd. Bat. 4s. 6d. (Vol. I. *Hecuba, Orestes, Phœnissæ, Medea, Hippolytus*. 4s. 6d.)
- Euripides Werke. Griechisch mit metrischer Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen v. J. A. Hartung, Vol. 3. Hippolyt. 12mo. Leipzig. 3s. (Vol. 1. *Medea*, 3s. Vol. 2. *Trojerinnen*, 2s.)
- Fraehn, *Indications bibliographiques relatives pour la plupart à la Littérature Historico-géographique des Arabes, des Persans, et des Turcs*. 8vo. St. Petersburg. 9s.

- Freund, W., Latein.-Deutsches und Latein-Deutsch. Schulwörterbuch. Vol. I. Latein.-Deutscher Theil. Royal 8vo. Berlin. 9s.
- Hymnen, die, des Sâma-Veda, hrgs. übers. und m. einem Glossar versehen v. Th. Benfey. 4to. Leipzig. £1, 15s. The same, Text only, £1, 1s.
- Keil, H., *Observationes criticae in Catonis et Varronis de re rustica libros. Accedit epimetrum criticum.* 8vo. Halis. 2s.
- Krische, A. B., über Platon's Phædros. 8vo. Götting. 2s. 6d.
- Michelet, C. L., *Commentaria in Aristotelis Ethicorum Nicomacheorum libros X.* Edit. altera et emend. Berlin. 8vo. 1848. 5s. 3d.
- Monument de Ninive, découvert et décrit par M. P. E. Botta, mesuré et dessiné par M. E. Flandin; publié par ordre du Gouvernement. Livraisons 1 to 84. Folio. £1 each Livrais. (To be completed in 90 Livr.)
- The Inscriptions separately, in 2 vols. on thin paper. £4.
- Monumenta Germaniæ historica inde ab a. Chr. 500 usque ad a. 1500, ed. G. H. Pretz. Tom. 10, *Scriptorum*, Tom. 8. Fol. Hanover. £1, 18s. 6d.
- Pertz, G. H., Ueber ein Bruchstück des 98 Buchs des Livius. 4to. Berlin. 2s.
- Plauti, T. Macci, *Comœdiæ. Ex recens. et cum apparatu crit. Fr. Ritschelii.* Tom. I. *Trinummum, Milit. glor., Bacchides, Mostellariam, Stichum* complectens. Fasc. I. *Trinummus.* 8vo. Bonn.
- Plautus *Comœdiæ, Recens. C. H. Weise.* New Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 16s.
- Poetarum tragicorum Græcorum fragmenta, ed. Frid. G. Wagner. Vol. 3. *Fragmenta exceptis Æschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis reliquiis.* 8vo. Vratisl. 9s. Vol. 2. *Euripidis fragmenta.* 9s.
- Saint-Hilaire, *Politique d'Aristote, traduite en Français d'après le texte collationné sur les manuscrits et les éditions principales.* New Edition. 8vo. 8s.
- Schleicher, Dr. A., *Sprachvergleichende Untersuchungen, Pars 1, zur Sprachengeschichte.* 8vo. Bonn. 5s.
- Seyffert, M., *Epistola critica ad C. Halmium de Ciceronis pro P. Sulla et pro P. Sestio Orationibus.* Brandenburg. 4to. 2s.
- Spruner, C. de, *Atlas antiquus.* Folio. Gotha. Parts 1 and 2. Each 7s. Part 3, (end) shortly.
- Villani Philippi. *Liber civitatis Florentiæ Famosis Civibus ex Codice Mediceo Laurentiano nunc primum editus et de Florentinorum literatura Principes Fere Synchroni Scriptores denuo in lucem prodeunt, cura et studio G. C. Galletti.* 4to. Florentiæ. 16s.
- Welcker, F. G., *Die Composition der Polygotischen Gemälde in der Lesche zu Delphi.* Berlin. 4to.
- Wijnne, T. A., *Quæstiones criticae de Belli Punici secundi parte priori.* 8vo. Groningæ. 4s. 6d.

THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

X.

MISCELLANEOUS CRITICISMS.

I. ÆSCHYLUS, *Pers.* 189, seqq. ; (ed. Dindorf.)

παῖς δ' ἐμὸς μαθὼν
κατεῖχε ἀπράυνον, ἄρμασιν δ' ὑπο
ζεύγνυσιν αὐτὸν καὶ λέπαδν' ἐπ' αὐχένων
τίθησι.

In the third line, the Medicean, and one of the Paris MSS., have ὑπ' in place of ἐπ' ; and when this is restored, the sense is rendered clear ; for the λέπαδνον was, as Liddell and Scott rightly explain it, "a broad leather strap, fastening the yoke under the neck, and passing between the fore-legs to join the girth, (μασχαλιστήρ.)" Restore ὑπ', therefore, and translate—

"and puts the λέπαδνον under their necks."

ἐπ' αὐχένων would mean, "upon their necks."

II. Herodotus, II. c. 10, after speaking of the parts about Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plain of the Mæander, goes on thus :—

τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν, ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων
τοῦ Νεῖλου, ἐόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος περὶ ἄξιος
συμβληθῆναι ἐστί.

He evidently means to say that, "of all these rivers, *not one* is worthy to be compared with any one of the five mouths of the Nile." I think therefore that οὐδ' εἷς, instead of οὐδεὶς, would suit the meaning better.

VII.

H

III. Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, c. viii. § 20.—Uerbum nemo facit. This locution was used in French *patois* in the time of Molière. See his *Festin de Pierre*, Acte II. sc. 1.—“Hé! Lucas, *c'ai je fait*, je pense que vlà des hommes qui nageant là bas. Voire, *ce m'a-t-il fait*, t'as été au trépasement d'un chat, t'as la vue trouble;” and so on all through the scene.

IV. Rhinton, *ap. Cic. ad Att.* i. 20, 3, (ed. Olivet);

οἱ μὲν παρ' οὐδέν εἰσιν, οἷς δ' οὐδὲν μέλει.

For εἰσιν, οἷς δ' (or οἷς δ') read εἰσι, τοῖς δ'. Compare Aristoph. *Ran.* 72;

οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί.

Orelli, in his edition, I see, has adopted this reading.

V. Cicero, *ad Att.* v. 20, 3.—Scis enim dici quædam πανικὰ; dici item τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου. Query—*καινὰ* instead of *κενά*?

VI. Xenophon, *Anab.* vii. 7, 55,—τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἀπέδωκέ τε αὐτοῖς ἃ ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα ἐλάσσοντας συνέπεμψεν; where two MSS. have ἐλάσαντας. Xenophon uses this form of the future of ἐλαύνω again in *Cyrop.* i. 4, 20; ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τούσδε, ἦν ἐπὶ οὐ κωνῶνται, ἐλάσω, ὥστε ἀναγκασθῆναι ἡμῖν προσέχεν τὸν νοῦν; where Louis Dindorf gives ἐλῶ with this note:—

“ἐλῶ.] Libri meliores omnes formam non bonam ἐλάσω inferunt; quo eadem suspecta redditur loco *Anabasis*, vii. 7, 55. Nam constanter alias Xenophonti futurum est ἐλῶν.”

VII. Aristoph. *Ran.* 481, seqq; (ed. Dindorf.)

ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ὦραχιῶ.

ἀλλ' οἷσε πρὸς τὴν καρδίαν μου σπογγιάν.

ΞΑ. ἰδοὺ λαβέ. ΔΙ. προσθοῦ. ΞΑ. ποῦ 'στιν; ὦ χρυσοὶ θεοί.

In the last line Brunck attributes ποῦ 'στιν to Xanthias. I think the line ought to be divided between the speakers thus:—

ΞΑ. ἰδοὺ λαβέ. προσθοῦ. ΔΙ. ποῦ 'στιν; ΞΑ. ὦ χρυσοὶ θεοί.

for προσθοῦ is in the middle voice; translate,—

Xanth. Here, take it. Apply it to yourself. *Dion.* Where is it?
Xanth. Oh, &c.

VIII. Aristoph. *Ran.* 556, 7;

οὐ μὲν οὖν με προσεδόκας,
ὅτι καὶ καθόρνους εἶχες, ἀναγνῶναι σ' ἔτι;

So all the best MSS.: the *Codex Borgianus* has ἀγνῶναι. Elmsley, (*ad Acharn.* 178,) deceived by our English phrase, "You did not think I *should* know you again," proposed ἀγνῶναι for ἀναγνῶναι; and Dindorf has adopted his conjecture. But the reading of the Manuscripts is the correct one. For in the direct speech, "I shall know you again," ἀγνῶναι has no place; therefore neither has it any in the *Obliqua Oratio*. See Liddell and Scott, s. v. ἄγν, E.

IX. Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 3, 1, 67, (ed Lindemann); Túte me ut fateáre faciam esse ádulescentem móribus.—Plautus seems to have had in his mind a passage of Menander, *Incert. Fragm.* 190, (ed. Meineke):

ὥς ἡδὺ πρᾶος καὶ νεάζων τῇ τρόπῳ
πατήρ.

X. "Πολίτης, οὐ, ὅ, poet. for πολίτης, a citizen: *Il.* ii. 806; freq. in Hdt., and twice in *Trag.*, *Æsch. Pers.* 556; *Enr. El.* 119." Liddell and Scott.

Our great lexicographers have omitted to take note of a passage of the tragic poet Ion, *ap. Schol. Ar. Ran.* 718. The Scholiast says:—

εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ὀρθῶς ἰδεῖν: Τοῦτο Ἰωνός ἐστιν ἐκ Φοίνικος ἢ Κανέως
εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ὀρθῶς ἰδεῖν βίον ἀνέρος, ὃ πολίτης.

XI. The passage of Anaxandrides, quoted from his *Γερωντομνία*, by Athenæus, XIII. p. 570, *d*, appears to me to admit of being restored as follows:—(it is *Fragm.* 1. *ap. Meineke, Com. Gr. Fragm.*)

A. τὴν ἐκ Κορίνθου Λαῖδ' οἶσθα; B. πῶς γὰρ οὐ;
τὴν Ἱμεραίαν. A. ἦν ἐκείνη. τις φύλη
Ἄντεια, καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἡμέτερον παῖγνιον.
B. νῆ τὸν Δί' ἦνθαι τότε Λαγίσκη, . . .
. ἦν μὲν τότε 5.
καὶ Θεελύτη μάλ' εὐπρόσωπος καὶ καλὴ
ὕπεφαν' ἐσομένη
. . . . A. [ἦν] δ' Ὀσμιν λαμπρὸν πάνυ.

2. Ἱμεραῖαν, is the conjecture of Casaubon; Ὑκαρεῖαν, that of Schweighauser. The MSS. vary between ημεριον, ἡμέριον, and ἡμερίον. The conjecture of Casaubon's seems correct, for it is well known how frequently an i gets interchanged with an η. As to the meaning, I think Anaxandrides might have used the term "Himeræan" vaguely for "Sicilian." Schweighauser departs more from the letters which appear in the MSS. Abresch, who is followed by Meineke, conjectures ἡμετέρειον, which is defended by the latter by a reference to Anacreon, *Fragm.* 75; but until a passage can be brought forward to support this form, from some other than a Lyric writer, I think it better not to introduce it here by conjecture.

3. καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμέτερον ἦν παίρνιον,—Meineke.

4. Λαγίσκων, τότε ἦν | καὶ Θεολύτη κτλ,—Meineke.

The books have Λαγίσκη. ἦν δὲ τότε. I therefore prefer Dindorf's mode of dividing the lines, which I have adopted in the text, with one slight alteration, viz.: ἦν μὲν τότε for ἦν δὲ τότε, which does not satisfy the metre.

7. Meineke prints the line thus:—

ὑπέφαν' ἐσομένη δ' Ὀκμιον λαμπρὸν πᾶν,

with a comma at καλή. This makes δ' the third word in the sentence.

Dindorf edited it thus:—

ὑπέφαν' ἐσομένη
 δ' Ὀκμιον λαμπρὸν πᾶν,

with no comma at καλή.

I approve of this last method, and I think ἦν must have dropped off before δ', so as to bring out the antithesis between ἦν μὲν τότε and ἦν δ' Ὀκμιον.

XII. Ennius ap. *Cic. de Orat.* i. 45, 199, (ed. Orelli); v. 1; read,—

Suārum rerum incerti: quos ego mea ex ope.

Poeta ap. *Eund.* ii. 67, 274, read,—

Quāmdiu ad aquas fūvit, numquamst mórtnos.

Naevius, *ibid.* c. 69, 279. This line seems to have been a trochaic tetrameter catalectic, thus:—

A. Quid ploras patér? B. Mirum ni cántem; condemnátu' sum.

Pacuvius,¹ *ibid.* III. c. 58, 217, read,—

‘Ecqui hoc animadvórtit? Uincite.

The common reading is *ecquis*, which is contrary to the metre. The form *ecqui* ought to be restored in many passages where *ecquis* now stands in the text; for instance, in Plaut. *Bacchid.* 4. 1. 9, 10, 11 :—

Foris pultare nescis. ‘Ecqui his in aédibust?

Heus *écquis* hic est? ‘Ecqui hoc aperit óstium?

Ecqui éxit? P. Quid istuc? Quae istaec est pultatio?

The Vulgate text has *ecquis* for *ecqui* in every place. Hermann, in his edition, has restored the true form.

So in *Capt.* 4, 2, 50, in the midst of a scene of trochaic lines, Lindemann gives us the iambic line,

Heus, heús, ubi estis? ‘Ecquis hoc aperit óstium?

Now this interposition of an iambic among trochaic lines seems to me so doubtful, that I should propose to read,

Heús, heus, ubi estis? — — — ‘Ecqui hoc aperit óstium?

In *Trinumm.* 4, 2, 28, the form *ecqui* is required by the metre :—

‘Aperite hoc, aperíte. Heus, *ecqui* hic fóribus tutelám gerit?

Poeta, *ibid.* § 217, read,—

‘Omnia hæc uidi ínflammari, Príamo ui uitam éuitari.

Ibid. read,—

Tíbi ferebat; quóm simulabat álteri sesé dare.

XIII. Æsch. *Pers.* 320, seqq. :—

Ἀμυστρὶς Ἀμφιστρεὺς τε πολὺπονον δόρυ

νωμῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι

πένθος παρὰσχών, κ.τ.λ.

Porson (*Supplem. ad Præfat. Hecub.* p. 33, ed. 2. Scholef.) finds two difficulties in the second line; first, the spondee and cæsura in the fifth foot; secondly, that the sense is not clear, because Ariomardus, in v. 38, was called the prefect of Thebes. He therefore reads,—

Νωμῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος

. Σάρδεσι

πένθος παρὰσχών.

¹ Compare II. 46.

Blomfield, in his edition of the *Persæ*, adopts this method. Porson afterwards filled up the lacuna thus:

Νημῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος, ἀρδέων
Βολαῖσι πιστὸς, Μιτραγάθης τε, Σάρδεσιν
Πένθος παρασχών.

With all deference to Porson's opinion, I think the line can be corrected in a much simpler manner than by supposing a lacuna, thus:

Νημῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος ἄρδεται
πένθος παρασχών.

My only wonder is how Porson, who actually used the word ἀρδέων, could overlook so obvious a correction. Æschylus uses the word ἄρδεις in *Prom.* 878:

ἐλελεῦ ἐλελεῦ, ὑπὸ μ' αὖ σφάκελος
καὶ φρενοπληγεῖς μανίαι θάλπουσ',
οὔστρου δ' ἄρδεις χρεῖαι. μ' ἄπυρος.

As does also Herodotus, I. 215: ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμᾶς, καὶ ἄρδεις, καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται.

Therefore I do not feel the difficulty that Scholefield seems to feel, in introducing it here; and it is supported by the fact that the Guelph. MS. has ὁ ἄρδεται instead of Σάρδεσι.

XIV. Æsch. *Pers.* 359:

ναῶν ἐπανθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε.

So Dindorf, Blomfield, Wellauer, with the exception that Blomfield gives νεῶν for ναῶν.

The Medicean and seven other MSS., and Robortellus' edition, have ἐπανθορόντες. Turnebus, with a part of the MSS., edited ἐπανθορόντες. Aldus' edition has ἐπανθορῶντες. I think we ought to keep the reading of the best MSS. ἐπανθορόντες. It makes little difference to the sense; but as they have the form with the α, I do not see why we should go out of our way to choose that with the ε.

XV. Æsch. *Choeph.* 350:

τέκνων τε καλεσέθους ἐπιστραπτὸν αἰῶνα κτίσας,

and in the *Antistrophe*, v. 367:

πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες νιν οὕτως δαμῆναι.

So the lines stand in Dindorf's text, who, in his Notes, bids us read the lines thus:

τέκνων τ' ἐν καλεύθοις ἐπιστρεπτόν αἰῶ | κτίσας,

and

πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες νιν οὕτως δαμῆναι | . . .

supposing a lacuna of two syllables in the latter line, and defending the form αἰῶ in the former, by a gloss in Bekker's *Anecdota Græca*, p. 363, 17,—αἰῶ τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν Αἰσχόλος εἶπεν. T' ἐν καλεύθοις is a correction of Wellauer's for τὰ καλεύθοις.

Now in the first line all the manuscripts have the Homeric form κτίσας; κτίσας appears only in Robortellus' edition; and in the second οὕτως δαμῆναι, which was first altered into οὕτω δαμῆναι by Porson.

In the latter line, I have no doubt some part of the verb ὀφείλω is to be restored; the Scholiast says λείπει τὸ ὄφελον. I therefore propose to read the passages thus:

τέκνων τ' ἐν καλεύθοις ἐπιστρεπτόν αἰῶνα κτίσας,

and

πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες νιν οὕτως ὀφελλον δαμῆναι.

The presence of the *ς* in οὕτως seems to indicate that a word commencing with a vowel originally followed; and if Æschylus used the Homeric form κτίσας (as I think is pretty clear from the consent of the MSS. he did,) in the Strophe, why might he not also use the Homeric form ὀφελλον in the Antistrophe?

Il. i. 352 seqq.:

μήτηρ, ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἔόντα,
τιμὴν πέρ μοι ὀφελλον Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξει,
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης.

If the word ὀφελλον be not considered admissible, we might read ὄφειλον, in which the omission of the augment is defensible by the following passages:—

Æsch. Pers. 915:

εἴθ' ὄφελς, Ζεῦ, καὶ μετ' ἀνδρῶν
τῶν οἰχομένων
θανάτου κατὰ μῶρα καλύφαι.

Soph. Aj. 1192 (1171, ed. Herm.):

ὄφελς πρότερον αἰθέρα δύναι μέγαν ἢ τὸν πολύκοινον Αἴθαν
κεῖνος ἀνὴρ, ὅς κ.τ.λ.

Eurip. *Med.* 1413, (1410 Porson; 1380 Elmsl.):

οὐς μήποτ' ἐγὼ φύσας ὄφελον
πρὸς σοῦ φθιμένους ἐπαδέσθαι.

In all these places the *best* MSS. have the above readings; those of lesser note, however, and some of the editions, have forms with the augments, contrary to the metre; and the ingenuity of modern critics also has been exercised to get rid of these offensive non-augmented forms.

All these examples, however, are of the *aorist*, and not the *imperfect*; and as the former tense was the most usual in such phrases, and moreover as the word supplied by the scholiast is in the *aorist*, I think the preference is to be given to ὄφελον.

R. H. S.

XI.

REMARKS ON THE USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE AFTER PARTICIPLES AND ADJECTIVES.

THE following remarks are suggested by an article in the *Classical Museum* for October last.

We are leaving out particles in English in the present time, as "directly we have done a thing." That is vulgar; but it is considered rather refined, that things which we used to *meet with*, we now only *meet*; as *approbation*. It is to be observed, that in English there is not, as in Latin, the case, or form of the inflexion, still remaining, to indicate what preposition has been left out; and Latin differs from Greek materially as to this point, because it has two cases which never are governed by prepositions at all; except the dative, in composition. The double dative after *sum*, and such a phrase as *Ingenui vultus puer*, though by no means obvious constructions, must be taken *ex vi casus* I suppose, and have never been explained by ellipses. But whether this very fact is not a proof that the construction of the language is secondary, and that we may explain it from Greek, and not merely from a supposed earlier state of itself, still less from its usual state, is a question. For it must be observed, that as to the fourth case, or ablative, its form and use make it not im-

probable that it may have branched out of the original dative. Now, if we may construe Latin from Greek, the objection as to these accusatives, that a preposition should not be understood, when it is in no one instance found inserted, ceases; for in Greek it is found inserted. Βέβληται . . . κατὰ μηρὸν ὁστῶ. The preposition is sometimes εἰς, εἰς ὧπα ἔκειτο.—Matthiæ 423.

In Latin it is undeniable that other prepositions, such as *in* and *ad*, are sometimes in and sometimes out; if not with the very same word, at least with the same meaning.

That you must not say *ad domum*, is evidently owing to the frequency of that instance having rendered it elliptical; just as we say at school, "chapel," "hall," for *the* chapel, *the* hall.

That we must not say *ad Romam*, or any proper name, is perhaps owing originally to the same principle, and partly to the extension of it conventionally; perhaps by some help from analogical grammarians in later times. For in these cases of usage we are not to expect exact consistency: you may say *in urbem*, meaning Rome itself.

If *secundum* is not the right preposition, perhaps *quoad* will do better. But I do not mean to assert that there ever was, in Latin, a preposition in these cases; at least any which are now known in the language, for there are one or two strange particles met with in old writers, as *topper*. It is enough for me that the preposition existed in Greek, and that Latin followed the elliptical form of Greek.

The full form, *ad instar*, found in older writers, shews omission going on during the known period of the language, and leaving the noun to appear (as in *chez*, *lez*, *sans*, and various instances given by Horne Tooke,) as a preposition; while sometimes it is the noun that is left out, as in the phrase *till such time as*, quite common still in popular use, shewing *till*, in the original and Scotch sense, equivalent to *to*; but it having ceased to be so, it is, in good English, left to represent now the whole phrase.

Orest. v. 606.—Ἐκοῦσαν οὐκ ἤκουσαν ἐπισείσω πόλιν Σοὶ σὴ τ' ἀδελφῇ λείψομεν δοῦναι δίκην.

Here is an instance of construction by possible omission; which I mention, because it is an answer to a note of Porson's, who remarks that *δοῦναι δίκην* here governs a dative of the person

punished, instead of the person avenged, as elsewhere.¹ It is extraordinary that he did not see that the datives are governed by ἐπισείω, when his mind had so recently been reminded of the most remarkable passage in his favourite author :

ὦ μῆτερ, ἔκατέω σε, μὴ ᾽πίσει μοι
τὰς αἵματωπὺς ναι δρακοντόδεις κοράς.

There is no doubt that ὥστε ὁμᾶς is understood there, (so the Scholiast,) that is, that you might have had those words inserted, and have, in other passages of the same meaning. But it does not follow that they passed through the mind of the writer. Where the full and elliptical phrase are both in use, he takes the one as he takes the other; they are two ways of expressing his meaning: and no doubt there are many cases in which we cannot be certain that the elliptical form might not have been allowed, by usage, to have the meaning, though the particle had in no such instance been inserted.

Inflexions, I apprehend, are owing to two causes: 1. The corruption and absorption of prepositions, pronouns, and other suffixes. 2. The taking advantage of variety in form, to appropriate one form to one meaning, and another to another;—a thing which, in the *Dictionary*, recurs constantly, and which has been introduced in English into common use in one instance since I can recollect, *despatch* and *dispatch*.

Now, in the first case, the pronoun might not always have been used in the same sense; however true it may be that the μὲν in the passive form means *me*, I cannot think that it always meant *me* in the accusative, governed transitively by the verb preceding it, but that it meant, or came to mean, the first person generally; otherwise we must suppose that the more unusual exigency of the middle, or reciprocal meaning, was provided for before the more usual, of the simple passive; of

¹ Porson's expression is, that it means here *jus dare vel reddere*, instead of *pœnas solvere*, as usual. The punctuation in the Variorum edition of 1821, is still after αἰλ., not ἀδελφῶν, though the Latin interprets as the Scholiast.

But, is P. right as to *jus dare*? *Jus dare* seems to mean, to give power. *Jusque datum sceleris canimus*. Lucan. *Jus datum luxurie*. Seneca, *ib. cit.* Inque

diem alipedum jus et moderamen equorum (petam.) Ovid. Probably owing to the particular expressions *dare jus civium*, *Italicum*, &c., *Jus reddere* or *dicere* has the meaning P. gives it.

Jura dare, on the other hand, means to give laws, or exercise power or jurisdiction. *Dantem jura Catonem*. *Per populos dat jura*. *Jura domosque dabant*. *Jura dabit legesque viria*.

which, after all, it may be considered as a branch, and more naturally than a branch of the active: If I kill myself, I am killed: the truth is not complete, but the expression is complete; which it is not if I had said, I kill; and that applies to the instances given in the article from Virgil, they are all *true*, as passives. *Excutior somno, in arma feror, induitur galeam, conduntur in alvo, mala gramina pastus, ferrum cingitur, fit particeps.* None of them *need* be reciprocally construed.

On the other hand, it may be said, that $\mu\alpha$ in the passive meaning is still the accusative, but with a different nominative before the verb. *He beats me.* However, in the active voice, we must admit the principle of suffix pronouns which I have stated; and the whole verb in μ , passive in its form in the first person singular at least, and, as some think, in the second and third, differs in no way in its meaning from the form in ω . This is remarkably the case in one common instance; for $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\mu$ has not its neuter or reciprocal meaning of *standing*, till it takes its passive termination.

What I call the second principle, is surely undeniable in the passive aorists in $\eta\nu$. I take it to be the cause of those English preterites and plurals, which turn upon the vowel only.

It is plain that the second principle may operate where the first has previously operated. That is, the variation of form which is afterwards conventionally used for an appropriation *raisonnée*, may have originally had a cause, and that cause the first principle.

In short, I take a Latin deponent, generally speaking, to belong to the second principle, and to be accidental.

If the same word exists in σ , and has the same meaning, that is, where the form in σ is neuter, (by the by, there are neuters absolutely passive in their meaning, as, *vapulo*,) or the deponent transitive, it must be so; as in the very instances given:—*comitor* and *abominator*, and probably *expurgator*; *commentor* is doubtful.

The middle form in Greek, as commonly considered, is not only in part the passive, and therefore apparently merely another application of it, but some of its peculiar tenses were formerly used as passive, as—

ἀλλ' ὅγε τερψάμενος νείτται, καὶ πλείονα εἰδώς.

I am not convinced that the past passive participle in Latin

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has ever a reciprocal meaning, so as to account for the accusative; and the adjective, of course, could not have; so that one would think one principle for both would have been better, and not two.

The only instances given of adjectives are in Greek, where there is no objection to supply *κατά*.

In Latin we have

Lacerum crudeliter ora.
Cristis capita alta corusci.

How does the principle differ from what it would have been if it were *laceratum*?

The reciprocal sense, in the participles quoted, is of both kinds; the primary, governing the agent back again as an accusative; and the secondary, as in—

ἕρως ὅξυ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ.

Here are some instances of participles.

Colo calathisque Minervæ Fœmineas assueta manus.
Chlamydem circumdata limbo.
Nodoque sinus collecta fluentes.
Vultum demissa.

These may be construed, by possibility, reciprocally, but why *must* they?

Palmis percussa lacertos; is stronger, certainly. *Suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto*, (C. M.) strongest of all. But you get, I conceive, to extreme cases from others, and by coming to consider a general meaning applicable to all, though not exactly that which you set out from; viz.—*Cui ora lacera erant*; *cui chlamys circumdatur limbo*; and so, *cui loculi suspensi erant*. *Having the satchels suspended*, but not necessarily in fact or in grammar, *having suspended the satchels*. The passive voice strictly applies, where the accusative is part of the person, as *palmis percussa lacertos*; it is stretched, where it is only an adjunct of the person, as *loculos*. *Inscripti nomina regum*, is like; still, *the flowers*, are inscribed: *sed qu.*

There is no instance given in the *Class. Mus.* where there is any occasion to infer that the participle “has a tendency to subside into a mere active;” as if *suspensus loculos lacerto* were applied to hanging *another boy's satchel on his arm*. The secondary middle sense, known in Greek, is sufficient for all.

In Greek, *τεπήμενοι ἄλλοι*: to call this reciprocal, or middle, is perverse. Or, *πλήρη φρένας ἄς πάρος εἶχεν*. But in *τὸν, ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκακομένον*, &c. of Philip, in Demosthenes, it is impossible. So, *ἐλέφαντι φαίδιμον ὦμον κακαδμένον*. Pind.

Interfusa nitentes Vites æquora Cycladas, is a different question altogether. That is *inter fusa*: the accusative is governed by the *inter*.

Verbs of clothing, (see the Grammars,) are perhaps analogous; and perhaps the intermediate point from whence *Suspensi*, &c. advances its further step. *Induitur galeam*: *ἐπιτίθεναι ἄλκην*: where there is a double accusative in the active.

Δέμας πυρός: and *δίχην*: are like *instar*. Would you put in a preposition there?

Buttmann's larger *Greek Grammar*, 131, 6: "The accusative frequently, in Greek, denotes only a part, circumstance, or more definite object, to which a general assertion is limited." His instance of the last is, *θανυμαστόν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου*. Also, in the names of games, *νικῆν Ὀλύμπια*. "This is the well known construction so frequently imitated by the Latin poets; ex. gr. '*os humerosque Deo similis*.' In English this often requires a prep. like *by*, &c., and even in Greek the *prep.* *κατὰ* is frequently used in such cases with the *accus.* Hence the commentators often supply *κατὰ* in such instances, as if it had been omitted. But it is better for the learner to accustom himself to consider the *accus.* by itself, as the case of the more remote object in Greek. Very often it is not even possible to specify the exact Greek *prep.* which in that instance governed precisely that case. All the three oblique *casus* are used in Greek in the way stated."

Zumpt says, § 25, "Some passives acquire the character of deponents through the reflective sense which belongs to the passive." (See his preceding page, but where his instances, I think, are like the instances in the *Class. Mus.*)

The instances he gives here are, *proficiscor*, of which I see no proof. On the contrary, *proficisco* was used in the same neuter sense. And *vescor*, which is supported by Tertullian's expression, "*Quis nos vescet carne?*" Forcell.

In § 69, 4, he gives us this passage, *Gryneus eruitur oculos*,—*Ov. Met.* xii. 269, (which is not reciprocal.)

Scheller, ii. 167, quotes instances of reciprocal passives, which, as quoted, do not appear to be necessarily so. "*Nequis invitus civitate*

mutetur." Cic. *Balb.* 13; i. e. *exeat, ejicietur, privetur.* The two last of the very explanations he gives, shew that it is not reciprocal. He does not *change himself*; for it would be too refined, I think, to say that because Cicero uses the word *invitus*, therefore he would have used the same passive, if it had not been involuntary.

But once for all, in all lexicons, grammars, and every where, people are too apt to say that word A means B, because you *might* put B in its place in particular cases, without loss to the mere broad matter of fact meaning of the sentence.

I have referred to ten editions of Horace, including the second *Henricopetrine*, *Zeunius*, and *Schrevelius's Bond.* The old Scholiast says, "*suspensos loculos habentes.*" This is repeated by several other editors. Cruquius says, "*enallage passivi pro activo, pro suspendentes,*" which agrees with the *Class. Mus.* Nothing else is to be found upon the passage in any of these editions.

"*Ἀγνωστος: φωνὰν ψευδέων ἄγνωστος.* Pind. *Olymp.* 6. str. 4, is not a deponent participle, but a verbal; else, it would not govern a genitive. So it is not much to the purpose.

"*Τὰ χρημάτων ἐνεχυράζομαι.* Νεφ. 241. is a somewhat remote extension of the adjunct, (ap. *Matthiæ.*)

C. B.

XII.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEMS OF THE ENGLISH AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGES.

PART III.

THE third and last class of mute consonants still remaining for our consideration and comparison, is that of *the Dentals or T sounds.* I have already hinted that they are the *last class*, not from a merely logical point of view, but on account of undeniable facts, taken from history and physiology.

Such an historical fact, for instance, is preserved to us in the *old Egyptian language.* In Bunsen's *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. I. p. 325, the following list of mutes is given:

Labials: 'b, f, p.

Gutturals: x, χ.

Dentals: t.

All three classes, we see, have *tenuis*, two have *tenuis aspirates*, the labial class alone has a *media*; not the single *media* b, but the *media aspirate* 'b or bh. From this we may safely draw the following conclusions: *first*,—that the labial class, as being the most advanced, must be the oldest, and the dental class, as the least developed, the most recent: *and further*,—that the *tenuis*, as common to all three classes, must needs be the eldest or first development or degree in each class, and the beginning and foundation-stone of the whole mute consonantism. From the *tenuis* must have sprung the *tenuis aspirates*, and from these the *mediæ aspirates*. There is no simple *media* yet in the old Egyptian. The later *mediæ*, then, must have sprung from *mediæ aspirates* or from vowels. The old Etrurian language affords another historical proof to the very same purpose. Mr. Dennis, in his *Cities and Cimeteries of Etruria*, vol. i. Introd. xlv, gives the Etruscan alphabet confronted with the Greek.

Labials: π, φ, to which must be added the digamma, a sound nearly related to w, if not the same as Egyptian 'b or bh.

Gutturals: α, χ, (always = kh, the *tenuis aspirate*.)

Dentals: τ, θ, (= th, *tenuis asp.*)

The only difference, then, between the mute consonantism of the Egyptian and Etruscan languages, consists in the Etruscan having developed its dental *tenuis* to a *tenuis aspirate*,—a fact more to confirm the existence of the great organic law in the primary development of the mutes. For, to state it at once, in searching after the reason why Grimm's law or the Gothic change of letters took place, in that well known order, from *tenuis* to *aspirate*, and from *aspirate* to *media*, I found it in following up the course of every oldest language, developing its mutes in that same order, *tenuis*, *aspirate*, *media*; besides the order of classes, labials, gutturals, dentals. And lastly, the reason why every primitive language followed this order, and no other, must lie in the human organization. I see it in the gradual growth of the organs of speech, in the order which that growth follows, and the power the child gets over the organs by its gradual natural use of them. The sucking child uses first the lips; labial sounds are the first that a child is able to utter: *papa*. When brought to some stronger food than milk, palate and throat get more practice than before, and the child next becomes able to produce and imitate gutturals. There is a period where infants enjoy to say and repeat the syllable *kah*. The organs of the

dentals, the teeth, come last of all. The first use infants usually make of them in sounding, is to say and repeat the syllable tah. If now, at that period, we try to make a child pronounce fah instead of pah, the nearest approach it will come to in imitating our fah, will be phah; that is, p followed by a strong breathing, and the pure vowel ah. It will be the same with the other classes. The mediæ sounds are very difficult for children to pronounce: they very often have attained great facility in speaking without being able to pronounce a pure or clear media sound. At the end of words, almost all mediæ, for some time, are changed by them into tenuous. This circumstance in the development of our organs of speech is the foundation of an important rule in Sanscrit, as stated by Bopp, *Sanscr. Gramm.* § 56: "In respect to gutturals, linguals, (cerebrals,) dentals, and labials, the fundamental law is, that tenuous only can be employed at the end of words; aspirates and mediæ must be changed into tenuous of their respective organs." In German also the same holds good in practice throughout the lower classes of Germany, although it goes against the grammar they are taught. They are generally conscious of their faulty pronunciation; and it happens, that when they wish or attempt to give it up, and to imitate the language of the well educated, they usually begin with pronouncing almost every tenuous as media. There must be a feeling in them that the media is the most refined (and therefore the last) of all mutal sounds.

The tenuous is the product of a rough, hard, artless compression or contraction of the respective organs. *The primitive aspirate* is already a sort of compound, but of very simple ingredients, viz., the tenuous and a strong breathing. *The media*, on the contrary, is a very artificial product. The compression of organs, as employed in pronouncing a tenuous, is to be reduced to one fourth, which a child would not be able to do without having acquired first by practice a certain control over its organs of speech. The column of air, which in the tenuous compression will follow its natural turn, and weigh upon the respective organs, till it be allowed to rush out with the pronunciation of the tenuous, is in the media compression, not without some effort, kept back and driven into the nasal cavern. This last circumstance gives the media, when pronounced, a sort of nasal character; it makes the media *vocal*, or, as Sanscrit grammarians say, *sonant*.

The history, then, of the development of the primitive languages has been, and ever will be, acted over and over again by every human being that enjoys the natural development of its organs of speech. There can be *no general law in human speech, that is not founded upon a law or a fact in our human organization; and if so, it must grow up with every child.* The Goths could not change their letters in any other way or order than they did, because the mother language had grown up in that way and order; and both the Goths and the primitive nations could not do otherwise, because every individual among them had within himself his organs of speech grown or growing up in the very same way and order.

The foregoing remarks, which I hope soon to be able to give in a fuller form, and in connection with the whole system of articulate sounds, may also explain a highly interesting fact lately stated by J. Grimm, *History of the German Language*, vol. I. p. 346:—"For both questioning and answering, the media seems originally not to have been thought the proper degree; the more lively, restless *tenuis* was employed for that purpose.

"The Sanscrit, Zend, Latin, Lithuanian, Slavonian, Erse and Finnic, ask with K, and answer with T; while the Greek, Oscean, and Welsh, have an interrogative P and a demonstrative T;" *i. e.* their interrogatives begin with p, and their demonstrations with t. As:

Sansc.	kas ká kim ?
Zend.	kas' ká kat ?
Lat.	quis quæ quid ?
Lith.	kas ka ?
Er.	cia cá ?
Finn.	ku and kuka ?
Slav.	kto (originally quis hic ?)
Gr.	τίς τί instead of τίς τί;
Osc.	pis, pid ?
Welsh.	pwy, pa ? (quis, quid.)

The root of the demonstrative is *ta* throughout. See Bopp, *Comp. Gramm.* § 343.

With our view on the development of the mutes, it is easy to discover at once the reason for that highly remarkable fact. The answer could not be given in any other sound but T, because it is the last product of the mind. As answer is preceded

by question, so T by K, dentals by gutturals. Before children put their questions, they first call up to pay them attention. These calls naturally will be given with P, as papa. Seven out of the ten languages mentioned confirm this theory; in three of them the calling or appellative consonant P has become—and very naturally too—the interrogative consonant. But the answering or demonstrative consonant is in all of them, without exception, T.

It cannot be difficult for us to judge whether Mr. Donaldson's theory about the development of the Hebrew sounds be founded upon any historical or physiological fact, and whether his severe remark on Ewald be just or not. In his *Maskil le-Sopher, or the principles and processes of Classical Philology applied to the analysis of the Hebrew language*, lately published, we read, p. 7: "That the aspirates are derived from the medials, and not, as in Greek, from the tenues, appears as well from internal probability, as from the connections which we observe between the medials, the aspirates, and the liquids, and from which connections the tenues are generally excluded. . . . And generally it may be shown that the aspirates are simply the medials with h prefixed, while the tenues are subsequent formations with which the liquids are not unconnected." And in note 5, on the same page, he says: "To suppose, as *Ewald* does, (*Ausführl. Lehrb.* § 31, 6,) that d and z spring from t, because the Indo-Germanic languages prefer the tenuis articulation, is to give but little evidence of one's philological tact and discrimination." Professor Ewald certainly ought not to have said, 'because of the Indo-Germanic languages,' but "because that change is an organic law of the human race, it is founded in the human organism; and though hidden and unknown, is yet working at all epochs, and defying every resistance or alteration."

Mr. Donaldson is besides in contradiction with himself: P. 4, he divides the Semitic languages into six classes, the Aramaic, Phœnician, Egyptian, Hebrew, Arabic, Æthiopic. "The oldest of them," he says, "is undoubtedly the Aramaic; next to this should be placed the old Egyptian. The Hebrew stands perhaps in the third place (if not in the fourth or fifth,)" &c. The Egyptian, at any rate, is to him the older sister of the Hebrew. But then, how is it possible to make his consonantal theory agree with that fact? How is it possible that those medial sounds, which do not exist in the older languages, should be

the oldest formation, and the fundamental sounds in the younger language; and that the *tenuis* sounds, which he calls secondary formations of the younger language, should be the first and principal sounds in the older language? If, on the contrary, we consider the *tenuis* to be the first formation, and the *mediæ* the last one, it is but natural in itself, and consistent, to think, that the older *tenuis* are found in the older language, and that the younger *mediæ* are found only in the younger language, but built upon the older *tenuis* formation. These remarks apply also to J. Grimm, Graff, Krüger, &c., who make the *media* the foundation-stone of the consonantal system. If it were so, indeed, how could there be any language without *mediæ*? Yet, as we have seen already, one of the oldest languages of which we have any documents, and by which alone we are enabled to determine historically what degree of consonants ought to be considered the foundation of the whole system—the old Egyptian—has not so much as one perfect *media*, neither has the Etruscan.

I have to mention yet some facts which receive their explanation from what I have stated in the beginning, viz. *that the dental series is the last.*

1. The *great regularity* with which most of the dental anlauts change through all three degrees in the Indo-European languages. See Grimm's *History of the German Language*, vol. I. p. 414, ff. The more modern a formation is, the more regular also, in the modern sense of the word.

2. The *small number of dental anlauts* we have from the older languages for comparison with the younger ones. The cognate nations must have separated before the dentals had reached their full growth.

3. The *great number of dental In—and Auslauts.* As such, the dentals are not only suffixes for the formation of substantives, adjectives, participles, ordinals, local adverbs, but found even in roots as modifying the nonconsonantal primitives. This power and use of *t* is fundamentally connected with the demonstrative root *ta*, which, as we have seen above, was first of all used to give answers, to determine. In old Egyptian, where no other dental degree but the *tenuis* is developed, it is used already to form transitives from neuters or substantives, yet not as suffix, but as prefix, e. gr. *aan* (glory,) *ti-aan* (to glorify, to praise,)—Bunsen's *Ægyptien*, vol. I. 335.

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4. *The great variety of dental and lingual sounds* in most languages. In forming *d*, the formative element or principle had come to its natural term. But as long as there is any life in a language, it will attempt to produce new sounds, or to change the old ones. This shows itself naturally first in the dentals. The Indian cerebrals or linguals, a new class of dentals altogether, owe their origin to that principle. When the Sanscrit people had come to the full development of their articulate sounds, and in that to a sort of stand-still, there was in the lower classes, as is usually the case, still much vitality of language, much energy and consciousness of nationality, increased or stimulated no doubt by new intruded elements, taken or received from surrounding nations. At that period the cerebrals sprung up among the Prācrit populations. Sanscrit was still living, and obliged to follow, though unwillingly, the general progress of speech, and to change many of its original dentals into cerebrals. This last class has been until now the favourite class of mutes throughout all the Sanscrit dialects of India, and is quite peculiar to them. Hardly any old Sanscrit root is found with a cerebral anlaut, and if so, the same root is also found with a dental anlaut; but in the middle and at the end of words, cerebrals seem to be more frequent than dentals.

5. It also explains why *the decay of any language shows itself first and principally in the dental series*. As the last growth of a tree—the leaves die off first, when decay is beginning, so the dentals, when disintegration of a language is about to take place. The history of languages is the history of nations; both their rise and fall succeed each other, according to general laws founded in nature. In languages, the law for their growth and rise may be called *the law of organisation*. This law, as conjointly exhibited in the Classic, Gothic, and High German languages, is usually called Grimm's law; but we have shown already that it goes beyond the Sanscrit, beyond the old Egyptian; it lies in the human organism. *The law of disorganisation* is particularly visible in the Prācrit¹ and in the Romanic dialects, the ruins of the Sanscrit and of the Latin and Greek languages; it is working now in almost every modern language. If given in a tabular form, it would stand thus:—

¹ See Lassen's *Institutiones Præriticae*, § 43.

Tenuis.	Mediæ.	—
t	d	dies off.
k	g	...
p	b	...

And the bye-law for the aspirates :—

Strong aspirates.	Weak aspirate.	—
th, kh, ph, &c.	h	dies off.

Between the law of organisation and that of disorganisation there are the following differences :—1. In the former, non-aspirates and aspirates are intimately connected ; in the latter, they form two different series, as if not *tenuis* alone, but *tenuis* and strong aspirates, were the fundamental mutes.

2. The former begins with the *tenuis* in the labial class to work upon ; the latter, with the extreme *mediæ* in the dentals.

3. The former shows its vitality and character principally in the anlauts,—in the mutes at the beginning of words ; the latter hardly touches the anlauts ; but works first of all on the auslauts and inlauts.²

The reason for this second great law lies also in human nature. When a nation has, in the development of its language, come to the *mediæ* degree, or, having already *mediæ*, becomes conscious of these sounds being the most refined, people naturally will become anxious to bring as many *tenuis* as possible to this state of refinement. But while acting under the influence of this feeling, they will bestow the same degree of attention or polish on the *mediæ* as they do on the *tenuis*. The process that changes a *tenuis* into a *mediæ*, must, when applied to a *mediæ*, entirely consume the latter, e. gr. Lat. *mutare*, Span. *mudar* ; Lat. *credere*, Span. *creer*.³

At the same time the strong aspirate will be considered a rude harsh sound, and changed into the weak aspirate *h*. And here again the same power that changes a strong aspirate into a weak one, must, when applied to the weak one, entirely destroy it. The former case (the changing a strong aspirate into

² In the Pracrit dialects it is the same as in the Romanic. Lassen, l. l. § 32, 2. *Cæteræ consonantes Sanscriticæ in Pracrita retinentur, si in universum loquimur.*

³ For the Pracrit, I refer to Lassen,

l. l. § 35, 8, where he says, “ prius transire *tenuis* in *mediæ*, t in d, etc. quam elidantur, ita ut ordo sit formarum : Sanscr. *pratārayati*, Prac. *patāredi*, *pa-dāredi*, *paāredi*.”

a weak one,) is very common with Sanscrit and Pracrit,⁴ and very scarce with Latin and the Romanic; the latter (the elision of h) is very common with the Romanic, and very scarce with the Pracrit,⁵ e. gr. Sanscr. *grabh*, *grah*; Lat. *trahere*, Ital. *trarre*.

From these facts, I think I am justified in concluding that the law of disorganisation is as deeply rooted in man's constitution as the law of organisation. The one belongs more particularly to the childhood of the human race, the other more to grown up men and nations; the one applies more to the production of forms, the other more to the development of the logical mind; the one is building up, the other refining, polishing, destroying. For,

Soll der Geist frei auferstehn,
Muss die Form in Stücken gehn.

The Sanscrit dentals are: T, TH, D, DH; the vocal beginning of the series is Y, the nasal end N. The cerebrals are: t', t'h, d', d'h; the nasal end ñ (in "none," Wilson).

The English dentals are: T, TH, D, DH; the vocal beginning Y, the nasal end N. The English sound marked here by dh, is commonly called the flat th. It stands to the sharp th in the same proportion as v (bh) to f (ph). The Anglo-Saxons had two distinct simple signs for them, very well known to our readers.

The Sanscrit th and dh are not simple sounds like the English ones, but diphthongs, and pronounced according to the written letters; that is, with a clear t or d sound, followed by a strong aspiration h.

The relation existing between the English and Sanscrit dentals, is regulated by Grimm's law, i. e. English tenues answer to Sanscrit mediæ, English aspirates to Sanscrit tenues, English mediæ to Sanscrit aspirates or mediæ.⁶

⁴ Lassen, l. l. § 34. In aspiratis elisio ita est temperata, ut evanescat consonans propria, remaneat adspiratio sola, i. e. pro kh, etc., ponitur h simplex.

⁵ Lassen, l. l. § 50. H restat et eli-

sionis exempla legitima comperta non habeo.

⁶ See the former Article in the *Classical Museum*, No. xxiii. p. 47, ff.

1. *T—Anlaut.* a. *English T—Anlaut and Sansc. D.*

English.	Sanskrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Tame, v.	dam (domitum esse, domare); Gr. $\delta α μ α ῶ$, $\delta α μ α ζ ῶ$; Lat. domo, l.	tam, tamjan; Goth. tamjan	zam, zami; zahm, zähmen.
Tear, v.	dri(dissecare); Gr. $\delta ῥ ῶ$ (to skin, to flay)	teran; Goth. tairan	zeran; zehren, zerren.
Tug, tow, v.	duh (extrahere); Lat. duco	teogan; Goth. tiuhan	ziuhan; ziehn.
Teach, v. dij token, s.	(ostendere); Gr. $\delta ῑ ξ ν ν ῶ μ ῖ$, $\delta ῑ ξ η ρ$, $\delta ο ξ ῆ ῶ$; Lat. dico, 3.	tihan (statuere), tacan, tacn (signum); Goth. gateihan (nuntiare)	zihan, zeigon; zeihen, zeigen, zeichen.
Ten	das'an; Bopp. comp. <i>Gramm.</i> 318; Gr. $\delta ῑ ζ α$; Lat. decem	ten, tyn; Goth. taihun	zehan; zehn.
Tooth	dantas, dan, dat, dati, (rad. ad = adat edens, Bopp); Lat. dens, dent-is; Gr. $\delta -δ ῶ ν τ -α ς$, nom. $\delta ῶ τ ῶ ς$	tódh; Goth. tanthus	zand, zant, zan; zahn.
Toil, v.	du (vexare); Lat. doleo instead of doveo; Gr. $\delta -δ ῶ ν η$ (dolor)	Comp. Erse doilgheas (sorrow, affliction).	
Toss, v.	das (levare, to toss; Bopp).		
Tongues, dans, pl. See Tongue	dás, dás' (lædere, ferire); comp. dans' (mordere).	tanga, tang	zanga; zange.
Tease, v.	dás, dás' (lædere, ferire); comp. dans' (mordere).		—; zausen.

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English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Toy, s.	div (splendere; ludere)dyúta(lusus); Lat. jocus instead of djocus; Pott.		

b. English T—Anlaut and any other Sanscrit letter but D.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
• Tongue	jihva (lingua); Lat. lingua instead of dingua	tunga; Goth. tuggo	zunga; zunge.
True, trust	dhru (fixum esse) dhruva (certus); Lat. fretus (comp. θηρ and fera)	treova, treove; Goth. trauan (confidere)	triu, triuwi; treu, traunen.
Tear, s.	as'ru instead of das'ru; Gr. δάκρυ; Lat. lacrima (dacrima).	tæher; Goth. tagrs	zahar; zähre.

2. TH—Anlaut. a. English TH and Sanscrit T.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
That, this, the	tad, tat, tyat; Gr. τό instead of τας; Lat. id	thæt; Goth. thata	der, diu, das; der, die, das.
Thin	tan (extendere), tanu (tenuis); Gr. τείνω, τάνωω, τάνυμαι; Lat. ten-do, tenuis, tener.	dhenjan; Goth. thanjan	danjan, denjan, dunni; dehnen, dünn.
Thou	tvas, tu, tua; Gr. tú, σό; Lat. tu	thu	du.
Thole, v.	tul (tollere); Gr. τλάω, τολμάω, (to bear, to dare); Lat. tol-erare	tholian; Goth. thulan	doljan; dulden.

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English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Thirst	trish (sitire); Gr. $\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ (to be-comedy); Lat. torreo, instead of torseo	thurst (sitis); Goth. thaurs-jan (sitire), thairsan (are-facere)	darrjan (torre-re); Durst, Darre.
Thorn	triña (gramen, a-rundo); Lat. dumus, instead of dusmus	thorn; Goth. thaurnus	Dorn.
Three	tri, tryas; Gr. $\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma$; Lat. tres	thri	dri; drei.
Third	tritiya; Gr. $\tau\tau\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$; Lat. tertius	thridda; Goth. $\mathfrak{thridja}$	dritto, dritte.
Thorough, through	tiras (trans); Lat. trans	thurh; thairh	Goth. durh; durch.
Throw, thru-st, threa-d	trī (transgredi); Gr. $\tau\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$; Lat. torqueo, comp. traho	dhravan, dhreg-jan, dhræstan (torquere)	drajan; drehen, Draht (wire.)

b. English TH—Anlaut and any other Sanscrit letter but T.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Threat, s. dru (infestare);		dhrean, dhreav-jan, dhreagan (corripere, arguere)	drawjan; dro-ken.
Thun-der, s.	stan (tonare); stanayitnu (tonitru); Gr. $\Sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\mu$; Lat. tono, l. tonitru	thunor	donar; Donner, stöhnen

2. D—Anlaut. a. English D—Anlaut and Sanscrit DH.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Do, v.	dhá (ponere, dare); Gr. $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu$; Lat. do, in comp. con-do, ab-do, cre-do	dón; Goth. déths (factum)	tón; thún.

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English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Dare,	dhriśh (audere);	dearran, dyrran;	ga-tar (audeo);
durst	Gr. θράσος, θάρσος, θρασός, θαρσώ	Goth. ga-dars	dreist (audax.)
Dure, v.	dhri (fixum esse); Gr. θράω (to set); Lat. duro, l.	comp. dhruvas (certus)	turen; dauern.
Dip	dháv (lavare); Lat. lavo, instead of davo, l.	deapjan (baptizare), dufjan (mergere)	taufjan; taufen, tauchen.
Dread	dh rád (dissolvi decidere)	dræd (timor.)	
Deer	dhúsh (pulchrum, splendidum esse)	dior, deor	tiur; theuer.
Duck	d'hauk, t'auk (appropinquare) Graff.; Gr. τέγωω (to moisten)	. . .	tiuhan; tauchen, ducken (Provenc.)

b. English D—Anlaut and Sanscrit D.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Daughter	duhitri (filia); Gr. θυγάτηρ	dohtar; Goth. dauhtar	Tohtar; Tochter.
Dawn, day	dah (urere), ahan (dies) instead of dahan; Gr. δάω (to light up), δαίς (a torch); Lat. dies	dag, dæg; Goth. dags	tac, tag; Tag.
Door	dvára (porta); Gr. θύρα; Lat. fores	dur, dora; Goth. daur, daura	turi, tor; Thür, Thor.
Deal, v.	dal (findi); Lat. deleo	dæl; Goth. dails (pars)	teil, tilon, tiligon; Theil, tilgen.
Drive, v.	dru (currere), caus. dráv-ayámi (facio ut curratur); Gr. δρέμω (m-v), δραμαίνω (currere)	dræfan, dryfan; Goth. draiban	triban; treiben.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Dry, v.	drukh (arescere)	drig, drygg (aridus), dhyrr; Goth. thaursu (aridus)	truken, durri; trocken, dürre.
Drop, v.	dru (fluere)	driopan (stillare)	triufan; triefen, traufen, Tropfen.
Drone, s.	druna (apis)	dran, dræn (fucus)	treno; Drohne.
Dreary, adj.	drú (dolere, queri)	dreorig (mæstus)	truren, trurag; trauern, traurig.
Dream, v.	drai (dormire); Lat. dormio, 4.; Gr. <i>δραθαίνω</i> (to sleep)	Old Sax. dróm (somniaum)	Traum.

c. English D—Anlaut and any other Sanscrit letter but D or DH.

English.	Sanscrit.	Anglo-Saxon.	Ancient and Modern High German.
Damp	tap (urere, uri); Gr. <i>τέππα</i> (ashes), <i>θαίνω</i> (to burn); Lat. tepeo, 2.	damp	damf; dumpf, Dampf.
Dim	tam (tabescere), tamas (caligo); Lat. tenebræ instead of tembræ	dim	demar; dämern.
Dust	tust (pulvis)	dust	
Deck	tvach (tegere); Lat. tego, 3.; Gr. <i>τεχέω</i> (to build up walls)	dheccan	dekkjan; decken.

P. S.—There has just come into my hands the first part of "*Vocabularium comparativum omnium linguarum Europæarum, opera et studio Ludovici Luciani Bonaparte*. Gli esemplari sono in numero di 250, ognuno dei quali porta il numero progressivo." This first fasciculus contains a certain number of

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substantives in the 52 European languages, but without any introduction or preface. In one of the subsequent numbers of the *Classical Museum*, I shall give, as far as it is possible for me, a more detailed account of the first part or parts of this work.

B. GÄBLER.

XIII.

ON THE EARLIEST POETRY OF THE ROMANS.¹

IN the same way that the individuality of the human race offers to our notice an infinite number of varieties and gradations, so also do entire communities possess characters which are totally distinct. To fathom the characteristic features and peculiarities of a nation, is a task no less important than arduous. Nothing, however, is better calculated to aid us in its achievement, than the literature or the entire produce of a nation's mind, whether of speech or pen. "Talis hominibus oratio qualis vita" is a celebrated saying, the truth of which was recognised by the ancients themselves.² In this literature, poetry occupies an important part. By its more direct bearings upon the contemplation of the Beautiful, and by the artificial compactness of its forms of expression, it is singularly fitted to catch the reflex of a nation's mind. This is the case with the poetry of the Romans, as with that of every other nation; but more particularly with the poetry of the early Romans, in which we, as yet, find few, if any, traces of that Grecian influence which, at a later period, effected such radical changes.

We close the earliest poetry of the Romans by the time of Ennius. Ennius it was who afforded such a signal triumph to Grecian influence, in the field of Roman poetry. The earlier national rhythmic form was by him placed so entirely in the back ground, that traces of it, after his time, are rarely ever to be met with. He was born A.U.C. 515 (Varr.) at Rudia, in

¹ [Translated from the German of Dr. Streuber of Basel. (Verhandlungen der zehnten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen, Schulmänner, und Orientalisten in Basel den 29 und 30

September und 1 und 2 October 1847. Basel. 1848.) By C. K. Watson, of Trinity College Camb.]

² R. Klotz, *Lateinische Literatur-gesch.*, i. p. 260.

Calabria. Cato, as quæstor, brought him, in the year 551, from Sardinia to Rome. In the year 565, he accompanied the consul, M. Fulvius Nobilior, to the Ætolian war. He died at Rome, in his seventieth year, after he had completed his great work, the *Annals*,³ surviving Nævius by 35, and Plautus by 15 years. To make use of general terms, we may say that the period of the early Roman poetry ranges as far as the middle of the sixth century *urbis conditæ*, (550 U.C. = 204 A.C.), or, to select an historical epoch, as far as the end of the second Punic war.

Literature and poetry are no isolated phenomena in the life of a people. They stand closely connected with the entire development of art and science, which are themselves dependent on the cultivation of a nation, both in matters of policy, and also as respects its private life and religion. This we find to be pre-eminently the case in the oldest Roman poetry. All the departments of a nation's life, we here see acting and reacting the one on the other. The state, its development within, its extension without, absorbed all the powers of the citizen. Society was the leisure for the inert musings of an idle hour, where a political existence was yet to be wrestled for; when Italy was yet to be vanquished, when the power of so dread a foe as Carthage was yet to be bruised, and broken.⁴ On the other side, all the various branches of private life present a singular picture of simplicity and innocence. The only honourable employment was agriculture. A good husbandman was a *vir bonus*, and was more looked up to than men of any other craft.⁵ As re-

³ Gell. xviii. 21, § 45; G. J. Voss, *de Hist. Lat.* i. 2, and others, would read duodevigesimum instead of duodecimum. — ("Vult hoc Gellius, extremam Annalium partem, quæ ex Vargunteii divisione librum constituit duodevigesimum demum ab Ennio adjectam esse triennio ante obitum suum.") All the old editions, Rom. 1472; Venet. 1476; Paris, 1511; Colon. 1526; Lugd. 1561,—have duodecimum.

⁴ Sallust, *Catil.* 8.—"At populo Romano nunquam ea copia (scriptorum) fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat, ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat, optimus quisque

facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis benefacta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat." As regards the introduction of poetry, see Cic. *Tusc.* i. 1; iii. 2; iv. 2.

⁵ Cato in *Orat. ad Filium*, in Servius on Virg. *Georg.* i. 46. "Vir bonus est, M. fili, colendi peritus, cujus ferramenta splendent." Idem *de Re Rustica*, 16, § 56.—"Majores nostri, virum bonum cum laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam, bonumque colonum. *Amplissimo laudari existimabatur, qui ita laudabatur.*" Confer. Cic. *de Offic.* i. 42, § 151; Isidor. *Orig.* 17, 2.

gards dwellings, dress, and possessions, the most temperate frugality prevailed. At the time of Romulus, two *jugera* were thought sufficient; and after the war of Pyrrhus, and the conquest of Italy, Manius Curius stated in the assembly of the people, that dangerous was that citizen who was not content with seven *jugera* of arable land.⁶ Marriage was held to be so sacred a tie, that during the first 520 years of the city, no divorce is said to have ensued; and an adulteress, if taken *in flagrante delicto*, might be put to death with impunity by her husband.⁷

By nothing, however, was the Roman people more distinguished, than by its religious feeling. This observation has already been made by Polybius, that deep-sighted historian, who, as a young man, formed one of those 1000 Achæans, who were carried off from Greece to Italy, and kept there in custody for seventeen years.⁸ The whole being of the Romans, both in public and in private life, seemed to Polybius to be penetrated with a kind of superstitious awe (*θεοδραμονία*); and as a consequence of this religious tendency in the practical concerns of life, he instances their solemn observance of an oath, as contrasted with Greek perfidy; their scorn of corruption and dishonest gains, compared with the despicable huckstering of Carthaginian dealings. The religion, too, of the early Romans, bore as much a character of simplicity as their private life. It was a worship of the powers of nature; and, as such, was originally accompanied with the sacrifice of human beings. It was connected with the religious system of the Pelasgians. The creative power of nature, worshipped at first under the rude emblem of the Phal-lus, was subsequently personified by two leading divinities, Saturnus and Janus. The former was the god of earth, the latter of light. For a space of 170 years, up to the time of Tarquinus, the worship of the gods was conducted without images: a circumstance which, with reason, seemed so remarkable to Saint Augustine, that he brings it forward with unusual prominence.⁹

It will be readily understood, that in such a degree of culture as we have been describing, we must not look for any advance-

⁶ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 3, § 17.

⁷ Gell. iv. 3; xvii. 21, § 44; x. 23.

⁸ Polyb. vi. 56; comp. Corsses, *Origines Poësis Romanæ*. Berol. 1846.

⁹ I would here refer to the excellent

programme by Chr. Walz, *De Religione Romanorum antiquissima*. Tubing. 1845.

As regards human sacrifices, the matter seems to me to be quite clear. Corssen too has something on this subject, p. 17.

ment in the arts and sciences. As in other countries similarly circumstanced, all lore was almost entirely confined to the priesthood. They it was, who as chroniclers stood by the cradle of history, putting on record, as they did, the duties of their office, and the ritual of their divine worship. Eloquence, which afterwards exercised such giant sway, first found utterance in the orations which accompanied the funeral rites of men of renown, making so deep an impression upon the young, but which soon began to sacrifice truth to hyperbole.¹⁰ Jurisprudence, the scientific study of which was first introduced by Mucius Scævola, had its first germs in the *Leges Regiæ*, collected of yore by Sextus Papirius. And lastly, as regards language itself, the remains of the laws of the Twelve Tables, the *Columna Ros-trata* of Duilius, and a *Senatusconsultum* on the *Bacchanalia* of the year 568, U. C., which has fortunately been handed down to us,—all these serve to shew, in some degree, how meagre here too was the progress and cultivation which had been achieved.

Was it then possible for a nation, thus situated, to possess a highly cultivated poetry? Certainly not. The same spirit, the same simplicity, which filled the whole being of the people, could not fail to characterise the creations of the bard. Accordingly, throughout the whole of the old Roman poetry, we can trace one main leading feature, the impress of that religion which held dominion over every department of the nation's life. Later authors in fact made no secret of the low esteem in which poetry was held by their forefathers. If Cato's evidence may be relied upon, a poet and a trifle, were too nearly identical expressions.¹¹

I. As from the priests proceeded the most ancient records in prose, the *Annales Maximi*, so were they also the authors of the oldest poetry. As the "*prima verba poetica*" of the Romans, Varro mentions the songs of the *Salii*, which were called "*axamenta*."¹² The institution of this priesthood at Rome, which

¹⁰ This may be gathered from those well known passages, Cic. *Brut.* xvi. § 62, and Liv. viii. 40. Comp. Egger, *Latini Sermonis vetustioris Reliquia Selecta*, p. 109.

¹¹ Cato, *Carmen de Moribus*, in Gell. xi. 2.—"*Poeticæ artis honos non erat. Si qui in eâ re studebat, aut sese ad convivia applicabat, grassator vocaba-*

tur." '*Grassator*' refers of course more immediately to '*convivia*'; but the force of the juxtaposition lies in this, that both poet and epicure were occupied with trifles.

¹² The chapter on the *Salii* in Corssen, p. 15, is one of the best in the book, although it does not by any means supersede the labours of Guberneth and of Zell.

had long been established in several Italian states, as, for instance, in those of Etruria, is ascribed to king Numa, whose reign forms a sort of epoch in civilisation, as do the mythical representations of the Grecian Hercules, and of Saturnus. Their office was probably connected with the doing away of those human sacrifices, by which the wrath of the terrible Dii Novensiles,¹³ the thunder-wielding gods, was formerly appeased; as well as with the regulation of the calendar, and the new arrangement of the months according to the course of the sun. As in other Italian towns it was the worship of the leading local divinities which they conducted, so at Rome they presided over the worship of Mars, who was the progenitor of the Roman people,—not in the character of a war-god, nor under any other harsh aspect, but as the lord of nature and of plains; in which character he acquired the epithet of Silvanus, and was the object of prayer and supplication in the Ambarvalia.¹⁴ Hence, too, it was that his festival took place at spring-tide, in the month of March, the season when the powers of nature awake to new life. It consisted in a procession through the city, starting from the Palatine hill, and lasting 30 days, accompanied by a religious war-dance, in solemn measure, and the chanting of songs by single voices, and choruses, alternately. Some scanty remains of these songs have been preserved to us, by Varro and other grammarians. Their obscure and unintelligible character was proverbial, even among the ancients themselves; and the difficulty is for us so much the greater, as the text of the MSS. from which they are taken is in many respects exceedingly deficient. So that from the time of the oldest grammarian, L. Ælius Stilo, down to our own day, the ingenuity of the archæologist has been sorely taxed in decyphering their ænigmatical language.¹⁵

In close connection with the Salian songs, stand those of the Arvalian brethren.¹⁶ In them, too, the gods who preside over fields (Mars, Semones, Lares,) were implored to avert the storm and tempest from the ripening corn, and *that* at the commencement of summer, when rain and boisterous weather were most

¹³ See Ed. Gerhard *On the Divinities of the Etruscans*. Berlin, 1847. P. 3, note 16, 18, 19.

¹⁴ See the well-known prayer in Cato, *de Re Rust.* 141.

¹⁵ The most recent attempt at a so-

lution is by Theod. Bergk,—“*Commentatio de carminum Salariorum reliquiis.*” Marburgi. Programme for the winter session 1847–48.

¹⁶ See Corssen, l. l.

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to be dreaded. Fortunately, some of the proceedings of this brotherhood have come down to us from the beginning of the third century of Rome, among which is to be found the old hymn sung at the festival. It may be looked upon as the most important monument of the old religious poetry of the Romans, as it does not rest, like the remains of the Salian songs, on the corrupt text of a MS., but is engraved on a marble tablet.

II. With these sacerdotal hymns is connected the prophetic poetry, or the verses of the "Vates."¹⁷ *Vates* originally meant a seer. It was the name given to the Tuscan expositors of "prodigia," and to the precentors of the Salian priesthood, in the same way that the leader of the dance was called "præsul." The word seems, from a passage in Strabo, to be of Celtic origin; probably derived from the scalds of the north.¹⁸ *Vates*, then, became the most ancient term for poet among the Romans, and even at a subsequent period was a more honourable designation than "poeta," a word which Lucilius and Varro found it necessary to explain.¹⁹ The existence of a prophetic poetry among the Romans is beyond dispute. If with all men there exists an irresistible and inborn yearning to rend away the veil that hides the future, this was more especially the case with the singularly superstitious populations of Italy. We need but mention the incantations of the Marsians, the refined aruspicia of Etruria. As in lower Italy, the Sibyl of Cuma was known throughout the world, no less celebrated was the oracle of Faunus described by Virgil, and situated at the sacred source of Albunea, near the Tiber; whither all the tribes of Italy went for counsel in cases of doubt and difficulty. To these must be added the prophecies of those soothsaying women, with whom Italy, according to Dionysius, was overrun, and who carried on their trade not only during war, pestilence, famine,

¹⁷ Corssen, p. 17.

¹⁸ Strabo, iv. 4, § 4, p. 309. Ed. Kramer: Παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἰστίαν τρία φύλα τῶν τιμαυρίων διαφερίντως ἰστί, Βάρδου τε καὶ Οἰάντιος καὶ Δρυϊδαί. Βάρδου μὲν ἱμνεῖται καὶ ποιηταί· Οἰάντιος δὲ ἱεροσκόπος καὶ φουρτολόγος· Δρυϊδαί δὲ πρὸς τῇ φουρτολογίᾳ καὶ τὸν ἱστικὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκηῖται. The reading *οἰάντιος* is quite certain, as we know from Kramer's edition. Valerius wished to read *οἰάντιος*, to make it

tally with the *Euhages* of Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 9, 8.) But Reinesius had already pointed out the frequent interchange of *σ* and *γ*, and decided in favour of *οἰάντιος*. See Ammian. Marcellin., ed. Wagner and Erfurd, vol. II. 157.

¹⁹ Tacit. *De Orat. Dial.* c. g. Nonius s. v. *poema*, p. 428, ed. Merc.; p. 290, ed. Gerlach.; Lucilius ix. 12, p. 31, ed. Gerlach.

earthquakes, and other grievous disasters, but amid all the occurrences of everyday life.²⁰

These and such like prophecies then were at an early period committed to writing, and there were whole books of them in existence. Many passages give evidence of this fact; and it may suffice here to mention the "annosa volumina vatum" of Horace.²¹ By this expression, we must not understand the Sibylline books, which were written in Greek, but the prophecies of the Italian seers. During the second Punic war, great pains were taken to collect these books together, for the purpose of consultation. Two of them were found, composed by a certain Marcius, one of which foretold the disaster at Cannæ. Their purport is given by Livy and Macrobius in prose,²² but with somewhat of a poetical colouring; and this, together with a few scanty quotations of Festus, and a prophecy in poetic prose, foretelling the fall of Veii, constitutes all that remains to us of the prophetic poetry of the ancient Romans, those "versus quos olim Fauni vatesque eanebant."

III. A class of old Roman poetry, which at first sight seems to be completely distinct, but on closer examination proves to have some points of resemblance with the one we have just been discussing, are the celebrated convivial lays, known to us only by name, which were sung to the flute by the guests in succession at festive banquets; it has been conjectured, at funeral repasts. Their main object consisted in lauding and extolling men of renown. This custom was of great antiquity: it was current many centuries before Cato. But in Cato's own day it had ceased to prevail: nay, the ballads were no longer in existence. Their loss is very much regretted by Cicero. It is well known that the great enquirer into, and founder of Roman history, has based upon these lays that hypothesis of larger, connected epopees, which he has defended with such tenacity, and which has given rise to such dispute. Nay, Niebuhr went still further: he considered the "næniæ" as the source of these convivial lays, and actually believed that, without our being aware of it, such lays are now in our possession; for he main-

²⁰ Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* vii. 68; Corssen, p. 8.

²¹ Horat. *Epist.* ii. 1, 26, with Orelli's note. Niebuhr's *Rom. Hist.* 4th ed. p. 274, note 688.

²² Liv. xxv. 12; Macrobi. *Satur.* i. 17; Egger, (as above,) p. 110; Corssen, p. 13.

tains that the inscriptions in verse on the oldest tombs in the vault of the Scipios, were nothing more than the whole of the *nænia*, or, at any rate, the commencement of one. This is a subject quite open to argument, without any prospect of arriving at a conclusive result. We will only observe, that small as is the historical foundation for the hypothesis of these larger epopees, just as small is the evidence which history affords as to the use of *næniæ* for inscriptions on tombs. We can assuredly have no hesitation in admitting, that a certain degree of connection must have existed between the old convivial ballads and the old funeral lays, which had not as yet drivelled into the triviality of a later period: for both one and the other concurred in panegyrising the man who formed the theme of the song. Neither can it be denied, that in some of the inscriptions on the tombs of the Scipios, there are traces of a rhythmic measure, however imperfect. But the absence of all fragments will act as a hindrance to our arriving at any clear decided view of the subject.²³

IV. It yet remains for us to mention the rise of dramatic poetry. Aristotle says, in his enquiry as to the origin of poetry, (*Poet.* c. 4,) that two natural causes seem to have given birth to it,—imitation, and the pleasure which imitation affords: from these proceeded harmony and rhythm. The further development of them, and, through them, of poetry itself, he attributes to the *αὐτοσχεδιάσματα* (fortuita et subita dictio, oratio, Tac. *Dial.* 10; Cic. *de Orat.* i. 33,) that is, the ready wit, the improvised jest, the inspiration of the moment. There is no doubt that this holds for Greek poetry; though Aristotle perhaps ought not exactly to have said, that tragedy and comedy took their origin from these rude essays and impromptus, but rather from the combination of epic and iambic poetry (the Dithyramb and the Phallic songs.²⁴) And the same theory may readily be applied to the poetry of the Romans. The origin of all poetry whatsoever is no technical process: it is the creation, not of highly cultivated poets, but of the people.

As, in Greece, dramatic poetry is said to have been started at the vintage feasts, celebrated in honour of the God Dionysus,

²³ Corssen's objections to the views expressed by me on this subject (*De inscriptionibus quæ ad numerum Saturnium referuntur*;) have not convinced

me. I have, however, made a few modifications in this place.

²⁴ Spengel on *Arist. Poet.* 4; *Zeitschr. für Alterthumsk. Decemb.* 1841.

so, in Italy, the Fescennine verses. The cultivation of vines, and agriculture, are the means by which the most indispensable necessities of daily life are produced, and are, in themselves, a very considerable advance out of a rude state of nature towards the more normal conditions of civilized life. The Roman poets (Tibullus, Virgil, Horace) furnish us with very graphic descriptions of the simple character of these harvest festivals. The joy occasioned by a copious ingathering, disposes the husbandman for the merry glee, the dance, and jocund mirth. Amid all this, however, he does not forget to shew his gratitude towards those gods who have bestowed these blessings upon him, and in token thereof, a sacrifice is offered up at the altar. For no one, so much as the husbandman, feels his dependence on a higher power.

Horace traces back the Fescennine verses immediately to these harvest festivals. The most accurate account, however, of the rise of the dramatic poetry of the Romans is furnished us by Livy, in a passage which has given rise to a great deal of comment. The first impulse was given by politico-religious motives; the object being to free the city from a pestilence which was raging in the year 389, U. C. In order to appease the wrath of heaven, some Tuscan performers (*ludiones*) were brought from Etruria. These executed a religious dance, accompanied simply by the flute, without any song, or pantomime of any description. This national dance had something peculiar about it, and was not without its beauties. According to Mueller's view, it was brisk and impetuous, not solemn and measured; if, at that early period, we cannot suppose it to have acquired the artificial refinement of the Greeks, with whom the rhythm was in perfect harmony with the movements of the dance.²⁵ As there are undeniable traces of the existence of Græco-Etruscan tragedies, it has been conjectured that these performers, who were sent for from Etruria, might possibly have left out the dialogue, when they got to Rome, as it would there have been unintelligible; especially as in the further development of these scenic games by Roman youths, words were actually added.²⁶ For we are told that the youth of Rome were induced to give imitations of these performances, in which they intro-

²⁵ Müller, *Etruscans*. II. p. 214.

²⁶ Welcker, *Die Griechisch-Römische*

Tragedie, p. 1341, not. 16. Comp. p. 1329, sqq.

duced jocose dialogues, with suitable mimetic gestures to increase the effect.

These rude improvised verses bore the name of Fescennine, that is, gibing, bantering verses. For the origin of the name must not be derived, as the old grammarians state, from the Etrurian town, Fescennia, or Fescennium; but rather from the word *fascinum*.²⁷ The most important feature which they presented, was the colloquial language, which was introduced on all similar occasions, as in the triumphal processions, when the soldiers indulged in banterings of the same nature.²⁸ In agreement with the theory already mentioned, of the existence of a Græco-Etruscan tragedy, another celebrated scholar gives it as his opinion, that in the case of the Fescennine verses, we may go somewhat further than Livy, who tells us that the youth of Rome were the first to combine these bantering dialogues with the orchestric performances of the Etruscan histriones, and assumes that in Etruria, the Fescennina (like the Sicilian mimes) had already been brought upon the stage, and in some degree combined with dances.²⁹ Although there is not much which can be urged against this hypothesis, we are prevented from coming to any decision on the subject, for want of any definite evidence.

But the development did not stop with the Fescennine verses, for from them issued a new sort of poetry, more nearly akin to the drama, the Scenic Saturæ.³⁰ Practice gave readiness and ingenuity: native artists, called histrions from the Tuscan *hister*, took the matter in hand, and shaped the dialogues, which had formerly been the impromptu of the moment, into an artificial whole, adopting a more severe musical measure, arranging the singing to the accompaniment of the flute, and introducing suitable mimetic gestures. Thus arose the Saturæ, in which all the various phases of rural life were exhibited in confused succession, and in which dialogue, song, and dances, were all mixed up together. Whether the name is derived from the

²⁷ Bernhardt, *Grundriss der Röm. Literatur*. p. 69, not. 114; Zell, *Ferenschriften*, p. 128; Klotz, *Lat. Literaturgesch.* i. p. 292; Corssen, p. 128. The analogy of the Atellanæ, from the town Atella, is, however, in favour of the views of the grammarians, (Paul. Diac. p. 85, Müller; Serv. on Virg. *Æn.* viii. 695).

²⁸ Müller, *Etruscans*, ii. p. 284.

²⁹ Müller, *Etruscans*, ii. p. 282; and on the influence of Grecian taste on the Atellanæ, see his *History of Greek Literature*.

³⁰ Gerlach on Lucil. p. xcvi.; Corssen, p. 146.

omnigenous and mixed character of the performances, or from the great variety of fruits in the sacrificial platters, the offering up of which was accompanied, as in the old Fescennina, with jests and gibes, is a question which we do not venture to decide; the latter, however, seems to us to be the most probable conjecture of the two.

Hitherto we have had under our notice three different steps in the history of the development of Roman dramatic poetry. 1. The religious dance of the Etruscan performers, without song or mimetic gestures, but to the simple accompaniment of the flute. 2. Fescennine verses, shapeless and uncouth, alternate improvisations with suitable gestures. 3. The *Satura*, performed by trained *histrios*, and brought on to the stage with definite musical time and measure, a flute accompaniment, and a pantomime. To these was added a fourth step; the artistic drama, modelled on that of Greece, with a connected subject, and a separation of the music from the songs and gesticulations. For this further development, art is indebted to Livius Andronicus, who was half a Greek. It seems that Livius, who was not only the author, but the performer of his pieces, finding that when encored he frequently sang himself hoarse, obtained permission to place near the flute-player a boy, whose duty it was to sing, and by this alleviation, he was able to pay so much the greater attention to the mimetic part of the performance. The acting of the *histrios* was from henceforth accompanied by singers, and they had only to keep up the colloquy (*diverbia*.) The progress of the *Satura* to the *Fabula* thus consisted,—1. In the separation of the singing from the mimetic acting, which had hitherto been united in one and the same person; a change by which both became susceptible of further improvement. 2. In the adoption of a plot; that is, the theme which ran through the whole piece was one, there was one definite subject, one and the same plan throughout, the disconnected parts being combined into one distinct whole. Here, as everywhere, it was through unity that the artistic form came into being.

These important changes were brought about by the influences of Grecian tastes. How great the effects of this influence had been generally on the populations of Italy since the remotest periods, is made every day more and more manifest by modern investigations, especially as regards the culture of the Etruscans. Long before the time of Servius, the Romans had adopted Greek

weights and measures, and this is yet a further reason for supposing (if on different grounds the conclusion of a great scholar be correct,) that the Romans must, from the earliest times, have been able to understand, read, and write Greek characters.³¹ As there can be no doubt that this influence operated on the legislature, if not of Servius, yet of the Decemviri, thereby giving a tone to the entire civilization of the people; so here in the poetry of the Romans, we find it engaged in pioneering the way which Roman poets were henceforth to tread. We pass over, then, all details as to the manner in which the Roman youth, dissatisfied with the seriousness of the Greek models, adopted the Oscan Atellanæ, thus going back, in some measure, to the old boisterous *Satura*; we do not pause to consider the few remaining traces of Roman national poetry of other kinds, in which we can recognise the lays of love or marriage, the songs of the rustic, the mariner, or the soldier; we turn at once to the father of Roman poetry, the Livius Andronicus already mentioned, and we will briefly endeavour to determine the influence which he exercised, and the importance of the position which he holds.³²

All that we know of the life of Livius Andronicus, is confined to a few dates, which have themselves frequently met with erroneous explanations, and furnished matter for great controversy. His very name has given rise to conflicting opinions. Andronicus was his Greek name, and he was called Livius after his patronus at Rome, whose freedman he was. Of his prænomen we know nothing. His home (whether his birth-place as well, is uncertain,) was the highly polished city of Tarentum. On its destruction by the Romans in the year 482, U. C., he came as a young man to Rome. Who were his parents, what was his occupation at Tarentum, are points on which no information has reached us. Some persons make out his grandfather to have been the tragic actor Andronicus, who gave lessons to Demosthenes in gesticulation: but this conjecture rests solely on the identity of name. One might suppose that he was in

³¹ Boekh, *Metrologische Untersuch.*, p. 207; Ross, *Hellenica*, Pref. p. xiv; Gerhard, *On the Divinities of the Etruscans*, p. 4.

³² This subject has been handled by Osann, *Analecta Critica*. Berlin, 1816;

H. Duntzer, *Livii Andronicæi Fragmenta*. Berlin, 1835, *De versu quem vocant Saturnio*, p. 40-48; Dollen, *De vita Livii Andronicæi*. Dorpati Livonorum, 1838.

some way connected with the celebrated theatre of the city in which he resided; possibly he might already have been upon the stage in a chorus of boys; at any rate we should, on this hypothesis, have less difficulty in understanding how he came to introduce the drama at Rome. A regular actor indeed he could scarcely have been, on account of his youth.

Andronicus, then, being made a prisoner of war, became at Rome the slave of a certain Livius; this we may gather from his name, which, according to custom, he took as a freedman from his master. Hieronymus says that this Livius was the Salinator—a statement which has been generally received.³³ It does not, however, appear to us to agree with the dates. M. Livius Salinator was first made consul in the year 535, U. C., along with Æmilius Paulus. Supposing that this office was conferred upon him at the age of 43, as by law required, he must have been born in the year 492 U. C. He was made consul a second time in the year 547, along with C. Claudius Nero, and, finally, censor in the year 550. Now, if Andronicus came to Rome on the destruction of Tarentum in the year 482, it is clear, from these dates, that he could not have become forthwith the slave of Salinator, who, at that period, was probably not so much as born, or, at any rate, was quite a child. Possibly it was the father of Salinator, M. Livius, into whose service Andronicus entered; or else we must suppose that he came to live with Salinator at a more advanced age, after he had already served several other masters.³⁴

Andronicus gave lessons at Rome in his mother-tongue—the

³³ Hieron. in Euseb. *Chron. Ol.* 148, 1.—“Titus Livius tragicædiarum scriptor clarus habetur, qui ob ingenii meritum a Livio Salinatore, cujus liberos erudiebat, libertate donatus est.” Hieron. calls him Titus, confounding him with the historian. Gellius, Cassiodorus, and Festus, call him Lucius. Scaliger on *Festus*, p. 552, Lind. chose Lucius, but on Hieron. p. 140, Marcus, because he was a freedman of M. Livius Salinator. Orelli, too, does not think this improbable (*Onom. Tull. s. v.*; *Hor. Epist. II.* 1, 62). Osann, from the dates, thinks it impossible that he should have been a freedman of Salinator, and does not

give him any prænomen at all. Düntzer adheres to Lucius, and supposes him to have been the freedman of some unknown L. Livius. The more ancient authors, Varro, Cicero, Livy, Horace, do not give any prænomen to Andronicus; they call him simply Livius, poeta Livius, Livius Andronicus.—On the Theatre at Tarentum, see Welcker, *Die Griechisch-Röm. Trag.* p. 1297.

³⁴ If, according to Cic. *Cat.* 14, § 50, Andronicus was still alive as an old man when Cato, born 520 U. C., was a youth, he must have been very young on the taking of Tarentum in 482. Against Osann, p. 44, see Doellen, p. 25.

taste for Greek literature having already begun to spread. A regular school, however, or a system of lectures like those which were in vogue at a later period, must not here be thought of.³⁵ That he taught the children of Salinator, if not altogether impossible, is rendered highly improbable by what has been adduced above. Rather may we suppose that he gave lessons to the children of M. Livius, of whom Salinator was one. His emancipation must have taken place before the year 514, in which, according to the united testimony of Cicero and Gellius, his first drama was performed. There can be no question that erroneous views prevailed among the ancients themselves as to the time when he came to Rome, and when he acted his first piece. One of those who propagated them was the poet, L. Attius; but Cicero, resting on some more ancient and trustworthy sources, and taking into consideration the known history of the poets Ennius, Plautus, and Nævius, has confuted Attius. His chief error consisted in taking the occupation of Tarentum to be that effected by Q. Fabius Maximus in the year 545, and not the earlier one, which took place under L. Papirius Cursor, in the year 482 (Varro). For, that Andronicus was made prisoner at an occupation of Tarentum, and carried to Rome, is a point which Cicero does not dispute, and to which we must therefore adhere.³⁶ It was by the introduction of the Greek drama at Rome, an event which constituted an epoch in history, that Livius was most known, and most celebrated in later times.³⁷

As regards other events in the life of Livius Andronicus, one single date is all that has reached us. It seems that, when Hasdrubal, in the second Punic War, was approaching Italy in

³⁵ Sueton. *de Ill. Gr.* l.—Si quidem antiquissimi doctorum, qui iidem et poetæ et oratores semigræci erant (Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotum est) nihil amplius quam Græca interpretabantur: ac si quid Latine ipsi composuissent, prælegebant. Osann made them out to be "artis grammaticæ magistros." The right view is taken by Doellen, p. 33.

³⁶ The main passage is in Cic. *Brut.* 18, § 72. Osann's conjecture, "Ateius,"

which in its time gave rise to much discussion, I can no longer understand, after what Madvig has said in his *Opusc. Academ.* p. 95. On Duentzer's conjecture of 510 for 514, because Atticus differs by four years from the Varronian æra; see Orelli, *Onomast. Tull.* s. v. Liv. Andron. p. 357.

³⁷ Diomedes, p. 486; Servius on Virg. *Æn.* x. 636; Porphyry on Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1, 62; Donatus, *De Fabula*, p. 57, Westerh.

order to join his brother Hannibal, a terrible panic spread itself at Rome, and countless prodigies were supposed to indicate coming disasters. Among other steps which were taken to avert the wrath of Heaven, Livius Andronicus was desired by the Pontifices to compose an ode in honour of Juno Regina, that goddess of the town of Veii whom Camillus had once carried off, and brought to Rome. Thrice nine virgins, in long robes, went in procession from the Carmentalian gate to the Forum, singing the above-mentioned ode, partly in the forum accompanied by a kind of rope-dance, partly during the procession itself. This took place at the commencement of the consulship of C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius—(U. C. 547, Varro.) As a reward, the state presented Andronicus with a residence in the temple of Minerva, on the Aventine Hill,—an honour which was so much the more valuable from its great rarity.³⁸

Livius's labours as an author were chiefly dedicated to the composition of dramas, the plots of which he borrowed, for the most part, from Greek mythology, and from the Trojan legends in particular. The instruction which he gave in the Greek language called his attention, however, to other departments of literature as well; and it was probably this cause which gave rise to the *Odyssey*, that genealogical record of so many legends respecting the Trojan heroes. It is to this work that Livius owes his reputation, as the founder of epic poetry also among the Romans; and we may perhaps be allowed to say a few words, by way of estimating his merits in this respect,—the rather as sufficient has already been said to establish his claims as the founder of dramatic poetry.

Of his translation of the *Odyssey*, some verses out of almost all the books have come down to us; and these, coupled with the statements of other authors, enable us to form a judgment on its worth. If we bear in mind, that Livius was no great poetical genius, and that, as the founder of Roman poetry generally, he must have had to struggle against difficulties of every description, as regards language and other matters, we cannot in justice demand from him, or expect to find in him, that degree of perfection which we meet with in the more accom-

³⁸ Liv. xxvii. 37; Festus, p. 333, ed. Müller; Ascon. in Cic. *Pison.* § 53, p. 13, ed. Orelli.

plished poets of the blooming days of literature. More probable is it, that this work was impressed with the character of the age in which it was written; an age which later centuries, adorned with the polish of Greek literature, looked down upon as rude and uncouth. Cicero compares the translation of the *Odyssey* with a work of that man to whom were attributed the first germs of plastic art in Greece—of Dædalus, who lived 400 years before the commencement of the Olympiads. The Roman mind, when once stimulated by a taste for the arts and sciences of Hellas, took such rapid development, bore such noble blossoms, in a Nævius, an Ennius, a Pacuvius, and a Plautus, that Livius Andronicus very soon met with the doom of oblivion—a doom which is perpetually awarded by that craving for novelty implanted in human nature, and which even Cato suffered in the time of Cicero; nay, which Cicero himself did not escape in the *blasé* age of Seneca and Pliny! So that, while Cicero compares the “Punic War” of Nævius to a work of Myron of Eleuthera, an artist who flourished in the very palmiest days of Hellenic culture, while Pompey the Great, in his second consulate, in the year 699 (Varro), gave a representation of the “Trojan Horse” of Nævius, in his splendid games, while Horace was able to say,

Nævius in manibus non est, et mentibus hæret
Pæne recens?

that same Cicero says that the dramas of Livius were no longer worthy of perusal; and that same Horace writes,—

Non equidem insector delendaque carmina Livi
Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri
Pulchraque, et exactis minimum distantia miror.

And, lastly, Quintilian, that sound connoisseur in Roman literature, gives it as his firm conviction, that, if the Romans had contented themselves with mere imitation, and not exercised the energies of original talent, they would never in poetry have got beyond those old and rude attempts of a Livius Andronicus.³⁹ On the whole, Livius was not a good translator; at one time he keeps close to the original, at another he gives

³⁹ Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vii. 3; Cic. *Brut.* 17, § 68; 67, 19, § 71; *Ad Fam.* vii. 1; Horat. *Epist.* ii. 1, 58, 69; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* x. 2, 7.

himself larger license. We could not, however, have hoped to find in his version all that harmony of tone which is so peculiar to the original. This was at once rendered impossible by the metrical unwieldiness and poverty of the Latin tongue.⁴⁰

We have hitherto designedly abstained from saying anything as to the form peculiar to all old Roman poetry before the time of Ennius. It remains, therefore, in conclusion, to touch upon this peculiarity.

The technical expression for the old Roman verses is, "Versus Saturnii," "Numerus Saturnius." The ancients (Varro, Festus, Macrobius,) derived Saturnus *a satu, a sationibus*; Cicero connects it with the word *satur*.⁴¹ The original stem-word therefore is, without doubt, *sero, sevi, satum*, connected with the Æolic *σάω*—*σάτω*, whence also *σάτωρ*.⁴² An analogy in the formation of the word is given us by Voltumnus, Juno Manturna, Lympha Juturna, Lacturnus, and the adjectives, diurnus, nocturnus, &c. We cannot withhold our assent from this etymology *a satu*, without being led, as a natural consequence, to derive Janus from Janua, which is evidently false.⁴³ At any rate, no one now dreams, like Scaliger, of a derivation from the Hebrew, so that Saturnus should mean *absconditus*, with reference to his flight, and concealment in Latium, as related by the poets.

As regards the meaning of the expression "Versus Saturnius," we are not able to gather much from the etymology. If there is anything which can furnish us with an explanation of the matter, it is the myth of the god.

Numberless as were the counterparts which the religion

⁴⁰ Scaliger, *ad Festum*, p. 521, Ed. Lindem.; Id. p. 724; G. Hermann, *Elem. Doctr. Metr.* p. 620, sqq.

⁴¹ Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 10; Festus, p. 186, 325, Müller; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 10; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 25, § 64.

⁴² Paldamus, *Ueber Ursprung und Begriff der Satire*, Greifswald 1834, p. 12; Hartung, *Relig. der Römer*, i. p. 66; ii. p. 122.

⁴³ Walz, *De Religione Roman. Antiquiss.*, p. 13; Obs. 42.—"Quod vero Varro, l. l. 5, 64; Festus, s. v. Saturnus et alii nomen Saturni a satu vel a sationibus derivant, ei etymologiæ neque plus

neque minus tribuendum censeo, quam innumeris aliis ab iisdem etymologis ad fortuitam quandam syllabarum et significationis similitudinem excogitatis; atque eos ipsos, qui hanc etymologiam rident, non pudet Janum a Januâ derivare. Equidem in his et tot aliis verum me nescire ægre quidem fero, sed fateor. Neque movet Consivæ cognomen Opi datum, quo omnia de Saturni nomine dubia solvi putat Hartung, de Relig. Rom. ii. 130; nam Saturni et Opis nomina multo antiquiora sunt, quam hoc cognomen."

of Rome possessed in that of Greece, this was pre-eminently the case with Saturnus. Though a god who belonged peculiarly to the Latins, he was at an early period confounded with the Greek Κρόνος, and was connected by etymologies and genealogies with the Cretan theology.⁴⁴ Livius Andronicus, in his translation of the *Odyssey*, calls Zeus Saturni filius, and Hera Saturni filia. The Greek myth, detailed in Hesiod, and as it is found with no very material change in Apollodorus, is well known. Κρόνος, the progeny of Uranus and Gæa, the second Ruler of the Universe, the Inscrutable, the Terrible, devoured his children, in consequence of a prophecy which told him that his own son would one day rob him of his regal power. His spouse Rhea, however, chagrined at this, concealed her youngest child, Zeus, by the advice of her parents, in the island of Crete, and gave Kronos to devour, in lieu of his child, a stone wrapped up in swaddling clothes. When Zeus grew up, he succeeded, by ruse and force, in chaining Kronos, and hurling him, along with the vanquished Titans, into the dreadful depths of Tartarus.

This myth of Zeus and Kronos, with all the incidental features, has been transferred by the Roman poets, with more or less modifications, to Saturnus and Jupiter. There is, however, one portion of it which has taken with them a different and peculiar form, probably because it was based on an Italian tradition, and this is, the fate of Saturnus after his expulsion by his son Jupiter. For, while the Greeks gave but scanty allusions to this part of the story, in which they are closely followed by Ovid; Virgil, on the other hand, has adhered to the Italian legend.⁴⁵ According to this, Saturnus, when driven from Olympus, and robbed of his lordship over the universe, fled from the attacks of Jupiter to Italy, where dwelt the Fauns and Nymphs, a rude and uncultivated race. On them he bestowed the blessings of civilization, teaching them agriculture in lieu of the chase, and giving them laws, safely concealed all the time from Jupiter, from which circumstance the country acquired the name of Latium. In his reign was the Golden Age; he ruled his people with gentleness and peace, till schemes of war, and the lust of gain, brought on less prosperous times.

This legend also, however, is not without its variations—of

⁴⁴ Creuzer, *Symbol. und Mythol.* II. 431, 970.

⁴⁵ Virg. *Æneid*, viii. 314; Ovid, *Metam.* i. 113; Hesiod, *Theog.* 844.

which two are more particularly to be observed. For, while Virgil has so far adhered to the Greek myth as to make Saturn throughout a god who has been driven from Olympus, the account given by others, who go more rationalistically to work, represent Saturn as a mere man, and King of Crete. The source of this anthropomorphistic view is to be found in Euhemerus, who, in his sacred history, was the first to set up a theory in opposition to the popular belief, as regards the entire system of the gods of Hellas, and to look upon Zeus as an ancient king of Crete.⁴⁶ Lactantius has preserved on record the main features of this theory, taken from the translation by Ennius.⁴⁷ The authors by whom it is adopted fill up the myth as follows: In Italy there reigned a king, Janus. This king received Saturnus with hospitality, and having learnt from his guest a more civilized mode of life, he gave him a half of his kingdom. They reigned in peace together; and when Saturn of a sudden disappeared from the earth, Janus paid him divine honours, instituted to him an altar and a solemn festival, the Saturnalia, and called the country which had been subject to him Saturnia.⁴⁸

This story, which is related by Roman authors of considerable antiquity, found especial favour with the fathers, who made use of it in their apologetic writings.⁴⁹ But this, as well as the other account already mentioned, agree in stating that Saturnus weaned men away from their wild life, from their ardour for the chase, and their fierce lust for blood; that he introduced the tillage of land and of vines, the manufacture and use of various tools and utensils, the coinage of money, and the art of writing; in a word, that he was the founder of civilization. Hence, in the Saturnalia, he was worshipped as the "*vitæ melioris auctor*." At the bottom of all this lies the deep truth, that the tilling of the ground is the test of a higher state of cultivation, than the craft of the hunter, or the tending of kine. Saturnus was emphatically the god of the earth, the god of the country: as he was the inventor, so was he also the defender and preserver of everything connected with the cultivation of field or garden. Hence he was represented with a sickle, a

⁴⁶ Gerlach, *Historische Studien*, i. p. 137.

⁴⁷ Lactant. *Inst.* i. 13, 14.

⁴⁸ Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* i. 89; Klausen, *Aeneas und die Penaten*, i. p. 231.

⁴⁹ Tertullian, *Apolog.* 10; Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* 22; Lactant. i. 13.

crooked garden or vine knife; hence was his statue hollow, and filled with oil, a produce of the fertile Latium and Campania, copious in quantity, and excellent in quality; hence was his spouse named Ops, i. e. Well-being, and surnamed Consiva. We have dwelt at some length on the myth of the god Saturnus, because it is from it that we would deduce some of the characteristics which belong to the *versus Saturnius*. The first and most important feature is, without doubt, that of antiquity. The reign of Saturnus is of the earliest and most primitive date. The golden age begins immediately after the world and the human race have been created out of chaos. The memorial of it, which was celebrated at Rome, was that of a good old time, which extended far beyond the reach of all human tradition. The subjects of Saturnus are the Aborigines, the primeval race, who were also called the "prisci," "casci," and, after their king himself, "Saturnii." There can be no doubt that this notion of age and antiquity tallies with the meaning of the Greek Κρόνος, χρονικός. Nay, it is possible, that the adjective Saturnius has been formed, by learned grammarians, just in the same way and with the same collateral meanings, from Saturnus, as χρονικός from Κρόνος. Κρόνος, we know, has acquired, from the idea of antiquity, the more limited acceptance of a good and simple old time; χρονικός means "old-fashioned," "silly." The same contemptuous meaning was added on by the Latins to the words *Faunus* and *Faunius*; and in Greek, Ὠγύγος, from the old Attic king Ogyges, means "primeval."⁵⁰

Another characteristic to be observed is, that the *Versus Saturnius* is the growth of ancient Italy. Italy is its home: it was not imported from a foreign country, from Greece. Saturnus is emphatically an Italian god, and the Fauns, who make use of this verse, are Latin deities.⁵¹ Saturnus was king of the Aborigines, the earliest inhabitants of Latium; he was suc-

⁵⁰ Among other passages on χρονικός, comp. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1480, a passage which strongly resembles that of Ennius; for Thespis, the so-called inventor of Tragedy, is spoken of with just the same contumely that Nævius is by Ennius. The expression Fauni is used in exactly the same way by Lucilius, (lib. xx. 1, p. 46, Gerl.) and by a Jurist in Gellius, xvi. 10, § 7. That the notion

of antiquity was connected with Saturnus, is evident from a passage in Marius Victorinus, i. 5, p. 28, Gaisford.—"Sorex aut Saurix avis tributa Saturno ab auguribus, quia tarditati et vetustati et senectuti convenit: nam in veterania maxime versatur locis," etc. On Ὠγύγος, see Weissenborn, in the *Zeitschr. für Alterthumsk.* 1841. No. 94.

⁵¹ Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vii. 36.

ceeded, says the legend, up till the time of the Trojan colony, by three kings, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus, from son to son; and when these were withdrawn from earth, they were exalted into gods, and worshipped as Indigetes.⁵²

Finally, the Saturnian verse is rude and uncouth.⁵³ We must not suppose that Saturnus, the founder of civilization, was also the inventor of the verse: the true view of the case is, that this verse was in use among the rude race whom Saturnus was the first to initiate into a higher state of culture. Springing as it did from such a race, in Saturnian, that is, in right ancient days, the verse could not but possess the peculiar features of its founder. Hence the low estimation in which it was held after the time of Ennius.

To the Augustan age, the early poets seemed to be "arte rudes." The verse used of old, before the introduction of Greek measures, met with the epithets "incomptus, incompositus, asperrimus, horridus." We can readily understand such a judgment after the Romans had acquired the use of that most beautiful of all verses, the Hexameter, combining, as it does, so much motion and repose, so much force and softness, so much dismemberment and unity, so much freedom and symmetry! The Saturnian verse, as an epic verse, possessed far too few of those qualities which an Epos may justly demand; it is far too bald and unadorned not to have almost degraded the creations of poetry into very unpoetic prose. In the form used by Livius and Nævius, it is indeed sufficiently lofty to contain a certain degree of fulness, both of word and thought; but it is not animated enough to express that perpetual movement which is the essence of the epos. It does not admit of sufficient change to enable it to relieve the monotony of constant repetition, by assuming, on fitting occasions, a different tone and colour. That we believe to be beyond the reach of doubt, however little opinions may agree on other matters connected with the metrical composition of the verse. The spirit of the early Roman people made itself felt, even in the rhythmic forms of poetry. In the state and in the individual, in religion and in art, it is everywhere one and the same, as in the commencement of this essay we have endeavoured to point out.

⁵² Virg. *Æn.* vii. 47; Niebuhr, l. l. Note 48.

⁵³ This uncouthness is well pourtray-

ed by Virg. *Æn.* viii. 315. Horace also alludes to it.

XIV.

GRIMM'S HISTORY OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.

GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE, von Jacob Grimm.
Leipzig. 1848. (London: Williams & Norgate.)

A NEW work of Jacob Grimm will no doubt attract the attention wherever an interest is taken in the important philological researches referring to the great stock of the Teutonic tongues. Grimm's name and works have for a long time been familiar to the student of this branch of philology, in the Scandinavian kingdoms, and in England, as well as in Germany itself; and within the last years, the effects of the great labours of this renowned author have become more and more distinct; we mean the intimate connection in which not only the different dialects of the one great stock, but also the early history of the numerous Teutonic nations, their primitive religion and laws, ought to be studied. Almost daily we now meet with instances produced by this great improvement in historico-philological criticism; and England, too, may boast of similar works scarcely inferior to those of the father of German philology.

The *History of the German Language*, however, is, as it has always been the case with Grimm's great productions, of an universal importance; and as the most important questions, not exclusively in reference to the Germanic tongues, are treated in it, but also their relation to all the other languages which are or have been spoken in any European country, we think a short article upon such a work ought to find a place in a philological periodical like this, although it may be dedicated more particularly to classical pursuits.

It is certainly not an easy task to give merely a superficial idea of a book like that which is now before us. Vast masses of grammatical and lexicographical examples are interspersed with the rules which they are to prove, and with the historical exposition of the early position in which those men were, who handled these rules. In fact, the two volumes contain plenty of material, and the most varied subjects for a great number of books, as it is scarcely possible that a grammarian who writes

upon any of these languages can pass over silently the doctrines and hypothetical proposals which are developed in them. The historian of the great migration of nations must likewise intimately know the facts, many of which, at least, are here proposed for the first time. It is quite natural, and Dr. Grimm himself is prepared for it, that severe criticism will come forth against various points of conjecture, the great boldness of which strikes the reader during the first perusal. The attack may be considered an easy one by many opponents; but there always remains the difficulty of substituting something better and safer in the place of the lofty and ingenious suppositions which are expounded by the author. We are quite convinced, that there is not a single reader, even the most partial, who will agree with all the questions and facts;—every one thinks that he has found out an error, and feels anxious to supply the want from his own better knowledge. But the minutest critic will not forget that he has to deal with one of the greatest masters of our age, whose authority has been fixed now for at least twenty years. Here is not the place to harp at or to quarrel with words and opinions—the most profound examination only must be faithfully applied to them. If, in this way, the hidden truth is at length discovered, we are sure the amiable author will be the first to drop his opinion, and to come over to the adversary's side. A certain weakness of the book, if we may use this expression, arises for the English reader especially, from Grimm's manner of publishing his books. He prepares his manuscript while the first sheets are already in the press; and so it happens frequently, that a question, a rule, or a date, which has been treated of and finally settled, is taken up on another occasion, where the allusion to or the use of it cannot be avoided, in a totally different view, corrected and entirely altered. Many persons are offended by this want of outward unity—a bold antagonist may even derive from it an excellent advantage to carry on his attacks; but Dr. Grimm never omits to confess openly his conversion; and it is at least our impression, that every one who has learnt to feel with the author, and to follow attentively his reasonings, is rather fond of being the constant witness of the very history of the book, and of seeing the author's mind working with his immense materials uninterruptedly. A certain practice is therefore necessary for reading Grimm's works, much more for making an efficient use of them;

the greatest, unquestionably, to criticise them, an ability which we frankly confess not to be our own. The only thing we can do is, to give some more or less detailed outlines of the book, and to mention, at the same time, the striking parts of it, and those which seem to be most open to controversy.

It is scarcely necessary to mention to those who have read Grimm's elaborate work on German mythology, that we meet in his new book with the same wonderful mixture of the minutest etymological disquisitions, and the highest poetical insight into those obscure ages, when the Teutonic tribes started from their birth-place in High Asia, to carry their aboriginal virtues, their gods, institutions, and language with them to the far West. The history of the German language exhibits the same combinations in a far higher degree. From the most secret corner, where a grammatical treasure is supposed to be hidden, our mind is conducted to countries and ages, of which no Greek author could ever acquire a distinct view; a name, a word, an inflection, lead to a supposition by which a faint light is thrown into the vast darkness. Nay, even the present political condition of certain nations in Europe, is not unfrequently hinted at, and explained by the constant growth of the languages; the divination of the prophet tells us what may likely become of a people and its language some centuries hence.

Jacob Grimm published his book as Member of the National Assembly at Frankfort; he had exchanged the study for the committee, and his linguistic researches for the debate upon constitutional principles. The dark presentiment of an approaching storm, the bitter complaint of the author, that he was working towards his noble aim quite alone, without any assistance from his friends, from his nation;¹ all these feelings which oppressed his mind, were cut short by the serious events of last year, which shook Europe to its foundations. Under such circumstances, the author rested from his literary labours, and went to Frankfort; from that place he sent out his book among the public. How could this book be untouched by the spirit of the day, which, like the wind, went higher than ever before? Nevertheless the Germans will scarcely find the time at present to search those valuable treasures which are pointed out by their great countryman; but all their friends will wish

¹ See the Dedication to Gervinus.

sincerely, that they may succeed very soon in settling those important questions by which their country is distracted in these days, and that they may return with new pleasure to their homely studies, from which so much noble knowledge has already been imparted not only to the kindred nations, but to the world. May the faithful Jacob Grimm, who could not stand away from his fatherland in the hour of danger, conquer in the leisure of peace all discouraging impressions, and proceed with his labour, supported by the full acknowledgment of all his friends at home and abroad.

But it is time to have a look at the contents of the book itself. It opens with eight chapters, which serve as an introduction, and are of a more general interest, although, as we have said before of Grimm's manner, we have frequently to fix our full attention upon a single word, its root, derivations, and relations. The work begins with a most poetical view of the different ages of mankind. The religious traditions of a multitude of nations relate unanimously of a golden, silver, brass, and iron age. Excavations in many parts of our earth have brought to light mighty stone graves, with giant bones and stone weapons; a second generation burnt their dead, together with gold and brass decorations; the third deposited them in hills, and knew the use of iron and of letters. "But a testimonial for the existence of the nations, far better than bones, arms, and graves, are their languages,"—(p. 5.) In the following pages, the plan of the author apparently is to carry his poetical analogy between ethnographical and linguistical ages still further on. The critic may find there sometimes an opportunity for censuring such views, but Grimm himself owns now and then, that it is not his intention that the metals, the different successive races, and certain striking remarks upon the languages, should square in every point,—(note to p. 6.) His different essays upon the names of the four principal metals throughout all the languages of Europe,—upon pastoral life, and the words for the various species of cattle,—upon the terms for hunting, (especially hawking, as a primitive sport amongst almost all Indo-Germanic nations,) and agriculture,—all unite finally into the one conclusion, that by means of inquiring into the language for these simple subjects, many ideas may be caught concerning the early condition of a people, its advance in civilization, and its relation, and inferiority or superiority, to the neighbouring na-

tions. A few examples must necessarily suffice, when we venture to give a sketch of the following closely connected treatises. The terms for brass and gold show a decided affinity in Latin, Lithuanian, and the Celtic dialects. *Aes* is *aurum*, *ausum*, with the Sabines; but although among the Teutonic nations the mixture of certain simple metals still keeps the same name; Goth. *ais*; Old Norse, *eir*; Eng. *ore*; the word *gold*, which goes through the Slavonic and Germanic tongues, exhibits a considerable digression from the classical and other languages; and the *iron* of all Germanic nations shows a close connection with the old term for brass. The most steady, though otherwise in a state of change, seems to be the expression for the other precious metal, the *silver*,—(p. 11-14.)

We proceed to the linguistic testimonies of the first stage of civilization, the pastoral life. The herdsman is a hunter and a warrior at the same time: to feed and to protect his family and his cattle, he is obliged to carry on war against the wild animals of the forest and the desert, as well as against robbers and enemies of his tribe. It is impossible, in this short review, to glance over the long etymological files of nouns for the various kinds of tame animals; we must be content with a short extract of those for the collective noun, the cattle itself. The Goths said *faihu*, which is the Old-High-German *fihu*, the Anglo-Saxon *feoh*, (the English *fee* at present only agreeing with Latin *pecunia*,) all of them being of the same root with πῶϋ, ποιμήν, and Latin *pecus*. The generic name of the wild beast develops the same affinity: Goth. *dîus*; Anglo-Sax. *deor*; Engl. *deer*; Germ. *thier*; Greek θήρ, (Aeolic φήρ); Latin *fera*, &c. Likewise the verbs, which signify the tending of the cattle, differ only very slightly from each other. A remarkable coincidence, however, is not to be omitted,—that of the Goth. *vinja* and the Old-High-Ger. *winên*, *pastus* and *pascere* with the Latin *venari* and *venatio*. Even in modern German the verb *weiden* signifies to feed the cattle and to eviscerate the killed game; in the Middle High Ger. *beizen* signifies to make the cattle feed and to hunt, (p. 29.) These words clearly show the situation of men, who united inseparably the life of the herdsman and huntsman. And more generally speaking, the intimate etymological relation of all the names for horse, cow, sheep, goat, swine, &c. more or less through all European tongues, are loud witnesses to their com-

mon origin, and to the fact, that all these nations started on their career as nomades.

But a nation destined to perform a part in the great drama of history, soon leaves this condition of playful and restless childhood: it settles and fixes its abode by learning to till the ground, and to gather the fruits of the great mother Earth, (p. 53.) This transition, therefore, is the period of the most decided development in the character of a people. The Germanic tribes, on entering Europe with their carts and their cattle, found the South and the West occupied by the Romans and the Celtic nations, which had for centuries enjoyed an agricultural life and the benefits of a fixed polity; the Slavonic tribes, which left their Asiatic home probably together with the Teutons, and which followed them step by step, remained for a long time addicted to their old nomadic habits, whilst their predecessors had settled in the wide plains on mighty streams, and on the mountains of the conquered countries. Grimm here again offers a rich collection of words, referring to the labours and instruments of agriculture, which, in the different languages, sometimes converge, sometimes diverge, and from which occasionally an important conclusion may be drawn concerning the relation between two distinct nations. So the roots of *arare*, *aratrum*, *ager*, go through the Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic tongues; but the verb begins soon to lose its power among the German nations, who are obliged to borrow several other terms from those who became their teachers in the new art. But we also meet with discrepancies, which are not so easily accounted for; the word *plough*, for instance, is decidedly un-Germanic. The Anglo-Saxons called this instrument always *sulh*, which coincides with the Latin *sulcus*, the product of the plough. But the Germans of the continent received the new word in a strange manner from those who followed their steps, from the Slavonians. In a short time the word *plough* spread over the whole of Germany, over Scandinavia and England, (p. 56.) That the most useful instrument itself is much older than all the different terms for it, is proved sufficiently among all nations by numberless appellations for the plough, which hint pretty clearly at the fact, that the same hands which used it for turning up the earth, were more properly accustomed to manage the bow or to hold the shepherd's crook. Like a ship, the plough is frequently com-

pared to an animal with head and tail. Who has not heard the peasant speak of the ploughneck and the ploughtail? In the early Sanscrit, the name of the wolf, *vṛka*, has something to do with that of the plough, which turns up the earth voraciously. And from certain images in early German poetry, one may be inclined to think, that by that symbol a goat, and especially a sow, is meant, which digs up with its nose the loose ground. Even Varro compared, contrary to the laws of quantity, *vōmer* with *vōmere*; and Plutarch derived *ὄνις*, *ὄνη*, *ὄνις*, from *ὄς*. An Englishman also may hear in the country the plough called the pig's nose, (p. 57, 58.)

How much the expressions for the different kinds of grain are akin to each other, may be understood from the following short proportion, (p. 65):

Goth. <i>baris</i>	} : Lat. far :: Engl. to bear	Goth. <i>bairan</i>	} : Latin <i>ferre</i> .
Greek <i>κριθή</i>		A.-S. <i>beran</i>	
A.-Sax. <i>bere</i>			
Eng. <i>barley</i>			
Old Nor. <i>barr</i>			

The original source is here not flowing so abundantly as in the etymology of the nomadic stage, although the *aritra* of the Rigveda, which signifies ship and oar, falls undoubtedly together with *ἄροτρον*, *aratrum*. But Greeks and Romans agree frequently with Germans and Slavonians, which is a decisive proof of the early contact into which those nations came with each other.²

The essay upon annual festivals and the names of the months, appears to be of more than usual interest, because there are questions moved in it, which touch many more sciences than mere German grammar. Agricultural tribes alone finally settle their religious rites and the divisions of the year on a firm basis. The Nomade knew the heavens with their stars, he perceived the direction of the winds, and felt the effects of frost and heat; but the rules which he deduced from these appearances, must have been as fluctuating as his homeless and unsteady life. The husbandman, on the contrary, is aware of the periods when his

² P. 70, an idea of Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, i. 82, (ed. Camb. 1831,) is refuted, that words which refer to agriculture and a more quiet life are the

same in Greek and in Latin, and that for war and hunting, the Romans always used terms of their own.

various labours begin, or when resting from his work the great festivals arrive.

In the oldest times, we everywhere find only three divisions of the year. Like the Indians, the Greeks had only their *ἔαρ*, *θέρους*, *χειμών*; but in Homer, *Odys.* XI. 192, *ὁπώρα* is already added to this tripartite division, and placed between summer and winter. Tacitus, *Germ.* 26, says of the Germans of his time: "hiems et ver et æstas intellectum et vocabula habent, auctumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur." But the name and notion of autumn were here also very soon supplied. The most natural distinction, however, was introduced in old times by the periodical return of the two solstices; the two equal parts of the year were easily divided into quarters, and each of these into three sub-divisions. Everywhere the numbers 12 and 13, the solar and the lunar year, came into conflict with each other; but the even division, in spite of all deviations, proved the simpler one, and with one of the solstices the different nations opened their year.

A comparison between the Roman and Greek months, which scarcely exhibit any likeness whatever to each other, will attract the attention of every classical scholar. These two great nations called the parts of the year principally after the festivals of their gods, which sometimes might be traced back to old recollections of their agricultural, or even nomadic origin. P. 77, Grimm raises some important doubts concerning the *Julius* and *Augustus* of the Romans. The first two Cæsars, who, in the common tradition, gave their names to these months, are, he thinks, not equal to the other gods, after whom the year is called, although they both were created *Dii* by the senate and by the people. His arguments rest upon certain Germanic etymologies; of which we shall speak hereafter. Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 76, *Octavius*, 81, who, Grimm says, mentions first those two new names for Quinctilis and Sextilis, is not supported by the knowledge of an antiquary. The name *Julius*, at least, ought to be as old as the *gens Julia* itself; the Romans themselves derived *Augustus* and *auctumnus* from *augere*; and what should have prevented Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, from imitating the examples of their illustrious predecessors? Most ingeniously Grimm refers the inquirer to the old Germanic months. Unfortunately the Gothic calendar is lost; the next oldest, that of the Anglo-Saxons, is preserved in Bede; that of

the Franks, in Eginhart. But since Christianity had conquered Pagan Rome, and spread from this centre among the Gentiles, the Roman names of the months began to be substituted rapidly everywhere for those of heathen antiquity. Relics of the old order, however, are extant in many places, and cherished especially by a rural population. It is not my intention here to enlarge either upon the Germanic months, or upon those of the Slavonians, Lithuanians, Celts, &c. which undoubtedly have no slight weight in a general comparison. Whoever is anxious to become acquainted with this subject, will find the best opportunity for doing so in the copious collections contained at this place of the book. But the case, which was just mentioned before, and which exhibits one of Grimm's boldest conjectures, deserves that a review even like this should dwell a little more upon it.

The last month of the Anglo-Saxons was called *forma Geola* (or mid-winter), the first of the year *aeftera Geola*; that is, first and after *Yule*. This expression being still very well known, both in England and Scotland, and signifying the Christmas-time, occurs also at the present time in the two languages of Scandinavia, as it did in the old Norse tongue. The only name of a Gothic month which has escaped the common loss, *Jiuleis*, confirms the idea that the same signification existed throughout all Teutonic tribes, and that it expressed the same part of the year, the winter solstice. It is a curious coincidence, that *ἰούλιος* is the name of a month in the island of Cyprus, which lasted from December 22 till January 23. P. 107, Grimm asks: What is the meaning of all these names, *jiuleis*, *geola*, *july*, *julius*, *ἰούλιος*, *ἰουλαῖος*, *Ἰαῖος*? (the two last on Asiatic and Delphic inscriptions.) He answers, "that as some nations used these terms for the winter solstice, the Romans might have done so for the summer solstice; in fact, all these words are etymologically the same with *sol*, *ἥλιος*, and the old mythological sign of the sun is that of a wheel, nay, even the word *hweol* (wheel) approaches in Anglo-Saxon etymologically to *geol*, *geola*. If Julius Cæsar ought to give up his claim of figuring in the Roman calendar, Augustus, the heir of his name and his power, ought to do the same. *Augustus* and *auctumnus* are equal; the German words *ougest*, *oust*, &c. for harvest, may even have been derived at later times from the Latin. These slender

reasons are sufficient to show, that the two names must share the same fate.

I am afraid very few persons will adopt this view without some scruples. In the first place, Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12, states that the names of Germanicus and Domitian were entered into the Roman calendar for September and October,—more than fifty years before Suetonius wrote. Who would doubt that this was in imitation of the first two Cæsars? Secondly, I find that in Orelli, *Inscriptt.* No. 707, which document the author attributes justly to the emperor Claudius (41–54, A.D.), occurs the date in v. *Id. Julius*. Thirdly, we know an inscription of the time of the same emperor, in which the conquest of Alexandria immediately after the battle of Actium is mentioned under the date *Kal. Aug.*³ Fourthly, Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 789, says already: *Tempus Juleis cras est natale kalendis*. Besides, it is difficult to conceive, that at the time of Bede,—only a century after the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent, who introduced the Roman church-language,—and especially in the writings of a scholar like Bede himself, so very well versed both in his native tongue and in classical philology, no trace of such a singular agreement as that between *Julius* and *Yule* should be extant. On the contrary, Bede, de “*Temporum Ratione*,” distinguishes expressly between the Latin *Julius* and *Augustus* and his own native *Lida* and *Woodmonath*, and certain MSS. menologies in the vernacular Anglo-Saxon, which are taken from Bede's work, do the same in still plainer language. One of these MSS. in the Cotton collection (MS. *Julius A. x.*) says of the second month, that it derived its name from the emperor, having succeeded to this dignity on the first day of it,⁴ and that the English people called it *woodmonath* on account of the abundance of *weeds*. We are also afraid the identity between *Julius* and *Geola*, or between *midsummer* and *midwinter*, will be open to many more doubts, and to a final rejection.—But it is time to leave this chapter, which contains such important materials, most admirably collected, and most ingeniously discussed.

The following chapter enumerates a copious collection of striking examples in favour of the affinity in religion, and in

³ Cf. Orelli, *Inscriptt.* ii. p. 397; and Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12, the *Senatus-consultum* and the *Plebiscitum* of the Tribune Sextus Pacuvius.

⁴ Which agrees very well with Macrobius' *Saturn.* i. 12.

primitive law and manners, among all Indo-European nations. The characteristic features of their gods, the rites of sacrifices, their family relations sacred by proximity of blood, and especially by fraternity in war, their funeral customs and adoration of relics: all these principal points prove, that "so many different tribes were in fact one immense family," and that throughout the whole body "barbarism possessed its virtues," (p. 160.)

One instance may again be selected to show how the minute details are linked into each other with the general researches, p. 131 seq. Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 15, says of the Gallic knights, that they had *ambactos clientesque* about their persons. The word *ambactus* is by no means Celtic, as the Romans, and especially Festus, were willing to suppose. Grimm shows that a word like this, so deeply rooted in all Teutonic tongues, ought to have come over from the Germans to the Celts, as also very likely the circumstance itself which it is destined to express, namely, the connection between lord and squire, and chiefly the position of the latter. Now compare Goth. *andbahts*, Old-High-Ger. *ampaht*, A. S. *ambiht*, which all signify minister; and Goth. *andbahti* (officium,) Old-High-Ger. *ampahti*, A. S. *ambiht*, Swed. *ämbete*, Dan. *embed*, Ger. *amt*,—which, curiously enough, has completely lost its root, the word being a compound of a preposition and a noun; on the other hand, the Celtic dialects do not supply an example of such a widely spread term. The word is therefore Germanic: it became European; in mediæval Latin we find *ambasciare*, and in modern speech *ambassador* is still the same. It is to be derived from the Goth. *bak* (the back,) and the preposition *and* (towards,) *andbahts*, consequently the friend or servant, who guards the back, almost literally the same with the Greek *διάκονος* from *δίωκω*. *Cliens* also is certainly not without reason used by Cæsar, together with *ambactus*.

Immigration is the title of the eighth chapter. All kindred nations of Europe entered successively their domiciles. The direction of their course is at all times towards the west; whenever it is in the opposite direction, it is the part of criticism to account for it. The Greeks begin the history of our continent. The Latin language being by no means the daughter, but the full-born sister of the Greek, rules over the south and over the west. From time immemorial, the Celts possessed the land beyond the northern borders. The Germans, whose history is usually commenced with the reports of Pytheas, the

contemporary of Alexander the Great, are at first scarcely distinguished by the Romans from their Gallic neighbours; but their influence increases rapidly, till they upset the old world, and reconstruct a new order of things. The fifth people, the Lithuanians, never acted a part in universal history; their language, however, points more distinctly to their cradle in High Asia than any other of the European tongues. The Slavonians, whose threatening position is augmenting almost daily, have constantly been the followers of the Germans; both of them frequently interchange territories and names. The farthest north of Europe and of Asia is peopled by the Finnes, whose dominion in ancient times must have extended much more to the south and to the west: certain Teutonic and Celtic dialects still containing Finnic elements. The Bask language, being the eighth, is the lonely witness of the once mighty Iberian population in the south-west of Europe.

Our author, having thus concluded his introductory essays, proceeds to the details. What criticism in former times never ventured to suggest, is most sagaciously expounded in the two next elaborate chapters. Grimm recognises in *Thraci*, *Getæ*, *Scythæ*, if not the very Germans, yet their ancestors or brothers. The confusion in Greek and Roman documents with respect to this question is impenetrable,—(p. 179 seq.) The *Goths* are *Getæ*; and that both names are interchanged in early mediæval historians, as in Jordanes, is not at all an accident,—(p. 190 seq.) The names *Δάοι*, *Daci*, *Dani*, stand in the same relation: the *Danes* being called *Daci* in very late chronicles. There are unfortunately no relics whatever of Thracian or Getic languages, except proper names and thirty-three Dacian terms for plants in the book of Dioscorides, *περὶ ὅλης ἰατρικῆς*, which form a glossary large enough for Grimm to try his skill in tracing all these words to Teutonic roots, and to arrive at the conclusion, that Thracians and Getæ belong to the Indo-European stock, and that Getæ and Goths are the links between Thracians and Teutons. All this, Grimm says, is further confirmed by following the vestiges up to the far east, where they terminate among the *Scythians*. Niebuhr's well-known opinion about that nation has long been superseded; but nobody dared yet to employ the anecdotes of Lucian's *Toxaris* and the ethnographical remarks of Herodotus, for placing them in such a close relation with a people whose history begins more than five

centuries later. Some mythological fables, however, which are undoubtedly the same among the hordes of Asia and the Germans after their arrival in Europe, and Grimm's ingenious attempt to explain certain Scythic words⁵ by Gothic roots, will more than amuse or entertain even the most incredulous reader, who turns away from the etymological likeness between Daci and Danes, Sacæ and Saxons. May the success of our great inquirer be a very uncertain one! he attempts, at any rate, not a mere play with words; on the contrary, his lofty aim is visible everywhere, to follow the river up to its source on the ridge of the mountain in central Asia, whence the streams descend eastward and westward through fastnesses, which seemed to be destined always to remain recondite, both as for space and as for time.

The student's attention is now conducted upon much more solid ground. After a very learned inquiry into the same primitive affinity, by means of comparing the numerals, the personal pronouns, the third person singular of the auxiliary, and the terms for *father* throughout all languages, from the Sanscrit to the Irish, we enter what may be called *καὶ ἐξοχήν*, Grimm's grammatical system. Under different heads are discussed the vocalism, the spiration, the consonants in their division into liquids and mutes, the foundation being taken of course from the *Deutsche Grammatik*, "that masterpiece of German perseverance and diligence." Certain rules of gradation fix the apparently unbounded changes of the consonants in all these languages; their value is well known to the classical scholar, and he will find them confirmed when he applies for further instruction, especially to the Sanscrit and to the old German dialects. P. 392 begins the most important chapter on *Lautverschiebung* (the moving on of the sounds), already known in this country by the significant name of *Grimm's law*. For on this rule is founded, in the comparative philology of our days, not only the historical system of the great author himself, but of all the principal grammarians of the Indo-European tongues.

As the particulars of all the rest of this book find their solution in this one simple law, it will be necessary to quote it in as few words as possible:—"The media of all the three organs,

⁵ See p. 232, a new explanation of the obscure *Tamfana* in Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 51, from the Scythic *Tabiti*, which repre-

sents with all these nations a goddess like Vesta.

labial, guttural, lingual, is transformed into the tenuis, the tenuis into the aspirate, the aspirate into the media; afterwards the circulation begins over again." For the sake of elucidation, Grimm employs the image of three carriages, which run in a circle, each of them always reaching the spot which its fore-runner left. Instead of the first, imagine any of the kindred languages, either Sanscrit, or Greek, or Roman, or Celtic, &c. instead of the second Gothic, the Scandinavian languages, all Low Germanic dialects, as Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Dutch; the third being represented only by Old-High-German, and the circus will be filled. Nine equations arise out of this theory, which, certain exceptions being granted, are more or less perfectly represented in the comparative grammar of the great family of languages. A few examples may explain this rule.—In N. III. the aspirate of the labial organ PH is followed by the media B, the media by the tenuis P:

Greek φηγός	}	Goth. <i>bóka</i>	}	O. H. G. <i>puocha</i> .
Latin <i>fagus</i>				
Greek φέρω	{	Goth. <i>bair</i>	}	O. H. G. <i>piru</i> .
Latin <i>fero</i>		A. S. <i>bere</i>		
		Engl. <i>bear</i>		
N. N. G. K. CH.				
Greek γένος	{	Goth. <i>kuni</i>	}	O. H. G. <i>chunni</i> .
Latin <i>genus</i>		A. S. <i>cyn</i>		
		Engl. <i>kin</i>		
Greek γέρανος	{	A. S. <i>crán</i>	}	O. H. G. <i>chránoh</i> .
Latin <i>grus</i>		Engl. <i>crane</i>		
N. VIII. T. TH. D.				
Greek τρεῖς	{	Goth. <i>threis</i>	}	O. H. G. <i>dri</i> .
Latin <i>tres</i>		A. S. <i>thri</i>		
		Engl. <i>three</i>		
Latin <i>triturare</i>	{	Goth. <i>thriskan</i>	}	O. H. G. <i>drescan</i>
		A. S. <i>therscan</i>		
		Engl. (<i>threshold</i>)		

These are only instances where this wonderful phenomenon occurs in the consonant, which opens the root (*anlaut*); it is also met with, although not displaying the same power, in the middle and at the end of the root (*inlaut* and *auslaut*.) In twenty-three paragraphs Grimm discusses the immense importance of his law, "which assists in breaking down a wild ety-

mology, and has become already the very touch-stone of it,"—(p. 415.) The study of this chapter cannot be strongly enough recommended to all those who wish to become masters of any of these languages, and especially to learn their historical position to each other.

We shall now see what are its consequences with respect to all the Germanic dialects, to their mutual connection, and even to the history of those who spoke and still speak them. Grimm's view is, that the great shock which pushed all those nations forward into the European territories, also influenced their language so powerfully, that with regard to a certain class of consonants, they were raised almost to another step, if we compare them with other Indo-European tongues; these are the languages of the Goths and of all the northern tribes. But those who were the foremost and wildest of the whole mass, who poured eagerly into the most westward countries, like the Franks, the Suabians, and the Bavarians, advanced linguistically even a step farther. The first development may safely be fixed to have happened in the first or second century of our era; the second was certainly completed in the course of the seventh,—(p. 437.)

Upon this undoubtedly firm hypothesis, an historical inquiry is constructed into the languages of all the different tribes, from the 18th to the 30th chapter. It must be sufficient to describe the general plan which is followed here by our author. Chronologically, he begins with the Goths, and all those tribes which are familiarly allied to them; next follow the High Germans, and the Franks, the Hessians, the Hermunduri, a number of people, the relics of whose languages exhibit a mixture of High and Low. The Saxons, Frisians, Langobardians, Scandinavians, are the last to begin their career in the history of Europe. The striking peculiarities of the different dialects in grammatical forms and syntactical relations, are most accurately explained, notice being always taken of the historical events which caused either the success of some tribe, or the early ruin of another. These pages are of immense importance to the student and the historian of the great migration which, for several centuries, set in commotion the whole of Europe, and fixed the beginning of modern history. Every effort to give an idea of these vast particulars would be vain, and extracts of any use would fill a whole volume. The attention of the English reader, however, will be especially attracted by

the 23d chapter, in which the history of the names, early fates and dialects of the Low Germans, and consequently of the Anglo-Saxons, are described at large. The emigration of the Saxons from their old settlements on the continent into this island, which took place during the fifth century, has become of the same great importance for the history of the Low Germanic tongues, as the colonisation of Iceland for the Scandinavian language,—(p. 642.) Not only the fact, so often confirmed in the history of the world, that colonists are much more faithfully attached to the pure preservation of their mother-tongue than the old stock of their tribe, which remained in their paternal seats, has contributed benignly to the existence of the numerous literary documents, both poetical and prosaic, certain political accidents, and a kind of predestination among the inhabitants for preserving every thing that is sanctified by antiquity and custom, have an equal share in this lucky chance. Whilst on the continent, the High Germans, the most active of all, as it appears so distinctly in their dialect, are beginning very early to overpower, politically and linguistically, the independence of the Low Germans, and even in the principal document of the Old Saxon tongue—the *Heliand*, a poem of the ninth century—many signs of the encroaching High German are visible; the language and literature of the Anglo-Saxons exhibit striking old forms of their own in all the branches of grammar, and preserve in many hundred manuscripts, documents of the original heathen poetry, and of a noble prose animated by the purest Christian spirit. The pages 658–667, enumerate the most remarkable features of the Saxon dialects which were spoken during that age in England; and although our author has proved on another occasion, that the language of the Angles in the north of Germany, on account of their intimate connection with the Thuringians, ought to have borne certain marks of an High German stamp, he terminates his chapter on Saxons and Anglo-Saxons with the confession, that all efforts to arrive at a similar conclusion with regard to the Anglian as spoken in the north and east of England have been resultless, and that much more of a Frisian than a Thuringian element may be suspected to exist among the northern English dialects.

For the sake of the general reader, we would further allude to some interesting passages, in which a subject is treated,

which has often been discussed, and with very different results. It is known to the classical scholar, that many of the names which occur in the books of Tacitus, are by no means the same which are borne by the Germans three or four centuries later, after they have become masters of the Roman empire, and founders of mighty states in the very heart and in the west of Europe. So the Alemans are the descendants of the old Suevi, (p. 499); the Franks of the Sigambri, (p. 520); the Hessians of the Catti, (p. 568); the Thuringians of the Hermunduri, (p. 597); the Saxons of the Cherusci, (p. 612); the Frisians of the Chauai, (p. 675); nearly all of them deriving their names from their peculiar arms or dress, which is not only the case with the more recent appellation, but also with the old names, which not unjustly might be called classical. It is most instructive to see how a master like Grimm dissects these old names, and how he discovers the old Teutonic roots, which were disfigured by the Romans, who, as everybody knows, could not boast of being very great etymologists.

A whole chapter, the 29th, is dedicated to the etymology of the collective names of all the tribes together. When the Romans became at first acquainted with the forefathers of modern Europe, on the banks of the Rhine and of the Danube, they called them promiscuously *Germani*. Classical philology has tried, for centuries, to explain this name, but with no success. It is a fact, that neither the Goth, nor the Suabian, nor the Saxon, ever used this appellation, and Tacitus, *Germ.* 3, calls it "vocabulum recens et nuper additum." This is the reason why Grimm rejects every derivation which is taken from a Teutonic root. The Romans could neither call their vigorous enemies after the word *gēr*, meaning a lance or javelin, nor after that old mythological prefix *irman* or *irmin*. On the contrary, the name is of a foreign origin, and the gift of their Gallic neighbours, which the Roman conquerors adopted into their language,—(p. 786.) Grimm suspects that there exists a connection between it and the Gaelic *gairmadair*, or Welsh *garmwyn*, vociferans, almost the Homeric *βοῶν ἀγρόες*. This would be by no means a single instance, where a nation is presented by its neighbours with a foreign name; our book supplies us with two more very curious cases, which, though discussed in another part of the work, may be quoted with advantage in this place. Grimm has discovered, that the names *Suevi* (A. S.

swasfas, the Suabians,) and *Slavi* (the Slavonians,) derive their origin from the same old Slavonic word *svobod*, liber; and he suggests very facetiously, that Sarmatians in the deserts of Asia, imparted their own proud appellation to the first German tribe which dwelt on their borders,—(p. 321.) What a bitter irony, that the word, the original meaning of which was *free*, should now and for ever signify the *serf*! The other case bears an exact likeness to the origin of the name Germani. The Germans of the early Middle Ages neither knew the word *Slavi* nor *Sclavi*; they transferred the name of one of their own tribes to that great eastern nation, for they called them *Veneti*, *Winidi* (*Wenden*), which is unquestionably the same with *Vandili*, *Vindili*,—the Vandals, who, after having crossed the middle and the south of Europe, and having given their name to the Mediterranean,⁶ disappear in the north of Africa,—(pp. 171, 322.)

The German of the second century, however, was not in want of a name for the whole congregation of tribes; he found it in his own language, as the German of our days still does. Ulfilas already translated ἰθνηῶν, in the Epistle to the Galatians II. 14, by *thiudiskō*, from *thiuda*, the people; and all the other dialects use constantly the same adjective; the Anglo-Saxon, *theodisc*; the Dutch, *dutsc*; the Swedish, *tydsk*; the Italian still *tedesco*. "In modern English one should say in conformity with etymology, *thiedish* or *thedish*; the Scotch dialect still retains a word *thede*, like A.S. *theod*, the people,"—(p. 789.)⁷

The last chapters of the book, again, contain matters of a more special, and for the greater part, grammatical nature. We read there of certain peculiarities, especially in declension and in conjugation. As in the old dialects, chiefly in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, the reduplication, the instrumental case, and the dual number, have not yet completely disappeared, but exercise for a long while an important influence; Grimm has found it necessary to subjoin single treatises upon these and some other subjects. Whatever they contain will be of advantage and interest to those who are fond of comparative philology. Two essays of a more ethnographical character upon *right and left*, and upon *milk and meat*, introduce the conclusion of this in every respect extraordinary and wonderful book.

⁶ *Wendel-sae* is the common name of it in Anglo-Saxon, as likewise in different other Germanic dialects.

⁷ It would also be more proper for the Germans to call an Englishman *Angel*, and not *Engländer*,—(p. 689.)

We have already confessed, that we do not feel able to describe or to censure it; our only wish is, that these lines may prove successful in bringing to the *History of the German Language* many readers who, we are convinced, will all find nourishment therein, whatever direction their taste or studies may have taken. The Sanscrit scholar, the classical student, the Germanist, the historian, the antiquary, the lawyer, all of them will be attracted by the manifold subjects of the book; and only the man, who is a perfect master of his own particular study, will be able to pass sentence upon so many disputed questions.

The Saxon element in speech, manners, and politics, which has been strengthened in this island, during the last years, so evidently by the many successful endeavours to enlighten the public about its language, history, and juridical antiquities, cannot fail to derive a new and vigorous support from the careful study of Grimm's last book. All who are acquainted with literary pursuits of this kind, are aware of the impulse which was given by the great Grammar, and by the German Mythology. A really philosophical student will not be deterred from the work by the political colour, which, as has been mentioned before, is visible in some pages; and although his own political opinions about certain nationalities may widely differ from those of the author, he will always remember that there are only few men living, who, like Grimm, understand the very system of true Germanic life and language; and that Grimm did not act frivolously, like a modern demagogue, when he ventured to pronounce the Jutes to have been originally Low Germans, and not Scandinavians; or when he predicts the accession of the Danish isles to an united Scandinavia, and that of Holland to an united Germany. These are not mere dreams, as the unhappy and almost desperate state of the continent at this moment would make us frequently believe,—the principle has been already working for almost half a century. Very likely it will prove to be another example to the disbelieving world, of the intimate union in which mighty political and linguistic movements are accompanying each other; and it is not improbable, that some hundred years hence, perhaps, the very things may have taken place which are founded on the philosophic divination in Grimm's *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*.

R. PAULI.

XV.

COMMENTARIES ON, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF, THE
ENEIS OF VIRGIL.—(Continued.)

BY JAMES HENRY, M. D.

*Fellow of the College of Physicians, Dublin.*PART IV.—COMPREHENDING FROM LINE 256. TO LINE 458.
OF BOOK II.

V. 256. *Flammas quum regia puppis Extulerat.*—*Effero* being the verb employed in Roman military tactics (see Liv. x. 19; xl. 28.) to express the raising of the standard, and the carrying it forward out of the camp against the enemy, there can, I think, be little doubt that there is here a tacit comparison of the personified *regia puppis*, raising its signal flame, and followed by the *Argiva phalanx instructis navibus*, to the standard-bearer of an army, raising the standard, and followed by the soldiers to battle.

The practice of the admiral's ship carrying a light by night for the guidance of the other vessels of the fleet, having come down to more modern times, is thus humorously alluded to by Shakespeare, Part I. *Henry IV.* Act III. sc. 3.—*Falstaff*, (to Bardolph.) "Thou art our admiral, thou bearest the lantern in the poop—but it is in the nose of thee."

V. 259. *Claustra.*—*Claustrum*; that by which any thing is shut either in or out; a shutter; a barrier: it is, therefore, applied to the moveable pieces, (of whatever material,) which closed the vents of Eolus's cave, *En.* i. 56; (see comment. *En.* i. 81;) to the high lands on each side, which appeared to close in the straits of Pelorus, *En.* iii. 411; to the valve or valves of a door or gate, by which, viz. the passage is closed, *En.* ii. 491; to mountains, closing or barring the passage from one country into another, Tacit. *Hist.* iii. 2; and therefore metaphorically to the barriers which the laws oppose to the commission of crime, Quint. xiii. 10; which nature opposes to the investigation of her secrets, Lucret. i. 71, &c. *Claustrum* never has any other meaning; not even in the very passages quoted by Forcellini, that prince of laborious and obtuse lexicographers, to

prove that its primary meaning is "*repagulum quo janua clauditur.*"

V. 263. *Primusque Machaon.*—I am decided by the exactly corresponding passage, *primusque Thymates*, II. 32, to understand (with Heyne,) *primus* to mean here *first in order*, notwithstanding the authority of Aurelius Victor to the contrary, and the doubt of Wagner, *Quaest. Virg.* XXVIII. 5.

V. 267. *Conscia.*—See comment. II. 99.

V. 268. *Tempus erat, &c.*—

It was the time when rest, soft sliding down
From heaven's height into men's heavy eyes,
In the forgetfulness of sleep doth drown
The careful thoughts of mortal miseries.

Spenser, *Visions of Bellay*, I.

V. 272. *Raptatus bigis, &c.*—The construction is, *Mæstissimus Hector, Raptatus bigis (ut quondam), aterque cruento Pulvere, perque pedes trajectus lora tumentes, Visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus.* The strength and beauty of this passage, consisting mainly in the positiveness of the prediction, *raptatus bigis*, is wholly lost by those who adopt the interpretation of Wagner, *Visus est adesse mihi talis qualis erat quum raptatus esset*; which has the effect of throwing the emphasis of the principal words, *raptatus bigis*, and placing it upon *ut quondam*, words which are quite unessential, and introduced solely for the purpose of explaining to Eneas's hearers (and Virgil's readers,) that the condition expressed by *raptatus bigis*, (viz. *that of having been rapt by a biga*,) exactly resembled the condition in which Eneas had formerly seen Hector, after he had been rapt by the *biga* of Achilles. Or, (to make my meaning still clearer,) Eneas, during his dream, sees Hector *raptatus bigis* (*presenting the appearance of having been rapt by a biga*,) *aterque cruento, &c.* but makes no comparison of that appearance with Hector's real appearance after he had been dragged round the walls of Troy, until he comes to relate his dream; then, as his hearers might not perfectly understand what appearance he meant by *raptatus bigis*, he explains his meaning by a reference, (contained in the words *ut quondam*,) to the well-known appearance which Hector had formerly presented, after he had been dragged at Achilles' chariot-wheels. The comma, therefore, placed after *bigis*, by the more correct judgment of some previous editor, and removed by Heyne, should be replaced.

I need scarcely point out to the reader, that the words *ut quondam*, although intended only to illustrate the meaning of *raptatus bigis*, present us also with a natural and philosophical explanation, why Eneas, in his dream, saw Hector, quasi *raptatus bigis*; viz. because of the strong impression made upon his mind by the sight of Hector, after he had been actually dragged by the *biga* of Achilles.

Chateaubriand, (*Genie du Christianisme*, part II. livre 5. c. 11,) instituting a parallel between this dream of Eneas and that in which Athalie (Racine, *Athalie* II. 5,) sees her mother Jesabel, observes: "Quel Hector paroît au premier moment devant Enée, quel il se montre à la fin. Mais la pompe, mais l'éclat emprunté de Jesabel 'pour reparer des ans l'irreparable outrage' suivi tout à coup, non d'une forme entière, mais

'de lambeaux affreux

Que des chiens devorans se disputoient entr'eux,'

est une sorte de changement d'état de peripetie qui donne au songe de Racine une beauté qui manque à celui de Virgile. Enfin cette ombre d'une mère qui se baisse vers le lit de sa fille, comme pour s'y cacher, et qui se transforme tout à coup 'en os et en chairs meurtris,' est une de ces beautés vagues, de ces circonstances terribles, de la vraie nature du fantôme." In reply to which criticism I shall perhaps be permitted to observe: 1st, That the absence from Eneas's dream of a "peripatie" similar to that which has been so much and so justly admired in the dream of Athalie, so far from being a defect, is, rather, new evidence of that superior poetical judgment which informed Virgil, that the proper place for such a "peripatie" was not in the warning, exhorting, encouraging dream of Eneas, but exactly where the poet has placed it, in the horrifying dream of Turnus:

"Talibus Alecto dictis exarsit in iras," &c.

En. VII. 445.

It was with this *similar* dream of Turnus, with that Calybe changing into the furious Alecto hissing with all her hydras; or with the *similar* dream of Eteocles, with that Teresias converted into the ominous Laius baring his divided throat, and deluging his grandson's sleep with blood, (*undanti perfundit vulnere somnum*, Stat. *Theb.* II. 124,) not with the *totally dissimilar* Hector of the *totally dissimilar* dream of Eneas, that

Chateaubriand might have correctly compared the Jesabel of *Athalie*. But lest it should be imagined that I use this plea of dissimilarity as a mere pretext for eschewing a comparison from which my favourite Virgil might perhaps issue with tarnished laurels, I beg to add, 2dly, That I prefer Eneas's dream to *Athalie*'s, (a) On account of its greater simplicity; the former consisting of a single view or scene, with but a single actor; while the latter is complicated of two scenes, each with its separate actor; and those scenes so far distinct and independent of each other, that Chateaubriand in his parallel has (whether disingenuously or through mere error I will not pretend to say,) assumed and treated one of them as the whole dream, and compared Eneas's dream with that one, without making any, even the least, reference or allusion to the other. (b) Because the role assigned to Hector (viz. that of announcing to Eneas the capture of the city, and his own immediate personal danger; of urging, and thereby justifying his flight; of conveying to him the first information that it was he who was to take charge of the *sacra* of Troy, and establish for them a new and great settlement beyond the sea, that settlement no less than the beginning of that Roman empire whose foundation was the subject and key of the whole poem, and finally of actually committing those *sacra* into his hands,) confers upon Hector the dignity and importance of a real character, of one of the poet's actual *dramatis personæ*; which Jesabel, whose part rises little, if at all, beyond the production of a certain amount of terror, is a mere phantom, subsidiary to, and making way for, the child Joas; who, as that personage of the dream on which the whole plot and future incidents of the drama hinge, mainly attracts and fixes on himself the interest. (c) Eneas's dream is to be preferred to *Athalie*'s, because the former is interwoven with and forms part of the narrative; the latter stands separate from it, and is only explanatory, or at the most casual. The sailing of the ambushed fleet from Tenedos, Sinon's opening the *claustra* of the wooden horse, the descent of the chiefs into the city, the throwing wide the gates to the whole Grecian army, Eneas's seeing Hector in a dream receiving from him the "sacra" of Troy, waking and hearing the tumult, taking arms, &c. are so many mutually dependent and connected parts of the same history, related in one even uninterrupted tenor by the same narrator, and recorded by the audience with the same undoubting

faith; while on the other hand even Athalie herself does not credit her own dream until she has dreamt it twice over, and even then, when she comes to relate it, thinks it necessary to warn her hearers, in verbiage sufficiently French and tedious, against taking so bizarre an assemblage of objects of different kinds, for the work of chance.

De tant d'objets divers le bizarre assemblage
Peut-être du hazard vous parôit un ouvrage ;
Moi-même quelque temps, honteuse de ma peur,
Je l'ai pris pour l'effet d'une sombre vapeur.
Mais de ce souvenir mon âme possédée.
A deux fois en dormant revu la même idée ;
Deux fois mes tristes yeux se sont vu retracer, &c.

I should not perhaps have so long dwelt on this comparison, if Racine had not been put forward, not merely by Chateaubriand, but by so many other French critics, and by the French nation generally, as the French Virgil, in his other performances equal, in Athalie superior, to the Mantuan. Alas for that superiority, which even here, in this selected passage of this selected work is guilty, I will not say of a mere inaccuracy of expression, but of a downright confusion of ideas, in as much as Athalie having made no mention of the real Jesabel, but only of that Jesabel which appeared to her in the dream, the "*son ombre*" intended by Racine to refer to the real Jesabel, must of necessity be referred by the audience or reader to the Jesabel of the dream, and be understood as meaning the shade of that apparition; or, in other words, although Racine undoubtedly wished his audience to understand that the figure which stooped down to embrace Athalie, was no other than the apparition which had just spoken to her; yet as the only correlative in the whole context for the word "*son*" is the preceding *elle*, the sense which he has actually expressed is, that the figure which stooped down to embrace Athalie was not that figure which had just spoken to her, but only the shade of that figure, *i.e.* the shade of a shade: a confusion of ideas, or, to use the milder term, an inaccuracy of expression, for which we in vain seek a parallel even in the least correct of the Latin authors.

V. 273. *Tumentes*.—Dead limbs do not swell in consequence of violence: either, therefore, Virgil means, that the swelling of Hector's feet was the result of putrefaction; or he applies the adjunct *tumentes* in ignorance of the physiological truth; or

aware of the truth, falsely, for the sake of effect; or else, he means that both the swelling, and the violence which produced it, were anterior to death.

It is highly improbable that he means that the swelling was the consequence of putrefaction; because, although he might not have felt himself bound by the authority of Homer, who expressly states (*Iliad*, XXIII. XXIV.) that Apollo prevented putrefaction from taking place in the corpse of Hector, yet no poetical advantage was to be gained by supporting the idea of putrefaction, inasmuch as that idea was not only revolting in itself, but, by removing our thought so much the further from the living, sentient Hector, directly tended to diminish that sympathy with him, which it was the sole object of the description to excite.

It is still less likely that Virgil, aware of the physiological truth, applied the term falsely, for the sake of effect; the unworthy supposition is contradicted by every thing which is known, or has ever been heard, of Virgil.

The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable, either that Virgil applied the term *tumentes* in ignorance of the physiological truth, that violence inflicted on dead limbs will not cause them to swell; or that the non-Homeric narrative (see Heyne, *Excurs.* XVIII. ad *En.* 1.) which he certainly must have followed, when describing Hector as having been dragged round the walls of Troy, (and not, as in the *Iliad*, from Troy to the Grecian tents, and round the tomb of Patroclus,) represented Achilles as having bored Hector's feet, and dragged him after his chariot *before he was yet dead*. Nor let the reader, living in times when man has some bowels of compassion for brother man, reject with horror the imputation to Achilles of so atrocious cruelty; let him rather call to mind the boring of the feet of Œdipus, of the feet and hands of malefactors on the cross, the slitting of noses and cropping of ears, the burnings at the stake, and breakings on the wheel, not so very long since discontinued in Christian countries. This latter explanation of the difficulty involved in the word *tumentes*, derives no small confirmation from the words in which Virgil (*En.* 1. 483,) has described the dragging of Hector round the walls of Troy,

Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros,
Exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.

There must be some good reason (see comment. *En.* II. 552,)

why, in these lines, *exanimus corpus* is not applied, as might have been expected, to *raptaverat*, but solely to *vendebat*; and such good reason is at once suggested by the explanation just given of the word *tumentes*; Achilles drags round the Ilian walls *Hector* (not Hector's *exanimus corpus*, Hector being yet alive); and having thus deprived him of life, sells his *corpse* (*exanimus corpus*) for gold.

If its discrepancy from the Homeric narrative raise any considerable obstacle in the mind of the reader against the reception of this explanation, I beg to refer him for a discrepancy, not merely with an isolated passage, but with a very large and important part of the story of the Iliad, to Euripides's *Helen*, who never even so much as saw Troy.

Since the above Comment. was written, (in 1845,) I have fallen accidentally upon the following passage in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, vers. 1040, ed. Eton, 1786,—

Ἑκτωρ μὲν, ᾧ δὲ τοῦδ' ἐδωρήθη πάρα
 ζωστήρι περισθείς ἱππικῶν ἐξ ἀντύγων,
 Ἔργαπτε' αἶέν ἔστ' ἀπέψυξεν βίαν.

Although these lines, proving the existence of an account of Hector's having been dragged *alive* after Achilles's chariot, convert almost into certainty the argument which in that Comment. I have presented only as a probability, I have yet allowed the Comment. to remain unaltered, in order to exemplify the importance and necessity of a closer examination than is usual, of the apparently trivial or supposed well-understood expressions of our author.

V. 274. *Quantum mutatus ab illo*, &c.—Compare that most touching lamentation in that most pathetic perhaps of all the ancient dramas, the *Electra* of Sophocles, v. 1132. ὦ φίλτάτου μνημῆον, &c.

V. 283. *Ut te . . . Defessi aspiciamus*, &c.—*Ut* belongs not to *Defessi*, (Wagner,) but, as sufficiently shown by the exactly corresponding—

Ut te fortissime Teucrûm
Accipio agnoscoque libens! Ut verba parentis
Et vocem Anchisæ magni vultumque recorder.

En. viii. 154.

to *aspiciamus*, the force of which is increased by *defessi*, as in the passage just quoted, that of *accipio* and *agnosco* is increased by *libens*.

V. 299. *Quanquam secreta parentis, &c.*—One of the objections made by Napoleon, (see his Note sur le dixième livre de l'Énéide, quoted at vers. 5, above,) to Virgil's account of the taking of Troy, is, that it was impossible for Eneas, *dans ce peu d'heures et malgré les combats*, to have made numerous journeys (*plusieurs voyages*) to the house of Anchises, situated *dans un bois à une demi-lieue de Troyes*. This criticism is doubly erroneous, because, 1st, The house of Anchises was not half a league's distance, nor any distance, from Troy, but in Troy itself, as evidenced by the account (vv. 730, 753) of Eneas's flight from Anchises' house, *out of Troy, through the gate of the city*; and, 2dly, Because Eneas visits the house only twice, and, on one of these occasions, (as if Virgil had been careful to guard against any demur being made to so many as even two visits to a house, situated, as he here informs us, in a remote part of the town,) is miraculously expedited by a goddess.

I know not whether it will be regarded as an extenuation, and not rather as an aggravation, of Napoleon's error, that he has here (as in the other parts of his critique,) depended wholly on Delille's very incorrect translation:

Déjà le bruit affreux, (quoique loin de la ville
Mon père eût sa demeure, au fond d'un bois tranquille.)

It was, at least, incumbent on him, before he sent forward to the world, under the sanction of his illustrious name, a condemnation of the second book of the Eneis, both in the general and in the detail, to have taken ordinary pains to ascertain Virgil's true meaning; and to have assured himself that he was not fulminating his condemnation against errors, the greater part of which had no existence, except in the false medium through which alone (as sufficiently evidenced both by his own words and his quotations,) he had any acquaintance with Virgil.

V. 302. *Summi fastigia tecti.*—*Fastigia tecti*; viz. *tectum fastigatum*; a sloping or ridged roof, such as is commonly used throughout Europe at the present day. That this is the meaning of the term is placed beyond doubt by the passage in which Livy describes the *testudo*; "*scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis submissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nisis, fastigatum, sicut tecta ædificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant.*" Liv. XLIV. 9.

V. 309. *Tum vero manifesta fides.*—An expression still pre-

served in Italian. "In prova della prima parte si può addurre . . . queste parole del convito, che ne fanno manifesta fede." Comment. of Biagioli on Dante, *Infern.* II. 98.

V. 322. *Quo res summa loco, Pantheu?*—I cannot agree with Burmann and Forbiger, that, (*quo loco* being taken figuratively, and *res summa* for *salus reipublicæ*,) the question asked by Eneas is, *In what condition is the public safety?* because it were mere idleness of Eneas to ask such question, he being already (v. 309–317,) fully aware of the desperate condition of affairs. Still less can I assent to the monstrous proposition of Thiel, (monstrous, as being wholly gratuitous, and unsupported even by the shadow of an authority,) to understand *res summa* as spoken of the *arx*, "von der Burg, als auf welche alles ankommt."

There is no occasion to have recourse to these forced explanations, the literal interpretation affording a better, and as it seems to me, an unexceptionable meaning, *quo loco (ubi) res summa (summa rei) viz. agitur*; where, in what part of the town, is the principal conflict? i. e. that on which the fate of the city depends? This is a pertinent question, put with the greatest propriety to Pantheus, the first fugitive he met, by Eneas, rushing out of the house with arms in his hands, for the very purpose of aiding his fellow-citizens in the desperate conflict which he knew was going on somewhere, (he did not yet know exactly where,) in the city. He meets Pantheus flying, and begs to be directed to the scene of combat, *quo loco, Pantheu, (viz. agitur,) res summa*. Livy, Lib. XXII. c. ult. uses *res summa* precisely in the same sense, and, by a singular coincidence, in a passage also descriptive of parties hastening to the scene of action, to the spot *ubi res summa agitur*. "Eodem et duo duces et duo exercitus Karthaginensium, ibi rem summam agi cernentes, convenerunt." The phrase *summa rerum* is also used by Livy, VI. 22, in nearly the same sense.

V. 322. *Quam prendimus arcem?*—"Optimum factu, ut arcem pro perfugio accipias; quo confugimus?"—Heyne. Wrong, because Eneas is not thinking of *refuge* or *retreat*, but of *fighting*. See vv. 314, 315, 316, 317, and the whole sequel, even to the end of the book. Virgil knew too well what was due to his hero, to represent him as consulting for his personal safety, and even for flight, before he had struck a single blow, or so much as faced, or even seen the enemy.

"Qua viâ, ratione, ad arcem pervenire possumus?"—Burmann.

"*Quomodo prendimus arcem?*"—Wagner. Both wrong, because, if Eneas sought the arx as a safe retreat for himself, the interpretation is liable to the same objection as Heyne's; if he sought it for the purpose of their fighting at an advantage, it was incumbent on him first to have inquired whether the arx was not already on fire, or in possession of the enemy; or at least to have waited until Pantheus, in answer to his first question, had informed him where the principal conflict was, and where his assistance was most needed. If Pantheus had answered (which, however, he did not,) "the principal contest is at the arx," then, and not till then, could Eneas have, with propriety, put the further question, *quâ ratione ad arcem pervenire possumus?*

"*De interpretatione omnino consentio cum Wagnero, sed ita explico, quæ jam arx reliqua est quam prendere possimus? i. e. arcem non amplius possumus capere, obtinere. Recte igitur Servius, 'quum tu eam relinquis,' (v. 319) non enim plures erant arces.*—Weichert. Wrong, 1st, Because the flight of the aged priest of the citadel proved only that the citadel was in imminent danger, not that it was taken; and 2dly, Because the reflection, that there was no other citadel to seize and occupy, now that the citadel was lost, if true, was a truth of which Pantheus did not need to be informed.

"*Wie (quam, qualem) treffen wir die Burg?*"—Thiel. Wrong, because, 1st, We cannot, without putting great force upon the words, understand *quam* to mean *qualem*; or *prendimus* (in the present) to mean *inveniemus* (in the future); and because, 2dly, There is an evident incongruity between the tame calculating coolness of the question, *wie treffen wir die Burg?* and the highly excited, maddened (*amens*) state of Eneas's mind, see vv. 314-317.

All these erroneous interpretations are but the various offshoots of the radical, and hitherto unsuspected, error, that the *nos*, which is the subject of *prendimus*, means either *ego et socii*, or *ego et tu*, viz. *Pantheus*. Let us understand the *nos* of *prendimus* to mean simply *Trojani*, (not including either Eneas or Pantheus,) and the sentence is immediately extricated from all difficulty; Eneas asks, *What arx do we (viz. Trojans) occupy?* This question is simple and intelligible, and puts no force upon any of the words, Eneas using *nos* to express the Trojans, without including either himself or Pantheus, in the same way as an

English speaker or historian says 'we conquered at Trafalgar,' or 'we sent an expedition to Egypt,' although the battle of Trafalgar was fought, and the expedition to Egypt sent, before either himself or any of his hearers was born : *prendimus* being used in its ordinary sense of *seizing and holding*, and being put in the present instead of the past time, because the action is not yet completed ; and *arx* being understood generically, of any place capable of being defended, *e. g.* any hill, temple, palace, tower, fort, or even wall or ditch ; for an example of *arx* used in which general sense, see *En.* x. 805.

Quam prendimus arcem, thus understood, harmonises so perfectly with *quo res summa loco*, that it may be considered rather as a modified repetition of that question than as a new and independent one, Eneas expecting but one answer to his inquiry *where is the chief contest ? what place of strength do we (Trojans) occupy ?* because the chief contest was, of course, wherever the Trojans were endeavouring to defend themselves by means of *an advantageous position*. Thus understood, Eneas's question is consistent with his character of hero ; he does not gasconade about seizing *an* (or *the*) *arx* in order to defend it either with *socii* (*ego et socii*,) he being alone, and having no *socii* until chance afterwards throws them in his way ; or with the assistance of an old, frightened, and fugitive priest (*ego et tu*,) encumbered with the images of his gods, and with a helpless child ; neither does he consider how he may best save himself under the shelter of *an* (or *the*) *arx* ; but, his first and immediate impulse being to give all the assistance in his power, he asks, in the briefest terms possible, the appropriate question, *where is the brunt of battle ? in what place of strength do the Trojans defend themselves ?* and with propriety puts the question to Pantheus, because he is the first person whom he meets, and has that moment come from the scene of danger. But further, as truth is always not only consistent with, but illustrative of other truth, so this interpretation of Eneas's question is not merely consistent with, but illustrates, the answer of Pantheus, who, being asked *where the chief conflict is ? what arx of defence the Trojans occupy ?* replies, *There is no conflict, the Trojans occupy and defend no arx, the Greeks are victorious and masters of the city, (dominantur in urbe,) the city is on fire, every street is beset by the enemy with flaming swords, and thousands more are entering at the gates, the guards of which are overpow-*

ered, and make no resistance. A more direct answer could not be given to Eneas's question, *where is the chief conflict? what point of defence do the Trojans occupy?* And Eneas proceeds accordingly; for, having learned from Pantheus that there was no stand made by the Trojans, and that therefore there was no one spot which demanded his presence more than another, he follows the guidance of the noise and the fire,

In flammas et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
Quo fremitus vocat, et sublatus ad aethera clamor.

vv. 337, 338.

V. 325. *Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium.*—The full force of these expressions will be perceived by those readers only who bear in mind, that among the Romans, the death of an individual was, not unfrequently, announced to his friends by the word *fuit*; see (in Wernsdorf's *Poet. Latini Minores*),—

Mollibus ex oculis aliquis tibi procidet humor,
Cum dicar subitâ voce, "*fuisse*," tibi.

Elegia incerti auctoris de Mæcenat. Morib.

So also Plautus, *Truc.* i. 2, 94,—Horresco misera, mentio quoties fit partionis, ita pæne tibi *fuit* Phronesium. Matth. ii. 18, —Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not, (*οὐκ εἶα*). Compare also Cicero's announcement of the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators,—"*vixerunt*;" and (Schiller, *Mar. Stuart*, Act iv.)—

— Jene hat gelebt

Wenn Ich dies Blatt aus meinen Händen gebe.

Corresponding to the use of the past tenses of the verb *sum*, emphatically to express *death*, i. e. the cessation of existence, was the use of its present tense to express *life*, i. e. the continuance of existence.

Estis, Io superi, nec inexorabile Clotho
Volvit opus.—Stat. *Silv.* i. 4.

V. 369. *Plurima mortis imago.*

Nothing afraid of what thyself didst make,
Strange images of death.—*Macbeth*, i. 3.

V. 391. *Arma dabunt ipsi.*—If, as hitherto supposed, *ipsi* mean the persons whom Choroebus and his party are despoiling of their arms, ("Die Todten werden Waffen geben," Schiller),

the sentence *arma dabunt ipsi* is a mere tautology, the same meaning being contained in the preceding *mutemus clypeos*, &c.; for, *Let us exchange arms with these persons*, and *these persons shall supply us with arms*, are plainly but different ways of saying the same thing. I, therefore, refer *ipsi* to the *Danaï*; the *enemy*, generally; and understand Choroebus's meaning to run thus, *Let us change shields, &c. with these dead fellows here, and, by so doing, compel the Danaï, the invaders themselves, (ipsi,) to furnish us with arms.* The passage being so interpreted, there is, 1st, no tautology; and, 2dly, *ipsi* has its proper emphatic force.

The sentiment contained in *arma dabunt ipsi* is familiar to us in the English proverbial expression, *furnish a rod to whip himself.*

V. 401. *Conduntur.*—*Condo* is (strictly) not merely to *hide*, but, the force of *do* being preserved in its compound, (see Comment. *En.* i. 60,) to *put or to plunge into a place so as to hide.* Hence it is sometimes even joined with a preposition governing the accusative:

Sol quoque et exoriens, et cum se condet in undas.

Georg. i. 438.

V. 406. *Nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.*—It is evident that the translators understand the words *vincula arcebant* to be equivalent to *vincula ligabant*, and to mean no more than that *chains bound her hands*:

Her eyes, for fast her tender wrists were bound.—*Surrey.*

— rude fetters bound her tender hands.—*Beresford.*

On the contrary, the idea of *binding* does not extend beyond the word *vincula*; *arcebant* of *hindering, keeping away*; (*vincula*) *bonds, (arcebant) hindered, kept off*, her hands, viz. so that she could not extend them towards heaven. Our author had probably before his eyes his favourite model:—

Ἀλλ' ἀνιάζω σ', ὃ γέρον, τῶν σῶν πάρος
Πέτρουσα γονάτων (χεῖρ' δ' οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι
Τῆς σῆς λαβέσθαι φιλάτης γενειάδος).

Eurip. Androm. 573.

V. 406.* *Lumina nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.*—Thus imitated by St. Hieronymus in his marvellous *Mulier septies percussa*,—*Oculis, quos tantum tortor alligare non potuit, suspexit ad cælum.*—*Epist.* i. ad *Innocent.* ‡ 3.

V. 413. *Erepta virginis ira*.—Heyne's interpretation, "*ira propter ereptam virginem*," is proved to be correct, not only by the appropriate sense which it affords, but by our author's use elsewhere of a similar structure, *e. g.* *Mortis fraternæ irâ*, (*En.* IX. 736); *Graiarum errore jubarum*, (412 above); *veterum errore locorum*, (III. 181); *ereptæ amore conjugis*, (III. 330); also, *lacrymæ rerum*, (I. 462); and *lacrymas Creusæ*, (II. 784). For numerous examples of the use of this genitive by other authors, see Dederich on *Dictys Cretens*, v. 4.

V. 413.* *Gemitu atque irâ*.—Prosaice, *an angry groan; groaning with anger*. *Ira* is the *feeling*; *gemitu*, the *sound*, (and, as appears not only from *En.* VII. 15, where the two words are again found united, *gemitus iræque leonum*, but from *En.* II. 53, III. 555, the *loud sound* or *roar*,) by which the *feeling* was expressed.

V. 415. *Adversi rupto*, &c.—Compare *Æschyl. Prom. Vinc.* (almost at the end, Prometheus speaking,) Δ' ἐριζέσθω, &c.

V. 422. *Primi*.—The *first* to discover the cheat, because the *first* and *principal* sufferers.

V. 422.* *Clipeos mentitaque tela*, &c.—They discover the cheat, not all at once, but by two successive steps; first, *recognise the shields and weapons*, i. e. *perceive that they are those of Androgeos and his party*; and then *mark the discrepancy of our voices*; i. e. *the non-agreement of our voices with the shields and weapons*; or, in other words, *that our voices are not those of Androgeos and his party*. See comment. II. 423.

Mentita. Not *agnoscunt mentita*, because they do not discover the false pretence, until after they have compared the recognised weapons with the voices of those by whom they are carried, and observed the discrepancy; but *agnoscunt clipeos telaque*, the term *mentita* being added merely for the sake of clearness, and lest any doubt might arise that the *tela* and *clipeos*, which the Danaï recognise, are the *mentita tela* and *clipeos* previously spoken of.

V. 423. *Ora sono discordia signant*.—Not *signant ora*, *discordia sono*; but *signant sono, ora discordia* (*viz. clipeis telisque*); the sound being the mark or sign, which shows that the *mouths (ora)*, viz. *the speech* (compare *Evang. Luc. XXI. 15. Ego enim dabo vobis os [στόμα] et sapientiam*), disagrees with the *clipeos* and *tela*.

V. 432. *Nec tela, nec ullas Vitavisse vices, Danaum*.—*Shunned VII.*

no reprisal of the Danaï, whether of weapons, or of whatever kind; i. e. Was not deterred from attacking them, by fear of what they might do to me in return, (in vicem or per vices.)

This use of *vices* (viz. to signify *reprisal* or *return*,) flows directly from the radical meaning of the word, and is very familiar to the best Latin writers. Tanto proclivius est injuriæ, quam beneficio, vicem exsolvere. Tacit. *Hist.* iv. 3. Neque est ullus affectus tam liber et dominationis impatiens, nec qui magis vices exigit. Plin. *Paneg.* c. 85. Spernentem sperne, sequenti redde vices. Ovid. *Metam.* xiv. 35. And, with a genitive, as in the passage before us, Multarum miseras exiget una vices. Propert. i. 13, 10. Nor have I any doubt that the ancient Scholiast is correct in understanding in this sense, Plus vici simplici. Hor. *Carm.* iv. 14, 13. "*Vult intelligi in vastandis his non tantam illis cladem intulisse, quantam ipse dederant, sed duplam; h. e. eam non simplici vice reddidisse.*"

V. 440. *Ad tecta ruentes*.—I understand *tecta* here to be, not the roof, but, (as *tectorum*, vers. 454, and *tecto*, vers. 478, and the same word in numerous other places,) the house.

V. 453. *Limen erat, &c.*—*A tergo*, at the rear; *erat limen*, was an approach; *cæcæque fores*, and a blind door, or, more strictly, blind door-valves; *et pervius usus*, and a thoroughfare, viz. through that door, or, those door-valves; *postesque relictis*, and forsaken door-posts; (see Comment. vers. 480.)

Cæcæ. I understand this term to signify, not, concealed in a dark or secret nook, but, contrived so as to appear not to be a door, but merely a part of the wall; such a door, viz. as was technically called by the Greek name, *pseudothyron*; ("Eæ pecuniæ quemadmodum ad istum per pseudothyron revertantur, tabulis vobis et testibus planum faciam." Cicero in *Verr.* iv.) 1st, Because the term is precisely that which we might, *à priori*, expect to be used to designate a door so contrived. 2dly, Because the term being so understood, the force of the immediately succeeding words, *pervius usus* (obscure, if *cæcæ* be interpreted dark or secret) becomes clear and apparent, viz. that this seeming no-door was yet pervious, afforded *pervium usum*. And, 3dly, Because it were derogatory to Andromache to represent her as skulking in at a door in a dark corner, but by no means so to represent her as pushing open blind valves in the side or wall of the building, which, as soon as she had passed, closed again, and showed no appearance of an entrance, but only a mere

blank wall. The passage, so understood, is constructed according to Virgil's usual manner, the descriptive adjectives being joined, not to the whole object, but to the parts of which the object consists; *cæcæ*, to the *door-valves*, ordinarily the most conspicuous part; *relictæ*, deserted, no longer used, to the door-posts which, (see Comment. v. 480,) supporting the valves and turning on the hinges, were the parts *most used*; in *most frequent action*.

Postes relictæ. The reader, accepting the explanation just proposed, of the special junction of *relictæ* with *postes*, will be relieved from the necessity of joining Wunderlich in the wish that these words had been altogether omitted, "*vellem abessent*."

A tergo. All the parts of this secret entrance being equally at the rear of the building, the words *a tergo* are not applied to any one part specially, but equally to all.

There should be a comma after *relictæ*, *a tergo* not being joined to that word, but standing by itself, as in *En.* VIII. 697. *Needum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues*.

A little further on, (v. 557,) there is a sentence of precisely similar construction:—

Jacet ingens littore truncus,
Avulsumque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.

Where, first, a separate and appropriate predicate is assigned to each part, (*ingens* to *truncus*, and *avulsum* *humeris* to *caput*,) and then a predicate, common to each part, (*sine nomine*,) to the whole (*corpus*). See Comment. *En.* II. 552.

V. 458. *Evado*, &c.—*Evado*, (e-vado,) *go the whole way*; *pass over the entire space*, whether upward, downward, or on the level; whether physically, as in the passage before us, and *En.* XII. 907, or metaphorically, as in Terent. *Adelph.* III. 4, 63:—

Verum nimia illæ licentia
Profecto evadet in aliquod magnum malum.

Burmman, in his commentary on this passage, and Forcellini, in his dictionary, interpreting *evado* by *ascendo*, transfer to this verb a meaning wholly foreign to it, and contained only (incidentally) in the context.

(To be continued.)

XVI.

MISCELLANIES.

1. ON THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES.

IT is a common maxim with the English, that "One ought to learn French *as the natives do*." If some of those who think so, would only remember that this was the very way *they* learnt English, and then examine, in sober earnest, how much they really know about it, the delusion would vanish: they would find that the tables are turned, and that, on the contrary, if they would understand their own language *well*, they must consent to lay aside the "*native*," and commence learning *that, de novo*, in the very way foreigners do.¹ It is, in fact, desirable to strip ourselves of our old slovenly habit of familiarity with mother-tongue, as a downright hindrance to accurate and scientific acquaintance; and, in the shirt-sleeves of conscious ignorance, to set about the M'Adamizing task of ascertaining what it is—*soit la prose, soit le vers*—that we have been all this time chattering and scribbling so complacently. Many, however, are never undeceived as to the actual amount of their knowledge; and, satisfied with an off-hand, negociable *connaissance* of their own language, they naturally, in the acquisition of a new one, make a similar acquaintance the *ne plus ultra* of their desires. It is even a matter of regret and surprise to them, that Greek and Latin cannot be "picked up" on the same easy terms. And, in fact, there have been ingenious attempts, such as "Corderius his Colloquies," to engraft classical lore upon our youngsters in this chit-chat, made-easy fashion. All such attempts, besides ending in failure, betray, *in limine*, a misapprehension of one main purpose for which, as a matter of education, languages ought to be learnt at all. If this were *merely*, as Ravirol seemed to think, in

¹ Suppose you are asked, What is the French for "How do you do?"—of course you say, "Comment vous portez-vous?"—but if you are further asked, "What is comment vous portez-vous, in English?" and you still answer, "How do you do?" you are badly taught; you have learnt French "*as the natives learn it*;" i.e. ἀβασανίστως, ἀταλαιπώρως, and (malgré fluency and Parisian accent,) perniciously with regard to the

main point, the PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGES. The youngest child who is taught this phrase, should, *at the same moment*, be told that the French, instead of saying, "How do you do?" say, "*How you carry you?*" i.e. "How do you carry yourself?" Et sic de cæteris.—Much more might be said on the study of modern languages, which I purpose, D. V., to follow up in a future Number.

order to have "three or four different ways of expressing the same thing," (a power, by the bye, not at all to be despised,) then, undoubtedly, the quickest, easiest, and cheapest way of getting up a vocabulary and phrases is the best; and the plodding scholar, "*qui multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit*," is to be pitied for a sad waste of time, labour, and expense. On the contrary, I have been long persuaded that, though many and great are the *direct* advantages resulting from the study of classics, yet these are all surpassed by the *indirect*: the incomparable training of the mind; the constant yet varied gymnastic exercise of memory, judgment, comparison, taste, order, investigation, &c.; the curious insight into the machinery of the human mind, and the operations of thought; and the interesting light thrown by the very idioms upon the character, customs, political and physical circumstances of nations;—all included in the mere *process* of learning the languages. So that, if it were possible to deprive a *well-trained* scholar of every word of his Greek and Latin, and yet leave unimpaired the *mental power* acquired during the course of these studies alone, he would still be a *great* gainer by his classical education; and might tell you that, though robbed of two precious jewels, he had still *by far the best half* of the treasure in his possession. I am well aware that this view of the *indirect* benefits of classical instruction is not the popular one; nor would it, in fact, be at all true, if applied to the *kind* of classical instruction too often given, which may well justify *cui-bono* queries as to its possessing *any* value, direct or indirect. If, however, utilitarians would consider how many really great and wise men were produced in past ages, when the dead languages were cultivated to an *extreme* and *exclusive* extent, they must surely allow some *extraordinary* virtue, some "mighty magic," to a branch of learning which could, almost single-handed, achieve so much for the human intellect. How much more, then, if only employed, as strenuously, in due proportion with other subjects! Yet it is to be feared that a sound, critical knowledge of the languages is increasingly undervalued in England, from an undue, short-sighted eagerness for those departments of knowledge which more immediately and *obviously* bear upon "the business of life;" as if any amount of what is called "practical knowledge" could supersede the necessity for training the reasoning powers to a *right application* of this mass of facts! Nay, to turn from the million, are we *quite* sure that, even at head-quarters, lax construing, "cram," "sciencing," &c. have not already begun to replace the sterner requirements of philological accuracy? I have seen books, and heard of lectures, that betoken something *very* like it. In this state of things, I venture to offer a few hints on the study of language, tending, (I hope,) to promote that "*sound learning*" to which the two universities so especially pledge themselves. I will not stop

here to prove the importance of WRITTEN TRANSLATION to the formation of a critical scholar. Every one knows the value of the practice: those who have most profited by it, best know the difficulties of the execution, *i. e.* "scribendi recte, nam ut multum, nil moror." These hints I especially commend, as "an elder soldier," to those who are commencing a post-mortem examination of the languages of Greece and Rome.

In a translation for philological improvement, or for examination, I conceive the grand desiderata are these two:—First, So to comprehend the *sense* and *force* of the author's ideas, as to transfer them, without loss of either, into any other given language, as English. Second, So to appreciate the *form* into which *his* idiom has compelled him to throw those ideas, as to give the nearest possible approach to *this* in English also. Neither of these *alone* will convince an examiner that the student knows, "*Marte suo*," *exactly* what he is about: and the difficulty is, to combine the two, distinctly and intelligibly. For this purpose, I recommend an *interlined* version, in which the current, unbroken text shall convey the *force* of the original, whilst, *here and there*, a spare line above shall exhibit (as nearly as English can approximate,) the author's *way* of saying the same thing in *his* language, wherever the latter, *precisely* translated, deviates from the plain meaning in English. The learner should in general study to avoid the necessity for this upper line, by contenting himself with a sound, homely English rendering in the *current text*, and not making the two languages part company merely for the sake of *elegance* (*this* can be studied elsewhere,) only most jealously recognising the minutest shade of *idiomatic* difference. In order to execute this plan, some precise system of notation should be rigidly adhered to. For instance:—1. Let the words corresponding to those in the spare or floating line be underlined, to define as by a "*vinculum*" the precise *extent* of correspondence.—*N.B.* Emphatic words may be *doubly* under-lined. 2. Let two or more words representing a single word in the original be connected (as far as possible,) by hyphens. 3. Words not expressed in the original should be enclosed in *curved* brackets, reserving vertical *braces* for parentheses. 4. Words in the original, not admissible in English, may be suspended in a curved line, or loop, above the text. 5. Words whose *order* is *essentially* different, may have small numerals placed *under* them, *besides* a short under-line.

Samples of translation, corresponding, each to each, with the preceding five rules.

1. Tu = Roma conditâ incipis. ^{founded} Thou beginnest from the foundation of Rome.

2. Lapides colligendi. Stones to-be-collected.
3. Homo, (ut fama est) ab urbe venit. (A) man [as (the) report is] came from (the) city.
4. Antequam ego redii. than Sooner than? Before I returned.
5. Hoc autem sequitur. But this follows.

I purposely select *hackneyed* and simple instances: as for the notation, any tutor and pupil may invent a better for their own use. To novelty the method *can* have no claim now, since I have myself been teaching and recommending it, in all essentials, for many years. But, wherever it is adopted *systematically*, and carried out, *in all its bearings*, with increasing precision, I will venture to answer for its *utility*.

N.B.—The current text should perhaps be written first, without any interruption, in convenient portions; the duplicate portions, with the above symbols, being reserved as a separate task, and written in *blue ink*. This last is a *great* improvement, suggested by a merry pupil. It assists the eye and the mind, by exhibiting the peculiarities of the original not only in *alto relievoo*, but in *glaring* separation from that current text, wherein the two languages are supposed to jog on *socialiter*, on a common line. If the translation be submitted for *correction*, *this* should be done, after the example of the late Dr. Tate of Richmond, in *red ink*, which might also, *pro re natâ*, be used in the first instance instead of the blue. In this way the “comparative anatomy,” as it were, of the two languages, extinct and recent, becomes an *unavoidable* study, for the precise limits of agreement and discrepancy must be carefully sought before we put pen to paper. Little idiomatic traits, which are apt to escape the most watchful observer, are actually *forced* upon the attention, and then impressed upon the memory by writing them down, and that in a form peculiarly convenient for revision, reference, or for *retranslation*, which should be introduced at proper intervals of time. I believe no scholar, however matured, could commence this mode of study without soon finding his critical acumen sharpened, and noticing some phenomena which had previously, in passing through a coarser sieve, escaped his notice.

As the *Classical Museum* is no doubt much read by classical Teachers, some of them may take alarm at a plan which seems to militate against their profession, by proclaiming, "GREEK AND LATIN WITHOUT A MASTER." Now, in the first place, *ὅτερ σαφεστάτη νῆστις, I am myself in the trade.* Secondly, I can assure them, that though any one can pursue this method of translation *after a fashion* and with some benefit, yet to do it *well* is the most difficult task I have ever yet attempted; a task beset with sifting niceties, stimulating to the tyro, humiliating to the veteran; above all, *eminently requiring correction!*

Τεκμήριον ἐέ. I have now before me two large packets of such translations arrived by post, *blue inked* by my pupils, and to be returned *red inked* by me, with marginal annotations. Courage! mes camarades; good machinery gives employment to *more* hands eventually, in our workshops, as in others.

J. PRICE.

BIRKENHEAD, April 26, 1849.

2. ON MATTH. V.—VII.

WE must not praise, but we must admire this discourse; we must not criticize, but examine and receive its contents; both the authority of the Teacher and the convincing nature of the doctrines (morally considered) compel us to allow this. Yet I beg to call attention to a feature in it, which, though not always overlooked, has never that I am aware been distinctly traced out; I mean the *order*, with reference to an immediate purpose. I hope to show that the discourse was entirely adapted to a certain appropriate end, and has a very simple arrangement; the perception of this will enable us to bear in mind very easily the several parts of the discourse, as well as to interpret satisfactorily some of the more difficult passages.

From Matth. v. 1, and vii. 28, it appears that the more distant auditors were οἱ ὄχλοι, and the nearer οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. The former class certainly, and the latter very probably, were Jews who had been educated under the teaching of the scribes, and the example of the Pharisees; this we gather from other sources, but it is pointedly assumed in v. 20, and vii. 27, where the Vulgate reading is "Scribæ eorum et Pharisei." At this time the Jews were the only people with whom the records of a revelation remained: to them alone of all nations belonged "the oracles of God:" they were set apart to inherit the promise which God had made to Abraham, that "in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed;" they were, therefore, strictly τὸ ἅλῃς τῆς γῆς and τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. But it is also certain, that through the glosses of the Scribes (οἱ νομοδιδάσκαλοι, as they are also called,) τὸ ἅλῃς μωράνθη, and that through the evil practice of the Pharisees τὸ φῶς ἐκρύφθη: (For the precise nature of these corrupting influences comp. Matth. xv. xvi. and xiii. and Luke xi.) The Scribes erred chiefly by exacting an observance of the more trivial matters of the law, while they lost sight of those great principles of which the law was for the most part only an expression; and the Pharisees are condemned for the vices which we may perhaps best describe by the words "hypocrisy," "covetousness," and "detraction."

Now this discourse is plainly constructed to meet and remedy the corrupt state in which these hearers were.

Jesus begins by laying down moral truths in a paradoxical manner, choosing thus to fix attention on the main and eternal principles of righteousness. At 13, he reminds his hearers of their peculiar condition to 17, when he discloses his own office, and their duty as regards the law, the latter by several instances, in order to correct the teaching of the Scribes: He then begins in vi. 1, to denounce the practice of the Pharisees,—1st, as regards *hypocrisy*; then at 19, as regards *covetousness*; and then at vii. 1, as regards *detraction*: From 13 to 21, he exhorts to caution and amendment, and concludes by giving an authoritative sanction to the whole.

I do not wish to argue that the sermon has no aim beyond this; for I believe that a like exposure of a depraved state of religion is suitable to many other cases; but, I think, its immediate intention is thus made clear; and if the details are examined, they will be found fully to bear out their relationship to this general plan.

I will take one passage, which is perhaps the most difficult of explanation in the whole discourse.

From 19, to end of ch. vi. *covetousness* is the vice which is being denounced, and vv. 22, 23, should accordingly refer some way or other to this vice, as the context on either side of them plainly does. The parallel passage, Luke xi. 34, gives little or no clue to their meaning; but the eye, as expressive of avarice, or gluttony, or grudging, was taken for that vice itself, when joined with attributes of a bad sense, (comp. Deut. xxviii. 54, 56; Job iv. 16; Prov. xxviii. 22; xxiii. 6; Matth. xx. 15, &c.); and with an attributive of an opposite sense, it stands for the opposite virtue, (Ecclus. xxxv. 10, 12, &c.) Also *ἀπλοῦς* is repeatedly used in the sense "bountiful," (comp. Prov. xi. 25; James i. 5; 2 Cor. viii. 2, &c.) Hence we need not hesitate to conclude, with Whitby, that *ὀφθαλμός πόνηρος* may be an equivalent to "covetousness," and *ὀφθαλμός ἀπλοῦς* to "liberality;" and thus the relation of the passage to the context—and therefore to the plan of the discourse—becomes directly evident.

G. and C. C. (κ.)

May 27, 1849.

3. A THEORY ON SYNONYMES.

I HAVE had my attention called to this subject, from observing that Virgil has a practice of giving a Latin translation along with any Greek proper name that he has occasion to use. Take, for instance, *Georg.* l. 102: *Tumidis Bumaste racemis*, where the Greek words *βου-*

μάστον are well explained by the Latin. Generally it is done by a participle or adjective, *e. g.* :—

- Æn.* i. 744. *Pluviasque Hyadas.*
Æn. iii. 689. *Thapsumque jacentem.*
 ... 693. *Plemmyrium undosum.*
 ... 698. *Stagnantis Helori.*
 ... 703. *Arduus Acragas.*
 ... 705. *Palmosa Selinus.*

Perhaps this last throws some light on one sense of the word *σέλινον*.

It would appear, then, to be an intelligible rule, that an author would explain a *foreign* word, by translating it into his own language, and still retaining the original word. This was still more likely to occur whenever one people conquered another, and took possession of the country. Rivers and mountains, &c. would have two names, after Homer's fashion ;

ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον.

Probably *Scamander* was the Trojan name of the river, of which *Xanthus* is the Greek translation ; just as the ancient name of the Lycian *Xanthus* was a Persian word, "*Sirlee*," meaning also "sand-coloured." Ethnologists may tell us perhaps something about the source of the word "*Scamander*," and to what *family* of languages it belongs.

Further, we see this principle at work in the modern name of *Etna* ; "*Mon-gibello*" being a compound of the Italian, and what I suppose is the Arabic (*gebel*) name for "a mountain." I am inclined to believe that we should find this frequently in our own country, where the Norman and Saxon names would co-exist. For instance, what is the Vale of *Tod-mort-en* but the German and French name for our *Vallée d' Enfer* ?

I have had it suggested to me by one of my colleagues, that this is the mode of accounting for the Synonymes in the Prayer-book, drawn up, as it was, for men of all ranks and races, some of whom understood Norman better than Anglo-Saxon, and *vice versâ*. Accordingly, we find such phrases as "We have erred and strayed." "Eternal and everlasting life." "Joy and felicity." "Pardoneth and absolveth." "Guided and governed." "Perils and dangers." &c.

Will not this explain in some degree the Synonymes of the Latin language ? Would not men be found in Rome, some of whom were more familiar with the Greek *patois* of Southern Italy ? some with Tuscan ? some with Oscan, (*messi clarum genus Osci*) ?—Niebuhr, i. 67, &c.

C. J. ABRAHAM.

4. HORACE, ODES I. 1.

MÆCENAS sprung from royal line,
My honoured lord, my cherished friend!
Some there exist whom it delights,
To sweep Olympian dust along,
With glowing wheels the goats to graze,
And high the laurel wreath to bear.
One thinks himself a god on earth,
If he but please the fickle mob,
And catch their wayward fantasies—
Another if his barn but hold
The glowing fruit of Libya's soil—
The man, who joys, his father's fields
To plough, the wealth of Attalus
Would not induce, with Cyprian prow,
To cut the ocean's foaming waves.
The merchant frightened by the blast,
Which threatens to submerge his bark,
Sighs for the calm and rural scenes
Of his birth-place: but soon again
The peril past, his shattered boat,
He rigs afresh, unused to bear
The pressure of harsh poverty.
The Massic wine of gen'rous growth,
Allures the youth, who half each day
In drinking spends, his limbs to spread,
Beneath the green arbutus tree,
And near the cooling fountain head,
The fleeting hours to dream away.
Many the noisy camp prefer,
And love the clarion's piercing note,
And all the panoply of war,
Which fill the mother's heart with dread.
All night beneath the freezing sky,
The hunter lies, his bride forgot,
Some cause always keeps him from home.
His dogs have tracked some noble stag,
Or savage boar, the feeble net
Hath burst and proudly stalked away.
But I, with ivy crowned, shall rise
Inspired, to converse with the gods:
Me shall the shady groves receive,
Where wood-nymphs with the satyr band

Shall bear me company alone :
 There shall Euterpe sound the flute,
 And sweet Polymnia, heavenly muse,
 The Lesbian lyre deign to touch.
 If thou, Mæcenæ, deem me fit
 The poet's honoured name to bear,
 My heart shall seek no other life,
 Than that bestowed by thy applause.

L. S.

5. TRANSLATION OF A CHORAL ODE IN THE HECUBA OF EURIPIDES.
 LINE 893-938.

No more, my native Troy! no more of thee
 Shall men exclaim, "Th' Unconquer'd and the Free!"
 Black as a cloud the Grecian spoiler came,
 And wrapt in night the glories of thy name.
 Shorn of thy crown of turrets, and thy walls
 Begrimed with smoky stains, no more thy halls
 Shall echo to my footsteps, nor by me
 Shall e'er thy streets be trod with stately step and free.

Destruction came at midnight hour—
 When, gay carousals hush'd, the Power,
 The gentle Power of sleep, dispenses
 His sweetest, heaviest influences.
 Within our nuptial chamber lay
 My husband, who had pass'd the day
 In solemn dance and sacred song;
 His "idle spear was high uphung,"
 For now no more th' invading crew
 Of banded Grecians met his view.
 Before the mirror's golden round
 With ribbands gay my hair I bound,
 Preparing for my peaceful bed
 Of down, with softest fleeces spread.

But hark! in our streets the note of tumult and fear!
 While the shout of the foe is borne loud to mine ear,
 "Sons of Greeks, sons of Greeks, say, when shall it be
 That, Troy's citadel captur'd, your homes you shall see?"

From couch of wedded love I flung—
 In haste one robe around me hung,
 And swift to Dian's shrine repair,
 To pour the wild, the instant prayer.

'Twas vain.—I am the foeman's prize.—
 But not until these weeping eyes
 Had seen my husband's mangled corse,
 Did the stern Greek my footsteps force
 Towards the sea ; whence looking back,
 As the ship traced its homeward track,
 On the loved scenes I left behind,
 For one brief space unto the wind
 I cast all softer thoughts, and curst
 Her with the Dioscuri nurst—
 Th' adultress Helen, and that Boy,
 The Shepherd, born the bane of Troy ;
 Whose nuptials (but no nuptials, they—
 Whose hell-cemented union, say)
 Nor home nor country have me left,
 Of husband, kindred, all, bereft !
 O ! never may the sea restore
 The Wanton to her native shore !
 O'er pathless waves still may she roam,
 An Outcast from the sweets of home !

ROBERT MACLURE.

XVII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. THE WORKS OF QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS, Illustrated chiefly from the Remains of Ancient Art. With a Life by the Rev. Henry Hart Milman, Canon of St. Peter's, Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. London : John Murray. 1849.

" Then farewell, Horace ; whom I hated so,
 Not for thy faults, but mine ; it is a curse
 To understand, not feel thy lyric flow,
 To comprehend, but never love thy verse."

Thus singeth Byron. And we well believe that he could neither feel with Horace nor love him ; and yet, that had the noble poet's life been spared to the season of hoary hairs, he would have sympathized with those who make the Venusian their pocket companion. No contrast, indeed, can be conceived stronger than that which exists between the genius and the temperament of the ancient and the mo-

dern poet. Both fond of pleasure—both somewhat scandalized at their own literary fame, or, at least, treating it lightly—both dealing in love and satire, how widely in all other respects are they contrasted! The wild bursts of the roaring volcano do not differ more from the gentle radiance of the placid moon, than the gushing, impetuous tide of passion and invective in the British nobleman, does from the regulated flow of gentle emotion and the gentlemanly satire of the low-born Roman.

But we must not be betrayed into the prosecution of a parallel, which might lead us into impertinent digressions. What has struck us now, after glancing at this new and brilliant edition of Horace, is the constant freshness of the charm which he possesses in all the forms of his writing. We do not mean to discuss the point, whether he was a poet, in the true and loftiest sense of the term, or not. That question each man will settle for himself, according to his understanding or feeling of what poetry is. But we think that we can furnish a test, by which we may decide whether Horace has attained the highest point, as an artist, at which he professes to aim. We believe that a never-failing criterion, in the case of minds of tolerable cultivation in the particular department under examination, of the excellency of a work, is self-gratulation at having experienced pleasing emotions, undisturbed by a questioning of the understanding, or a protest of the reason against either the means or the end. There is in such cases a sense of completeness. The mind wishes for no more, and is conscious that a hairsbreadth on either side would jar against the comfortable feeling of rightness. In matters of taste, we have a right to be pleased. They are not necessary to existence, and should only have a standing-place among their fellows, as they minister to *complete* pleasure. Of course, in all kinds of literature, to well-constituted minds, in all ages, moral rightness, a due regard to the *honestum*, is essential to this satisfaction. And, taking this into account, we can see how writings of every class in verse, administering unmixed pleasurable emotion, in the elevated sense which we attach to the word pleasure, may be entitled to be ranked among the productions of true poets—the benefactors of their race. We thus take our standard, not subjectively, from the mind of the master, but objectively, from the effects produced by his works. We conceive that much confusion has arisen from confounding these two things—the cause and the effect. Some have looked to the effects produced, while others have analyzed the cause: and hence, the point of view being different, opinions have varied. But, surely he who, by the exercise of his living mind, has produced in us unmixed pleasurable emotions, which but for him had not existed, is entitled to the name of ποιητής: he has created for us “fresh fields and pastures new.”

At all events, without contesting about a name, we would aver,

that in poetry, or painting, or music, this common attribute is the criterion of that excellence, to whose creators the world attributes genius—a feeling of completeness, an emotional perception of perfect symmetry and finish, the mind retiring satisfied with the work, as realizing its highest notion of the thoughtful or the beautiful. Contemplate a picture or a statue, and if, after dwelling on its conception and execution, and calmly drinking in its nameless charms, you feel moved and excited to admiration of what is immediately before you, and at the same time inclined to rest on this as *pabulum* for the ruminating delight of many days, depend upon it that genius has been at work in the fabrication. The voice which fills your ear, and occupies your whole heart with thoughts akin to passion,—the melody which, simple or complex, has given you the sense of pleased and satisfied fulness,—these and kindred enjoyments be grateful for, and cavil not as to whether it was genius that produced the effect.

How much has self to do with this? How much is there of the power of mind to act on mind, consciously revelling, not only in its own power, but in its perception of the power to stir up others? But from these metaphysics of literature, let us return to old Horace, briefly to note their application to him—for of their true and most general applicability, we think he is a happy specimen. He seems to us to possess the two requisites in most of his writings,—in different degrees, to be sure, but still they are almost always there,—the power to produce pleasurable emotion and the sense of completeness, the self-gratulatory feeling that we are in the presence of a master of his art, who accomplishes effects of rare elegance without seeming effort, of whose failing we have never any dread, and whose flights are, if not astounding, at least never spasmodic. Water rises no higher than the fountain from which it flows, and we may not expect from any mind to receive emotions of greater intensity than those which it has itself experienced. Our knowledge of the training and life of Horace, as derived from his own charming and unaffected notices, exactly corresponds with the impression made on us by his writings. Carefully educated; without strong passions or appetites; curbing from prudential considerations—prudential, we mean, not only as regarded himself, but his country—the strongest desire which he seems to have had, that of public liberty, he certainly does not realize our idea of a poet, whose impetuous feelings forced forth their way in verse. But he is never incongruous. He never assumes a feeling which he does not cherish, nor endeavour to palm upon his readers the effusions of an artificial fury, as the genuine bursts of poetic phrenzy. To be sure, when dealing with the religion of his country, we lack earnestness. There is neither the simple faith of Hesiod, nor the grand outlining of Homer, nor the wrapt enthusiasm of Pindar, nor the scorching fire

of Æschylus. But in truth, in all supernatural matters, the Roman poets share this defect with him. Their deities were more a matter of the understanding and fancy than of belief. Their lot had fallen on evil times, for religious inspiration. They exhibit no sense of reality, because they felt none. It would be, perhaps, too much to say that these sacred effusions fell as coldly on the ear of educated men then, as now the Daphnes, Chloës, and Lalages of our own classical school of artificial love-making do on our ear. But the analogy may assist us to understand the deadness of Latin versification, when employed in hymning, as an exercise of fancy or a piece of state policy, gods in whom the writer had only a literary and factitious interest. Lucretius and Juvenal are certainly in earnest in their words, and their earnestness is visible in every line; but Horace is only performing the part of a good citizen, who lends his aid to keep the people in order by the influences of religion, or is showing that the Roman, as well as the Grecian muse, can soar to the heights of Olympus.

We willingly turn from the sentiment expressed, to the garb in which it is conveyed. It is not that Horace is vainly appealing to a belief in us which does not exist, but that we feel that he is as incredulous as ourselves; yet how exquisitely apposite are his forms—how pure his diction—how simple and unelaborate these heathen canonicles! If he stir up no high emotion—if he flash forth no light revealing glimpses of the murky forms of Heathenism on the cloudy summit of their mountain throne—he excites, at least, the belief, that had he known better he would have written in higher strains, and that he had fled to a faith which abjured the rule of heaven, solely because he had no other shelter from the host of difficulties in which the philosophy of life involved him.

Enabled to associate in early life with the most polished youth of Rome, by the judicious and bold policy of his father—carefully preserved from the fearful contamination of corrupt Rome—taught by example to scan carefully the motives, and to observe minutely the characteristics of his fellows—receiving the education of a gentleman, without the temptations to plunge into the excesses of youth,—he was fitted to profit, to the utmost, by the training which Athens furnished. Early called to high military command—high for his age and standing—then a fugitive and penniless, he seems never to have sunk in the social scale, nor to have forfeited either his own self-respect or that of others. Poetry became his profession, and speedily led to competency. He had seen enough of public life. He *must*, and therefore, from his temperament, *will* submit to a despot. The despot is gentle in his rule, and Horace learns to see that what thwarts all his aspirations, is, in reality, the best thing for his degenerate country. Thenceforth, to inculcate contentedness with what is, and at the same time to preserve

such fragments of the old Roman feeling as could be saved from the wreck, to humanize by expounding the field on which Roman genius may peaceably exercise itself, and to add to the dignity of the state religion the charms of perfect expression; these are the returns which he makes for state-protection, and for a *quasi* state-support. Fond of society; affectionate without passion, but with all the constancy of a truthful and genuine man; observant, acute, and playful; polished and real, so that he delighted in the graces of unaffected and educated courtesy, while he relished the strong smack of rusticity, if it were but honest; he moved through the world, deliberately shutting his eyes on the greatness of its evils, because he deemed them beyond the reach of cure, eagerly laying hold of individual excellencies as some counterpoise to collective baseness, and laughing down the lighter follies, which he knew that ridicule alone could cure. But he paid the penalty of suppressed feeling. A lover of sincerity, he had no faith in the reality of any thing good, or pure, or unworldly, not even in himself. He had seen instances so lamentable and so astounding of faithlessness, public and private, of foul treachery, of hypocrisy and mock patriotism, even in his dearest friends; he was living in a circle so accustomed to conceal its sentiments, even in its best moments; that even his kindly nature was forced occasionally to sneer at the reality of unmixed virtuous emotion. He was haunted with a constant sense of the unreal, which sends him either to stolid resignation, or to festive mirth, or to yearnings after the Sabine hills, where politics and public life should be shut from his perplexed mind. "What must be, must"—is his resigned motto; but then—

O rus! quando ego te aspiciam!

This insensibility, too, as well as his natural temperament, tinctures his moral teaching. Had he possessed the lofty spirit and the uncompromising enthusiasm, which some blame him for not possessing, there is little doubt but we should have had no record of him, save that he had fallen in Rome's last and fatal struggle for liberty. His morality is eminently practical. With a public reference, it is manifestly defective, and for manifest reasons. But it breathes the truthful and the honourable in every line of its instructions for private life. We must confess, that the motives urged are often not so elevated as we would wish; but, after all, Horace was a Roman, and he knew his countrymen better than any Christian among us.

And how exquisite his style! From the first, trained to contrast and compare the Greek with the Latin,—

Canusini more bilinguis,

gifted with a fine ear, unvulgarized by low associates, breathing from his childhood an atmosphere of literary purity, and thrown almost at once from the schools of Athens into the literary society of men like

Virgil, and Pollio, and Varius, with his fastidious disgust at the incongruous, either in life or in expression, and his constant cultivation of his native literature, into which he was enabled to infuse without effort, as a second nature, his Greek tastes,—no wonder, that to this day, the cultivated man of society knows no better vehicle of illustrating, enforcing, or expressing a passing thought, than in the happy and full turns of the polished Roman. We have seen and said, that the sum of completeness is the great charm of every work of art; the mind treasures its remembrance, as something to which to revert as an unmixed good. Such perfection has a *habitat* in every breast. And so it is, that unconsciously, the mind turns over and over a phrase, a line, a stanza of Horace. The precise words are there, and in their precise order: one more or less, or out of its place, or another substituted, and the sense of completeness is gone. And so we are grateful to him, who has bestowed on us an innocent and a wholesome pleasure; and we store up the gem in our treasury, that we may have it to examine when we will.

Thus it is that Horace is so popular. It is not poetic fire, it is not a lofty diction, it is not a lofty strain of indignant morality, nor high aspirations after freedom. It is, that to a mind thoroughly cultivated, and unostentatious in all the consciousness of mastery over its weapons of fence, are added the charms of most appropriate diction, the consciousness that the writer is affecting nothing, pretending nothing. It is, that with a penetration singularly acute, a power of dissection leaving no fibre of the heart unexplored and unexamined, a knowledge of the world acquired in court, camp, country, city, there is combined an affectionate heart, not impetuous in its bursts, but steady in its even flow, with just enough of gall to give the occasional shade that brings more conspicuously into view, the habitual, fine, manly good humour of the practical moralist. How striking is it, that Pope, in many respects so unlike Horace, should have been so successful in imitating him! We have not time to dwell upon this, save to hint, that it is the intellectual, and not the moral resemblance, which leads to the likeness, and that, had the themes not arisen in Horace, they would never have originated with Pope.

The handsome volume now under review, is an appropriate tribute to the popular merits of the Roman writer. No one deserves it more, and no one does it more appropriately become. It is true, that the illuminated border hardly suits our impressions of the homeliness of some of the Satires and Epistles. But wholeness was required, and we do not grudge to admire the typographical and illustrated beauty of even those portions of the work where it is least appropriate. In paper, in clearness of type, in graceful arrangement, this edition is worthy of the character of the eminent house which has risked ex-

penditure upon such an adventure. We hope that it will be duly rewarded. There is more than grace, however, in the decorations; there is utility. Whenever on a passing expression there can be hung a vivid representation of ancient life, derived from ancient art, at once instructive and suggestive, we find the pencil gracefully, we trust, gratefully employed. Much taste and knowledge of the apposite is displayed in the choice of illustrations, which are drawn from all sources. Not a page can be opened where the eye does not light upon some antique gem. Mythology, history, art, manners, topography, have all their fitting representatives. To take at random a specimen. We have as illustrations of the Fifth Satire of the First Book, where the well known journey to Brundisium is described, an exquisite allegorical representation of *Via*, from a coin of Trajan in the British Museum. We have lively sketches of Aricia, Anxur, Formiæ, from the pencil of G. Dennis, Esq.; of the Villa of Cocceius, Equotutium, Canusium, Bari, Brundisium, from that of T. Dessoulary, Esq.; of Beneventum by Sickler; with a bust of Marcus Antonius from Visconti. It is the highest praise to say, that these designs, throughout, add to the pleasure with which Horace is read. Many of them carry us back to the very portraiture from which the old poets drew their inspirations; as when Horace, in the eighteenth Ode of the first book, warns, like a true gentleman, his friend Varus against excessive drinking:—

At, ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata;

We have a representation of a centaur, Lapitha, and Athenian girl, from the *Pittore Antiche d'Ercolano*—a group such as Horace may have seen and admired, as a fitting ornament and warning in a festive character. We must not forget to mention the illuminated title-pages, nor the names of the illustrators. Owen Jones, of known celebrity in this species of adornment, executes the decorations; while the drawings from the antique are spiritedly executed by George Scharf, jun. We presume that the selection of fitting subjects and illustrations was consigned to the Reverend Editor, who appropriately dedicates the volume to the Marquess of Lansdowne.

Let not the learned question the utility of such a volume. These matters impart life to what else might be vapid and task-like. To a pictorial Bible Dr. Chalmers was indebted for the earliest impressions of pleasure connected with the sacred writings; and an illuminated missal laid the foundations of Alfred's power as a royal Humanist. We have shown this volume to our little son, and assured him that when he can read it, to him it shall belong; and his sparkling eyes warrant us to advise a similar process, not doubting either its wisdom or success.

But it would be uncourteous to the Editor, not to say something more of his share in this beautiful book. A poet himself, he can rightly value, and he has rightly appreciated, his brother poet. We think that he has felt him more, than studied him as a commentator would. He has the Horatian scholarship of a gentleman, but hardly the minute acquaintance of a professional critic. This, in his first outlines of Horace, he does not conceal. He says, while reviewing Mr. Tate's *Horatius Restitutus* :—

"We must acknowledge, that not having, like Mr. Tate, 'for more than one-third of a century, been engaged in reading the works of Horace with pupils,' we have some misgivings, lest we should be caught tripping on some of those minute and delicate points of classical antiquarianism or scholarship, which it is the triumph of the Orbilii to detect—of those who deserve the epithet of *plagosi*, to punish without mercy."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. LXII. p. 290.

This article, which is written with much spirit and discrimination, is the stock of two subsequent lives of Horace by Mr. Milman, one in *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, and that which forms the first part of the volume now before us. We have amused ourselves with following the Reviewer on to the Editor, and are half tempted to show the progress of biographical maturation. But we must leave this in the meantime. Only we would note, that the accomplished Canon of St. Peter's is fully alive to the different modes required by his different vehicles of communication with the gentle public. The article in the *Dictionary* has an air of greater learning than either of the others, while the main body of the article is the same. We may give one instructive example of the growth of knowledge, in a matter where his first opinion would decidedly have exposed him to the lash of his brother Canon and the other Orbilii. Horace, while dwelling with proud affection on his father's considerate care, as the cause of his moral praiseworthiness, says, (Lib. i. Sat. 6, 71, &c.)—

Causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
Noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere.

The reviewer understands this to mean, that *because* the father of Horace was poor, he declined to send him to the country day-school of Flavius. An odd proceeding, for which he accounts in one of two ways. Either he did not wish to be exposed to the sneers of "the consequential sons of consequential centurions;" or, perhaps, the schools in Rome were partly or wholly maintained at the public expense. A slight reflection must have convinced Mr. Milman, that the poverty was not the reason of the conduct of Horace's father, but is stated to enhance its merit, not *because*, but *in spite of* his being poor. And so, in the *Dictionary* and this edition, the reason and the two hypotheses disappear. Thus, in the life, the sensible statement appears :

"He was by no means rich, his farm was unproductive, yet he declined to send his son to Venusia, to the school of Flavius, to which resorted the children of the rural and municipal aristocracy—the consequential sons of consequential fathers—with their satchels and tablets on their arms, and making their regular payments every month."—P. 10.

Similar judicious alterations and corrections occur—ingenious unclassical hypotheses and remarks removed, and exchanged for sounder views, judiciously derived from the resources of minuter scholars. There is, however, an occasional faltering in the Review which remains in the Life, and that on points where the author, as a general critic, was perfectly competent to speak decisively. Thus, says Horace :

Paupertas impulit audax

Ut versus facerem.—*Epist.* II. 2, 51.

Our author is so afraid of committing himself, that one can hardly guess what his opinion of these lines may be. Authority pulls him one way, partly grounded on a foolish story of the old Scholiast, about Malchinus and Mæcenas,—and his own good sense hesitatingly leads him in another conclusion. Why not out with it at once, that a more improbable hypothesis was never invented to obscure a plain passage, than the idea that Horace means nothing more than this, that he vented the wrath and indignation of his hungry poverty in Satiric hexameters? Then, our author half truckles to Bentley, in his overconfident theory of the chronology of Horace's productions. In both these instances, Mr. Milman does doubtfully determine in the right way, but not with the confident ease of minute personal investigation. For ourselves, looking to the combined chronology of Virgil and Horace,—the former an important element in the discussion, but not one founded on by our author,—the result to which our author comes, seems to us as sound as all such things can be, Bentley notwithstanding.

As we are grateful for this volume, we shall, in return, tender a little good advice. Mr. Dennis's letter, *De Villa Horatii*, is very pleasantly written, and would be quite an ornament to the *Classical Museum*; but that it should go down to posterity embalmed in illuminated borders, as a necessary part of an edition of Horace, especially as on one main question the editor and we are at issue with the pleasant inditer thereof, is too heavy a drag—fifteen pages—on so costly a classic; why, the *Carmen Seculare* has only six pages. Then these *Personæ Horatiæ*; "Octavia, sister of Octavius;" "Novius Minor, an ugly usurer, always early at business, near the statue of Marsyas;" and so forth, seem to us sadly out of place. The more important personages might easily be engrafted on the Life, and for the rest—especially as Mr. Milman has nothing new to tell us—such a work would be much better without them. The skill exhibited in the Life

by the Author, would make a fine thing, we are convinced, of the grouped personages, which to us are exceedingly distasteful in this gorgeous book, in the form of a Vocabulary of Proper Names.

We would also venture to counsel a little more attention to typographical accuracy, the want of which is a sad blemish in a work whose charm lies in its form, and not its matter. The eye is pained at seeing

Ennius from Rudræ in Calabria

in such a book, just as we are more annoyed with a rent in the robe of a brilliant beauty armed for conquest, than in the humble calico of the maid-of-all-work. There are, we are sorry to see it, other proofs of carelessness, which it would be well to get some Orbilius to remove.

Assisto divinis, which the worthy Mr. Creech renders, went to church every day!—Note to p. 77 of Life.

We should be sorry to contradict a clergyman, but we would respectfully remark that Mr. Creech says no such thing: what he does say is more amusing, because less absurd. He says, "I go to church and pray." That this is mere carelessness, appears from the Review above quoted, pp. 323 and 326. But what are we to make of the constant use of *Ofella* for *Ofellus*?

Ofella was no doubt a neighbour of Horace. . . . Ofella speaks almost throughout, &c.

These and such mistakes should be mended. Then, in the text, we have such lapses as,

Cedes cœmptis, saltibus et domo.—*Carm.* ii. 3, 17.

This is perhaps a new reading, but the following cannot be so:

Funde capacibus

Unguenta de conchis, Quis udo, &c.—*Carm.* ii. 7, 23.

Gaudeat, an doleat; cupiat, metuatne; quid ad rem.

Si, quiquid vidit, &c.—*Epist.* i. 6, 12, &c.

The text, it may be noticed, seems that of Orelli in the main, though we should perhaps be furnished with definite information on this subject. We would venture to suggest, that in such a work of ornament, when the editor has no opportunity of discussing or defending disputed readings, his best plan is to fix on a text already received and approved by British scholars, and rigidly to adhere to it. This satisfies the feeling of the congruous—and feeling is all in all in matters of taste.

It may be right to accustom our insular eyes to such forms as *maestus* and *caelum*, though we think it injudicious to attempt such innovations in a work like this. But *Delmatico peperit triumpho*, (*Carm.* ii. 1, 16,) is intolerable; though Orelli gives the authority of one manuscript, and quotes the blundering chisels of the stone masons of the Empire, this is no reason why so singular an orthographical phenomenon should scare the eye of our Pollios and Mecænasæ.

2. PINACOTHECÆ HISTORICÆ SPECIMEN, AUCTORE F. K., A. M. London,
G. Bell. 1848.

THIS little book is an excellent specimen of a style of composition, which, though once in high favour with the learned, has now fallen into most unmerited disrepute. It consists of a number of small inscriptions, such as might be carved underneath the monuments raised to perpetuate the good or bad memories of various characters in modern history. Since Dr. Parr gave to the world the celebrated inscriptions published with his preface to Bellendenus, no attempts in this style have obtained any great applause, or any lasting notice. Mr. Landor has indeed written a few inscriptions, with that grace which distinguishes all his works, but we cannot compare even his pithy sentences to the sparkling bits of description which meet our eye in every page of this volume. That our readers may be the better able to judge of its merits, we subjoin a single specimen, chosen rather as one of the shortest than as one of the best. Something it may lose when transferred to our pages, as being deprived of that beautiful typography which enhances its elegance in the original volume, but the excellence of the composition will speak for itself.

MARIA

Scotorum · Regina

natvræ · mvneribvs · beata

vitæ · casibvs · miserrima

cvi · regivm · genvs

formæ · gratia · et · venustas

ingenvarvm · artivm · illicebrae

sive · institvtionis · vitio

sive · nvptiarvm · infelicitate

sive · obtrectatorvm · invidia

exitio · fvère

vxor · mater · regina

omnibvs · vitæ · officiis · in · adversvm · acta

avito · solio · pvlsa

a · svīs · nefarie · tradita

post · vinevla · divtrna

dvbio · proditiōis · indicio

vitam · svpplicio · capitis

finivit.

We are glad to hear that a second volume, consisting of similar inscriptions, is likely soon to appear; and we trust that the success of this author may encourage many lovers of classical elegance to tread in his steps.

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XIX.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A METAPHYSICS OF GREEK SYNTAX.

"Verumtamen hæc ipsâ re moniti, cogitatione complexi sumus Grammaticam quandam, quæ non analogiam verborum ad invicem, sed analogiam inter verba et res sive rationem sedulo inquirat."—Bacon, *de Augm. Scient.* vi. 1.

"The higher logic would consist of rules for this inner language, and be nothing but a correct grammar of living thought."—Schlegel, *Philos. Lang.* c. vi.

"What is classification but the perceiving that these objects are not chaotic, and are not foreign, but have a law which is also a law of the human mind!"—Emerson, *Man Thinking*, p. 6.

THE object of the present paper is an explanation of certain peculiarities in the structure of the Greek language, which characterise it above other ancient languages,—neglect of syntax rules, and a predominance of the internal metaphysical syntax of the mind over the "Ratio Syntactica" of formal grammar; where the writer, not strictly adhering to the *prima facie* values of the words, but leaving their grammatical coherence confused and unconnected, and observing only the connection between the *thoughts*, adapts the dependencies of the sentence to the equivalent mental notion involved in the members, and present to the mind, though not verbally expressed in the grammatical forms. As it is possible I may be misunderstood, and explanations after all are seldom explanatory, I will make clear by an example the distinction I would draw between grammatical and metaphysical syntax. Αἰδώς μ' ἔχει and αἰδοῦμαι are in metaphysical syntax convertible equivalents, in grammatical syntax they are not so; the former being *objective*, the latter *subjective*. Again, ὅτι μοι θράσος ταῦτ' ἰδοῦσα, and θρασύνουμαι ταῦτ' ἰδοῦσα,

are in metaphysical syntax perfectly equivalent constructions, and equally correct; while, grammatically considered, the former is false and solœcistic.

The discovery, then, and right application of this equivalent mental notion, would I recommend as a principle of interpretation, and as the hidden key and rule of speech which lies concealed within these disordered constructions, as it were a language within a language, where, though the external form of the words be confused and ungrammatical, an internal syntax, and an internal grammatical order and connection, may be traced between the thoughts, by following the inner threads of the discourse, and weighing rightly the metaphysical values of the words. But in advocating these views I have a formidable opposition arrayed against me. Many of the passages I adduce as examples, will, *on account of these very peculiarities*, be rejected by some as incompetent witnesses, and pronounced corrupt, *because* they are of this nature; and the argument against me will be, "Arguments based upon corrupt passages have no foundation." But is not this a *petitio principii* rather than fair argument, to *assume* as a premiss that all the passages adduced are corrupt, *because* they contain peculiarities, which I wish to prove *are* contained in them, and in proof of the existence of which I cite the passages? But what one of living scholars can arrogate to himself such a mastery of this most difficult language, as to take upon himself to decide in every case what form of expression a Greek *ought not*, and *could not* make use of? To tell what he *might have* used is often easy enough;—to tell what he *might not*, and *has not*, is a difficult matter indeed; and Hermann (*Append. Vig.* p. 756,) has rightly bestowed the highest place on that man,—“qui, etiam si nullum usquam simile exemplum inveniatur, utrum illud Græcum, an non Græcum, dicere sciat.” See also some judicious observations on this point by Bishop Blomfield, (*Mus. Crit.* vol. i. p. 136,) and Archdeacon Hare, (*Philol. Mus.* No. iv. p. 221.) Very often it is a mere question of *rarity*, and many constructions are condemned, because the reader does not recollect any similar example, not because they violate the laws of human thought. Compare Hermann (*Opusc.* ii. p. 51): “Quid vero, solisne exemplis, quid Græcum sit, quid non, efficiatur? Hoc mihi simile videtur, ut si quis linguam, quam nesciat, scire se dicat, si lexicon secum portet: quem rectius manu, quam mente tenere lin-

quam dixeris: nam quod in scripto non habet, habet nusquam. Absit tam excors anxietas, ut, *quod necesse est dici posse*, negemus posse dici, nisi exemplorum copia adsit. Et quæro, quot exemplis opus sit. Nam unum si est, corrigi video: video vero etiam corrigi, si plurima. Interea, donec, ut in testamentis condendis, lege constitutum fuerit, quot testes requirantur, ego uni fidem habebo."

Besides, truth is not a something more cleverly defended by arguments than another something, neither is it affected for the worse by the fragmentary nature of the evidence adduced in its support; though *its reception amongst men* is considerably influenced by the strength of the proofs, and the plausibility of its advocates. Some opposition, too, may be looked for from another quarter, from those with whom the ellipse of a *κατά* or a *διὰ* is an easy apology for more accurate scholarship. But with these I have no controversy, nor would I say any thing of them more harsh, than that *such* a method is not very creditable to the present age.

Matthiæ (*Gr. Gr.* vol. i. p. 3): "We also perceive in the Greek language, more than in any other, even the Latin, a simplicity and absence of pretence in style, and a certain indifference to the demands of a language formed by and for the understanding, amounting to what we might call incorrectness and carelessness. . . . The neglect of grammatical rules in the cases already mentioned,—which is incomparably more frequent in Greek than in Latin writers, and above all in Plato, who, while he ennobled, closely imitated, the style of conversation,—seems to be the immediate result of an unconscious endeavour to come to the level of all classes, by copying the language of common life. It was in no small degree cherished by the circumstance that, till the Alexandrian period, there was no separate order of literary men, and that till that time no technical grammarian arose, to cramp language by submitting it to the rules of the understanding." *Quarterly Review* (vol. 66, No. CXXXII. p. 451): "At the time when Aristotle and Plato *thought*, very few of their countrymen could *write* grammatically: and Aristotle himself lays no little stress on correct syntax as a necessary but rare excellence in an orator." Compare also Donaldson, *New Crat.* p. 55. Richter (*de Anacoluthis*, p. 5): "Equidem existimo Græcos, quoniam pro ingenii sui alacritate mobilitateque, sententias magis quam verba respiciebant, tam sæpè repugnantia grammaticæ protulisse, ut

ipsi denique anacolutha hæc esse vix animadverterent, præsertim cum in peritia linguarum legibus non ea diligentia, qua hodie fit, studuisse videantur." Wannowski (p. 180): "Discedendum est, quanta Græci in confundendis constructionum generibus usi fuerint licentia, quantopere igitur nobis sit cavendum, quominus contra codd. auctoritatem aliquid mutemus." Hermann (*Opusc.* vol. II. p. 266): "Idque omnium facillime in poetis fieri potest: quorum quum omnis oratio ad *sensum* magis, quam ad severas quasdam cogitandi regulas composita sit, non recte interpretabitur eos, qui verba eorum, tamquam si mathematici aut philosophi essent, ad amussim exigat, et non potius *quid senserint*, quam quid argutando ex singulis verbis elici possit, consideret." Jelf, (*Gr. Gr.* § 378): "The Greek language, in many of its constructions, does not so much consider the grammatical form in which a notion is expressed, as the notion itself. This arose from the metaphysical spirit of the Greeks, which enabled them in the form of signification to see clearly the notion signified; and which, impressing itself strongly on the whole of their language, imparted to it a clearness and precision in expressing the minutest shades of distinction, which are scarcely comprehensible to the moderns; while at the same time it creates a number of grammatical anomalies, which at first seem to be defects, but are in reality founded on the truest principles of grammar. The apprehension, retention, and application of this principle is most essential to the interpretation, as well of particular passages, as of the general sense of an author. This construction is called *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, or *ad intellectum*, or *σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαίνόμενον*, or *νοούμενον*, or *ex animo loquentis* or *scribentis*." And again (§ 892, 2): "The readiness of apprehension which is so especially the characteristic of the Greek mind, naturally gave greater scope to this figure [Brachylogy] in the Greek than in any other language; and it is a want of this rapidity and readiness which makes the Greek language so difficult to master, and yet so profitable a mental exercise to the moderns." Blackert (*Dualis Numerus*, p. XI.): "Illud, quod sæpissime apud Græcos, minus sæpe apud Romanos multum valet, tenendum est, nomina posita esse non in eo numero, quem concentus postulet formæ grammaticæ, sed qui sententiæ congruat." Bernhardt (*Wissenschaftliche Syntax der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 40-41): "From the same view of comprehensive clearness in expression arises the

rhetorical *Struktur nach dem Sinn* (σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σηματονόμενον) which is employed in the grammatical change of gender and number; less frequently in the form of the verb, in good authors only with regard for lightness and impressiveness; by the elaborate writers of the third period (the Sophists and Atticists,) as a grace of elegant language; but it is observed still oftener as a carelessness in later writers, and as a misinterpretation of modern philologers."

Modern grammarians, after the hints of the old grammarians, have made collections of each kind in very dissimilar order, and with very dissimilar discrimination, as Davis ad Cicer., *Nat. Deor.* i. 19; Kōn and others on *Greg. Cor.* p. 71, 93 seq.; Niclas ad Aristot., *Ausc. Mirab.* p. 264; Ast ad Plat., *Legg.* p. 63. Few inventions have caused so much mischief, and so much impeded sensible grammatical investigation. From this has arisen the worst of violent methods, the very convenient *confusion of two notions*; through which perhaps we learn to understand such forms as *χαῖς πρόπομπος* and *ἔσπερον ἐσφρόνη*. Against this already Schäfer (*Demosth. T.* i. p. 237,) has declared himself. The collection of examples by Matthiä (*Orest.* 383,) sufficiently teaches us the treatment of this new method." And (*ibid.* p. 121): "This formula was briefly pointed out by Porson, ad *Phæn.* 300, and explained with examples by Seidler, ad *Iph. T.* 1061; then introduced by Hermann into his new theory of "confused constructions" in his review of Elmsley's *Medea*, 833, and on *Soph. Phil.* 187, and elsewhere under similar warranty. This mode of treatment will certainly die away, as it is destitute of all truth, and appears only as a contributory means towards satisfying oneself with difficult passages without trouble." *Verum Bernardus non vidit omnia*. Were ill-natured predictions excusable, this *pine-tree fate* might be more safely prophesied of his own *historical philosophy*, (*Haupt, Ag.* 180,) which he wishes to see supersede the work of Matthiä, the characteristics of whose grammar he says are "apparent fulness"—"internal deficiency"—"absence of all plan"—"concealed want of unprejudiced views."¹ When his estimate of his fellow-labourers is so disparaging, we cannot expect his account of opinions opposed to his own to be much more candid. If

¹ "Allein diese scheinbare Fülle konnte ihre innersten Mängel, ihre Planlosigkeit und verborgene Armuth unbefangenen Blicken nicht entziehen," p. iv.

ought I have said in the present paper savour of disparagement of others, I sincerely wish it unsaid. I hope the firmness of my convictions (the natural right of every man after adequate research,) may not wear the appearance of dogmatism, and that I may not incur a charge of positiveness, where my intention was merely to express the absence of doubt from my own mind. I cared not to resemble those preachers, who preach as though they were not themselves convinced. A further apology is due for having had recourse to the technical brevity of the Latin tongue in a paper ostensibly English, more especially as I have not been consistent in the use of it, some explanations being in Latin, others in English.

The views of the old grammarians on this point are very narrow and confined; nor has the principle been very materially extended by their successors. Gregorius, *de Dial. Att.* § XXVII. (p. 71. Ed. Schäf.): Ἔθος αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀποδιδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον. Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς συγγραφῆς (III. 79,) · “τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καί περ ἐν πολλῇ παραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ἦντας.” And § XXXIX. (p. 90. Ed. Schäf.): Καὶ θηλυκῶς τι λέγειν εἰώθασιν, εἴτα ἐπάγειν οὐδέτερον, οὐ πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν ἀποδίδοντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον. Ὅμηρος [*Odyss.* M. 74] · “νεφέλη δέ μιν ἀμφιβέβηκε κυανέη, τὸ μὲν οὐποτε λήγει.” ὡς πρὸς νέφος γὰρ ἀπήντησε. καὶ ὁ Θουκυδίδης [II. 47.] · “ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γίνεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκήψαι, καὶ περὶ Ἀἴμνον, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις.” λεγόμενον γὰρ εἶπεν ἀπηντητικῶς πρὸς τὸ νόσημα. Of the same sort, and to the same effect, are the remarks of Jelf, *Gr. Gr.*, § 378-§ 380, and of Matthiæ, *Gr. Gr.*, p. 716, obs. Moreover, the passage from Thucydides has, I think, been more correctly explained by Hermann, *Vig.* n. 39. All formulæ of the kind cited by these writers I have altogether omitted. But there are several others more to the purpose, which have been overlooked by them, or unapplied. Some of these I shall give in the body of my paper, and in the meantime enumerate a few others, which it did not suit the plan of my essay to discuss at length.

First: formulæ, wherein, the words being referred to what is thought, the equivalent mental notion is much different from the grammatical values of the words. Hence, in metaphysical syntax it is correct to say εἰ οὐκ ἔω, because οὐκ ἔω *coalesce into one notion*, (οὐκ ἔω = κωλύω). See Soph. *Aj.* 1131; Xen. *Anab.* I. 7, 18; Plato, *Men.* p. 86, D.; Musæus, vs. 82. Comp. Hermann, *Opusc.* III. p. 170, ad *Vig.* n. 309; Bremi, Demosth. *Cor.*

‡ 55, ‡ 119, ‡ 207; Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* p. 1076; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* ‡ 744, obs. So οὐ φημι = *nego*, οὐκ ἔω = *veto, dehortor*.

The following examples of interchanged notions are worthy of notice, where the verb of the sentence bears not its regular signification, but the case of the object depends upon some interchanged notion in the writer's mind, attaching itself to the verb from association and contact with other notions. Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1480, ἐλίσσεται ἀμφὶ ναὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν Ἄρτεμιν, "saltantes circum templum circum aram celebrate Dianam." Eur. *Herc. F.* 688, τὸν Λατοῦς εὐπαιδα γόνον ἐλίσσουσας καλλιχρον. Pind. *Isthm.* i. 7, (Ed. Böckh,) καὶ τὸν ἀκαιρεχόμεν Φοῖβον χορεύων, Soph. *Antig.* 1151, αἶς μανόμεναι πάννηχοι χορεύουσι, τὸν ταμίαν Ἰαχρον. At nonnunquam χορεύειν = "ad choreas incitare." Sic Eur. *Herc. F.* 685, οὐκω καταπαύσομεν μούσας, αἶ μ' ἐχόρευσάν. Hanc constructionem verborum in eua desinentium usitatissimam esse apud scriptores sequiores monuit Wannowski, p. 245.

Æsch. *Pers.* 810, καὶ τὰς ἀγγράλους ἐκράτυνα ("ὐπὸ τὸ ἴδιον κράτος εἶχε," Schol. A. "ἐδέσπολε," Schol. B.) μεσάκτους. Quod verbum quare obelo notaverit Porsonus, causam equidem non video. Eur. *Hippol.* 1280, συμπάντων δὲ βασιλῆϊδα τιμάν, Κύπρ, τῶνδε μόνᾳ κρατύνεις. Cf. Æsch. *Agam.* 1255; Soph. *Elect.* 175. Sic εὐπορεῖν χρήματα = πόρον ἔχεν χρημάτων = ἔχεν ἀφθονίας. Vide Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 595; Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 110.

Wannowski, (p. 246): "Quo quis erat artificiosior, eo plura sibi indulgebat; sic apud Lycophron. *Alexandr.* vs. 1354, εὐδάνει μυχὸν legitur, quasi εὐδάνειν esset, i. q. *quiete habitare*." Eur. *Elect.* 862, νίκας στεφανηφορίαν κρείσσω παρ' Ἀλφείου ρεέθροις ταλέσας κασίγνητος σέθεν. Æsch. *Eum.* 767, πάλασσι' ἀφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχει σωτήριόν τε καὶ δορὸς νικηφόρον (= δορὸς νίκην φέρον.) Eur. *Elect.* 880, ὦ καλλίνικε, πατὴρ ἐκ νικηφόρου (= μάχης νίκην φέροντος) γεγώς, Ὁρέστα, τῆς ὕπ' Δίᾳ μάχης. Wannowski, (p. 234): "Sic verba neutra ob substantivi notionem, quam continent, genitivum adsciscunt, ut μεταικεῖν ap. Æsch. *Suppl.* 612, (527, Ed. Haupt.) ἡμᾶς μεταικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς ἐλευθέρους — quia μεταικεῖν idem est, atque μέτοικον εἶναι ["μεταικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς, i. e. μέτοικον εἶναι. Supra vs. 293, ἐνείσθαι θεῶν, i. e. δεῖσθαι θ., Haupt.]. Ex eadem analogia prosaici dixerunt προφητεύειν θεῶν. Cf. Herod. vii. 3, ἐπαῖσθαι Ἀθηναῖς apud Plut. p. 843; b." Matthiä, (*Gr. Gr.* p. 658): "Many other verbs are found with the accusative, which, according to their grammatical nature, require another case, because the Greeks not only transfer the

construction which a verb has in one signification to another signification, e. g. that of ἀμείβεσθαι 'to remunerate,' to ἀμ. 'to answer,' but also in many words regard not so much their grammatical nature as the sense contained in them. So Herodotus constructs ἀντιάζειν, ὑπαντιάζειν, in the sense of 'attack,' Pindar in the sense of ἀμείβεσθαι, with the accusative, § 383, 2; and Plato, *Phileb.* p. 42, C., uses ἀπαντῶμεν for εἰρωμεν with an accusative. Μισθοδοτεῖν, from its derivation from δίδωμι, should govern a dative; but inasmuch as the sense of μισθοῦσθαι is contained in it, Demosthenes joins it with the accusative, *Cor.* p. 265, 12. Instead of ὑπερέχεν τινας, § 358, 2, Euripides says, *Hippol.* 1381, ὅδ' ὁ σωφροσύνη πάντας ὑπερέχων. See Valckenauer's note. Comp. § 411, 4. So Demosthenes, π. παρατρ. p. 418, 13, says εἰσεῖναι τοὺς τυράννους in the sense of ὑποκρίνεσθαι. See Schaef. *App.* 2, p. 661, seq." Wannowski, (p. 244): "Apud recentissimos scriptores γέμεν etiam cum accus. conjunctum invenimus, quasi esset id, quod ἔχεν ἀφθόνως. . . . Hæc barbara esse dicendi genera nemo ignorat. Cf. Margo apud Guy. et Ruhnken. ad *Epigr.* Meleagri, xx." Similiter δορυφορεῖν (= δορυφόρον εἶναι τινος). Comp. Bernhardt, *W. S.*, p. 113. μνηστήσκεσθαι (= μνήμην τινος ἔχειν) τινος; ἔρχεσθαι ἀγγελίης (= φέρειν ἀγγελίας τι); ὀργίζεσθαι τινος (= ὀργήν τινος ἔχειν); στεφανοῦν πίτυος (= στέφανον πίτυος ἐπιτιθέναι); κρατεῖν τινος (= κράτος τινος ἔχειν); κατέχειν τινος (= κάταχόν τινος εἶναι); ἥδεσθαι τι (ἥδομαι = στέργω); ἀλγεῖν τι (ἀλγῶ = ἀπαστέργω); ἤχθετο κῆρ (= ἀχθόμενον εἶχε κῆρ); ποῦ τόπων (= ἐν ποίᾳ χώρᾳ τόπων), ἧ ποδῶν εἶχε (= οἶαν παύτητα ποδῶν εἶχε), because the adverb with the genitive involves the notion of a substantive. See Bremi, Demosth. *Cor.* § 62. Cf. Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 157.

Secondly, where the words have metaphysically a more pregnant sense than they have grammatically: Homer, *Il.* α. 117, βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σόν ἐμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι (βούλομαι = malo, ita ut μάλλον contineatur hac notione), "I had rather the people be safe than perish." Comp. *Il.* λ'. 319; *Od.* μ'. 350; Eur. *Andr.* 351; Bloomf. Thucyd. vii. 49.

Thirdly, confusion of notions: εὐαγγέλιον ἐλπίζω.—Hermann: "Poetæ Græci, maximeque Tragici, satis habentes, si notiones omnes, quibus opus est, afferantur, sæpe nihil curant, utrum sic jungantur, ut par est, an prorsus confundantur ac permutantur." So Soph. *Col.* 297, πατρίον ἄστυ γῆς, for πατρίας γῆς ἄστυ. See Lobeck, *Aj.* 7; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 435; Matthiä, § 446, 1, 2.

Fourthly, pregnant construction of prepositions and adverbs. See Bremi, *Cor.* § 44; Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* § 596, a; Jelf, § 645, § 647; Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 349; *Ed. Rev.* No. XXXII. p. 382; Seidler, *Iph. T.* 113, 348; Elmsley, *Med.* 1238; Porson and Schäfer, *Hec.* 1062; Herm. *Vig.* n. 252, d. Append. p. 714; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 822, obs. 6; Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* § 473, obs. 2.

I may also instance that striving after Brachylogy, and that austere compression of the sense, whereby what would be logically arranged in separate members, is attracted into one closely connected group of words. Herod. iv. 200, τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους. Comp. Hermann, *Vig.* Append. p. 754. Bernhardt (*W. S.* p. 465): "On the contrary, a use of γὰρ, which arises from a secondary definition, and blends with the principal sentence with a slight modification, is prosaic; of this the commencement belongs to Herodotus, iv. 200, τῶν δὲ (for οἱ δὲ) πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, 'but as their whole state bore the blame, they did not accept that.' Comp. ix. 109. So probably ii. 101; and more evident, i. 114, εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδίων συμπαίξων . . . οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε—, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβέειν: then Thuc. i. 72, 115; viii. 30, (where, as elsewhere, the punctuation is to be corrected. Cf. Isaeus, *de Cleon. Hered.* p. 36, § 12; Demosth. p. 1285, f.) and Lysias, c. *Agor.* p. 486. Of the attracted vocative, besides others, Hermann (*Vig.* p. 894) has treated; but Soph. *Aj.* 695, needed not this explanation. Schweighäuser (Herod. iv. 149) touches upon the attracted γάρ." Herod. viii. 80, ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμοῦ τὰ πεποιημένα ὑπὸ Μήδων, instead of ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμοῦ πεποιημένα, ἃ πεποιήται ὑπὸ Μήδων, "scito me auctore facta a Medis esse, quæ fecerunt." Comp. Donaldson, *N. C.*, p. 386; Jelf, § 786, obs. 5, § 893, c. Herod. iii. 81, τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἄνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηες. Soph. *Trach.* 1238, ἀνὴρ ὅδ' ὥς ἔοικεν οὐ νέμειν ἐμοὶ φθίνοντι μῶραν. Hermann: "Ubi cum duæ sint sententiæ, ὥς ἔοικεν, et ἀνὴρ οὐ νέμει μοι μῶραν, posterior ita cum priore conjungitur, ut verbum νέμει, quod ad ἀνὴρ referri debebat, cum verbo ἔοικεν construatur." Comp. Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 898, 4; Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* § 539, 2; § 631, 2; Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 464; Hermann, *Vig.* n. 156, Append. p. 715. A somewhat similar peculiarity is of common occurrence in the German language. Compare the fable, *Alexander und Diogenes*: "aber es scheint mir hier alles so vermischt."

The same metaphysical spirit of their minds may, I think, be detected even in the significations of their substantives; many of their substantives seeming rather to catch *pro tempore* their shades and colouring from the association of the context, as the chameleon is said to take its colour from surrounding objects, or, as water from the vessel that contains it. With some of these the shades of meaning are as shifting and variable as are the tints of some of the finer shot-silk fabrics, which vary in their shades according to the light in which we view them. Others, again, seem rather a nucleus of notions, than possessing in their own right the impress of any one specific meaning.

§ 1. The σχήματα πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον, where, instead of the construction in accordance with the requisitions of formal grammar, the dependents of the sentence are adapted to the equivalent notion in the mind, are most of all apparent in the verbals in τὸς, wherein, for instance, instead of the regular structure of formal grammar, (ἐπιθυμητέον ἐστὶ σοι τῆς ἀρετῆς), we find the inward metaphysical syntax of the mind usurping its place, (ἐπιθυμητέον ἐστὶ σε τῆς ἀρετῆς), the logical subject of the sentence being turned into the accusative object, in dependence upon the equivalent mental notion (δεῖ) involved in the verbal: Thus, ἐπιθυμητέον ἐστὶ σοι = δεῖ σε ἐπιθυμῆν. Schäfer: "Verbale ἐπιθυμητέον, h. l. [Demosth. p. 40, 18,] cum dativo personæ jungitur: quæ rarior est constructio; frequentius enim verbalia accusativum personæ adsciscunt." Hermann: "Omninoque in hujusmodi constructionibus frequentissimus est accusativus, ut qui casus facilius, quam cæteri, ex aliquâ obscurius cogitatâ sententiâ pendere possit." Isocr. *Evag.* p. 190, B, οὐ μὴν δουλευτέον τοὺς γε νοῦν ἔχοντας ταῖς οὕτω κακῶς φρονούσιν = οὐ δεῖ τοὺς γε νοῦν ἔχοντας δουλεύειν τοῖς, κ. τ. λ. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 132, C, τὸν βουλόμενον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι σωφροσύνην διωκτέον καὶ ἀσκητέον = δεῖ τὸν βουλόμενον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι διώκειν καὶ ἀσκεῖν σωφροσύνην.

The two constructions are sometimes interchanged: Thucyd. VIII. 65, οὔτε μισθοφορητέον εἶη ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους, οὔτε μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείους ἢ πεντασχιλίους. Sometimes we even find them blended together in the same sentence: Plato, *Rep.* v. p. 453, D, οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν νευστέον καὶ πειρατέον, ἐλπίζοντας, κ. τ. λ.

§ 2. We may also place here those examples of the accusative with intransitive verbs of motion, wherein we find that meta-

physical spirit of the Greek syntax so far prevailing over the logical structure of formal grammar, as to subjoin to the notion of motion an accusative of its concomitant, by virtue of a notion of energy and agency involved in the notion of motion predicated of the subject. Eur. *Hec.* 1071, *πᾶ πόδ' ἐπάξας*; Comp. Eur. *Ion.* 572, quoted in § 5.; Soph. *Aj.* 40, *καὶ πρὸς τί δυσλόγιστον ὧδ' ἤξεν χέρα*. See Porson and Schäfer, *Orest.* 1427; Elmsley, *Bacch.* 133; Lobeck, *Aj.* l. c.; Eur. *El.* 1173, *βαίνουσιν ἐξ οἴκων πόδα*. *Ibid.* 94, *τείχεων μὲν ἐντὸς οὐ βαῖνον πόδα*. *Orest.* 1470, *Μυκηνίδ' ἀρβύλαν προβάς*. Phornutus, *de Nat. Deor.* c. 20, *κεφαλὴ Γόργωνος ἔξω προβεβηκυῖα τὴν γλῶτταν*. Cf. Eur. *Phan.* 1412; *Alexandr. Frag.* xxi.; *Heracl.* 802, *ἐκβάς πόδα*. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 42, quoted in § 5.

Eur. *Hec.* 53, *περὰ γὰρ ἦδ' ὑπὸ σκηνῆς πόδα*. *Æsch. P. V.* 547, *ἀλλά με τὰν τάλαναν παρών*. For the Homeric use of *περᾶν*, see Lexicons. Hermann: "Quæ qui ita acciperet, ut βαῖνον, προβαίνειν, ἄσσειν, ἐπεμπίπτειν, accusativum regere existimaret, haud parum falleretur: immo, quoniam, qui incedit vel ruit, pedem manumve moveat necesse est, illa ipsa movendi notio, quæ est in his verbis, facit ut, si sola per se spectetur, accusativus iis possit adjungi."

§ 3. One peculiar indication of the metaphysical tendencies of their language is seen in their predilection for the participial construction, upon which I have a few general observations to make. In the case of those verbs which denote *emotions of the mind*, the participle is especially used, inasmuch as what causes this emotion is viewed as an objective attribute inhering in the patient or agent, the participle uniting in itself both the verbal notion of agency and the adjectival notion of a distinctive attribute. Compare Lübker, (*de Participiis Græcis Latinisque*, p. 49,) who has something to the same effect: "Græci enim, quæ sunt imaginandi et celeritate et vi, quæ animi ope comprehendunt, non a ceteris abstracta ac sejuncta rebus, sine nexu et ratione cum aliis inita, sed *inhærentia eis*, quibus proprium prædicatur esse, et *sentiunt esse* et verborum formis significant. Quod fit, ubicunque res aliquo refertur, *cui jam vere inest*, neque demum perficienda atque illuc annectenda."

We may add that, when in the *Oratio Obliqua* the verbal notion expressed by the participle is the attribute of the nominative to the principal verb, the participle also stands in the

nominative.² Xen. *Mem.* i. 2, 1, ἐπὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ μετρίων δεῖσθαι πεπαιδευμένος οὕτως, ὥστε πᾶν μικρὰ κακῆτης πᾶν ῥαδίως ἔχειν ἀρκούντα. Moreover, in the case of those verbs which take both infinitive and participle, the action denoted by the infinitive follows and results from the notion of the principal verb as a dependent consequence, (effect from cause); as, ἐπίσταμαι γράφειν, while the participle expresses a circumstance existing antecedently to, and independently of, the notion of the principal verb, the verbal notion of the participle being imputed to the agent or patient as an attribute or accident inhering in him as an objective phenomenon; as, οἶδα ἀληθεύων, ὁρῶ τὴν πορφυροῦσαν θάλασσαν, ἀκούω τὰ κλύζοντα κύματα. Compare Lübker, (p. 50,) "Distinguendæ ita sunt, ut infinitivo rem nondum factam, verum perficiendam demum, participio vero aut factam aut obtinentem conditionem inesse statuamus." I believe this distinction to be

² In the same manner I may observe of the infinitive; if a noun is joined with an infinitive as the subject thereof, it stands in the accusative; as, ἀμαρτάνει ἀνθρώπους εἶδεν θαυμάσιον. But if it refer to the same person as the nominative to the principal verb, it stands in the nominative; if to a different person, in the accusative. Thus, ὁ Φίλιππος πάντα πραγματεύεται, ὡς τὸ κύριος γινίσθαι (nominative to principal verb is ὁ Φίλιππος). But ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔφη τὸν Φίλιππον πάντα πραγματεύεσθαι, ὡς τὸ κύριος γινίσθαι (nominative to principal verb is ὁ Δημοσθένης). Demosthenes, *Cor.* 267, 12, (§ 120, Ed. Bremi,) τὸ μὲν μυριάσις μυρίους κληρούμεναι παραλείπει, καὶ τὸ πλεονέκειν αὐτὸς ἰσχυρίζεσθαι πρότερον. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 2, 7, ἀπὸ γυναικῶν, ὅτι αὐτὸν Δούσανδρος κτείνει ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἵκειν· οὐ γὰρ ἵκειν κύριος ὡς ἰσχυρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἑφίρους. Demosth. *Cor.* § 112, οὐδὲ μάλιστα ἡμίχαν ὑπείθους ἵκειν φημι, οὐδ' ἄλλοι οὐδὲνα. *Ibid.* § 53, δι' αὐτοὺς δίκαιος ἵκειν τυγχάνειν. Demosthenes, p. 101, 2, (Ed. Schäfer,) κακῶτα ὡς τὸ τοῦτον γινίσθαι κύριος καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πραγματεύεται. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 87, E, οὐχ οἷός τί τις βασιλεύειν, διὰ τὸ μὴ σοφὸς εἶναι, ὥστε οὐ. Xen. *Cyrop.* i, 4, 3, ὁ Κύριος, διὰ τὸ φιλομαθὲς εἶναι, πολλὰ

τοὺς παρόντας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὕψ' ἄλλων, διὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖος εἶναι, ταχὺ ἀπαρτίζειν, (where the nominative is not used by attraction, as Jelf (*Gr. Gr.* § 678, d. § 678, c. § 863, obs. 5,) very erroneously states, but in dependence on a regular principle of the language, as I have shewn above.) Herod. vi. 67, ὁ δὲ εἶπε φᾶς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἦδη πειραγμένος, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ'. Thucyd. iv. 28, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' ἰακύνει στρατηγῶν. These remarks will not seem superfluous, when we find scholars of such eminence as Porson (*Phæn.* 488, *Orest.* 1120), Blomfield (*Theb.* 612), and Elmsley (*Ed. Rev.* no. xxxiii. p. 231. See Jelf, § 673, 1,) to have erred in this matter. Sometimes, however, we find the nominative where we might have expected an accusative. This is owing to that predominance of the inward metaphysical syntax of the mind over the logical construction of formal grammar, of which I have spoken above. Soph. *Trach.* 575, ἵσταται φρενὶς σοι τῶτο κληντήριον τῆς Ἡρακλείας, ὥστε μὴ τιν' εἰδὼν στήριξαι γυναῖκα αἰνὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ πλόν. Notio est: κληντήριον ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ad quam notionem referuntur εἰδὼν et αἰνὸς; quod ni ita se haberet, ratio grammatica postularet εἰδὼντα et αἰνόν.

much less accurate than that I have given. Following up these assumptions, we may attempt an explanation of the so-called pleonastic use of *μη* with infinitives after verbs of *hindering, forbidding, denying, &c.* *Κωλύω σε μη δρᾶν ταῦτα*,³ I hinder you, so that the *consequence* is you do not do it. The *non-performance* (*μη δρᾶν*) results as a consequence from the hindrance (*κωλύω*), *μη* being added to denote the *negative consequence* of the action expressed by the principal verb, and to give a prominence to the idea of negation; when it is not required that this idea have a special prominence, the particle is omitted. When therefore *μη* is omitted, (*κωλύω σε εἰπεῖν*,) the infinitive with its subject and concomitants coalesces into one complex substantival notion standing as the object of the verb. Thus, *κωλύω σε εἰπεῖν* (*σε εἰπεῖν* = *ὄν ἔπος*) = *παῖω σε αἰγᾶν*. Demosth. *Cor.* p. 245, 22, (§ 61, ed. Bremi,) *καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος*,⁴ *κωλύειν ἑκείνον μέγαν γίνεσθαι*, "the interest of all being one and the same, viz. to hinder his increase of power." The second of these formulæ may also have the article prefixed to the infinitive (*Soph. Phil.* 1241, *ἔσπιν τις, ἔσπιν, ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν*,) when a prominent emphasis is to be laid upon the notion of the infinitive, and its substantival character to be distinctly marked. Lübker, (*De Participiis Græcis Latinsque*, p. 21,) "Imperfectum tamen atque plusquam-perfectum tempus, quippe quibus definita temporis forma non insit,

³ Beware of supplying *δὲ* by *ellipsis*. "Pessimus vero error est, quo infinitivos sæpe intellectâ particulâ *δὲ* explicare student, quasi infinitivum regere ista particula possit. Immo, *per anacoluthon* ita Græci loquuntur, ut *δὲ* infinitivo jungant. Quare qui *δὲ* in talibus intelligunt, ut 'Αγαμέμνωνι λῆϊσι φορῶναι, tantum abest ut explicent constructionem, ut etiam impeditiorem reddant. Infinitivus satis ipse per se indicat, *ad aliquid faciendum, vel patiendum*."—Hermann.

⁴ This reminds me of another passage in the same author, *Cor.* p. 262, 5, (§ 106, Ed. Bremi,) *ἐὰν δὲ πλείονας ἢ οὐσία ἀποτιμημένην ἢ χρημάτων*, "but if their property be assessed at a higher sum." Upon this Bremi has the following note: "*ἢ οὐσία ἀποτιμημένην* sunt *opes* cense,

vel census, qui certis opibus est impositus." And thus has he made *ἀποτιμημένην* the *attribute*, instead of the predicate! As if the construction were *ἐὰν ἢ ἀπ. οὐσία ἢ πλείονας χρημάτων*, "if their assessed property be of more value." A similar mistake, it would seem, has been committed in the third edition of Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, in *voc. ἰστυομάζω*. *Soph. El.* 284, *κἀστὶν κύνω πατὴρς τὴν δυστάλαιναν δαῖτ' ἰστυομασμένην*, "and I lament over the unhappy feast named after my father;" i. e. "the Epulæ Agamemmonie." Cf. Schol. Upon this passage their article is as follows: "*absol. to be infamous*," *Soph. El.* 284." Which interpretation cannot at all apply to the words given, unless they took *ἰστυομασμένην* for an *attribute*, which it certainly is not.

participiis carent." This is no new assertion, though somewhat surprising when it proceeds from one who has made the nature of the participle the object of such minute investigation. The fact is, the Greek language, speaking strictly, *has no present participle*; I mean, no participle which is the *sole and exclusive* property of the Present. Thus, *τύπτων* is equally shared by *τύπτω* and *ἔτυπτον*; so *τετυφώς* is the joint property of *τέτυφα* and *ἔτετύφην*. Thus it is we find *ἄν ἔτυπτον* referred to *present* time,—that is, to a period of time extending from the past up to the *present* moment. See Harper's "*Powers of the Greek Tenses*," p. 79; Matthiæ, *Gr. Gr.*, p. 857, and § 509, a; Hermann, *Vig.* n. 289; Harris' *Hermes*, p. 115. But my assertion that *τύπτων* belongs as much to *ἔτυπτον* as it does to *τύπτω*, will for the general reader require proofs. Demosth. *Cor.* § 129, (Ed. Bremi) ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θηραίῳ διδάσκοντα γράμματα, "qui literas docebat." § 93, ὁ μὲν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίαις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, "is qui amicus erat." § 104, καὶ δοῦν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μᾶς ἔκτος καὶ δέκατος ὢν πρότερον συντελής, "is qui superioribus temporibus erat." § 273, ἃ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὡς ἐμοῦ. § 148, εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτον (l. τοῦτο) ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόφθεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμισε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, "any of the H. who had been sent by himself." § 150, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, "having brought no action against us." Compare § 161, where we have seven examples. § 186, καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ("who had been deprived of") ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον. § 190, ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως, "qui rempublicam curæ habebat." § 203, οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν ("iis qui prævalebant,") μὴ δίκαια (= ἄδικα) δὲ πράττουσι, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. So, in the next line, we have ἀγωνιζομένην and κινδυνεύουσα, both referring to past time. § 218, καὶ περιεσπότημαι τοῖς βοηθείαις δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, "iis qui putabant." § 25, τίς ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, "who it was that aided Philip."

§ 39, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα ("those which did not obey") κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. As this last example is from the *Letter of Philip*, I do not lay much stress on it, for I believe four-fifths of the supposed state documents

found in that oration to be forgeries and additions of later times. § 219, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων ("he who advised measures") οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, (Harper, p. 85; Brunck, Soph. Phil. 290; Matthiä, Gr. Gr. § 599, a.; Porson, Phœn. 412; Tracts, p. 164; ad Xen. Anab. i. 5, 2; Dawes, M. C. p. 441; Hermann, Vig. n. 286, 287,) ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων ("he who went on the embassy") οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. § 223, καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη, τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα ("who advised these measures") μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. § 97, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προσεῖντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ("those who from time to time fled for protection") ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, (Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 653.) Compare § 235, where we have nine examples. § 239, ἀλλ' οὐ τοτ', ὃν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν, ταῦτ' ἔγραφε. § 250, ὅτε τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς δῶκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἐλημφίσεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν. Cf. § 295, § 268. What I have said of τύπτω and τετυφώς, applies equally to τύπτειν and τετυφέναι. See Matthiä, Gr. Gr. § 499.

Lübker's remarks (*de Participiis Græcis Latinisque*, p. 5,) on the general nature of participles are deserving of attention: "Propinquius etiam *adverbio* pro natura sua participium est, quoniam, quum illud *modum quo quid agatur* significet, hoc *cum ipsa agendi notione etiam modus* demonstratur." . . "participio egregie conjunxit linguæ natura *verbi et nominis notiones*." . . "participium fuisse antiquissimum adjectivorum genus posteaque demum non mediocrem participiorum copiam, ut in lingua Latina, prorsus adjectivorum naturam induisse consentaneum est." . . "participio-adjectiva talis potestas inest, ut *sempiternam rei conditionem* denotet." . . "*temporis enim vera ac principalis notio* est; indicatur etiam *universus rei status*."

§ 4. The following are of the simplest description, wherein some part of the verb ποιῆσθαι and a substantive in regimen mentally combine into one complex verbal notion cognate to the substantive in regimen, and the dependents of the sentence are adapted to this equivalent mental notion, which is present to the thoughts, though not verbally stated in the grammatical forms. Thuc. viii. 62, καὶ σκαύη μὲν καὶ ἀνδράποδα ἀρπάγην ποιησάμενος (ἀρπάγην ποιησάμενος unam efficiunt notionem = ἀρπαξάμενος, quam in mente habuit scriptor.) Thuc. iv. 15, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενους (= σπεισάμενους) τὰ περὶ Πόλον. Herod. v. 30, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιούμενος τὴν ξενίην τὴν Ἰστιαίου (σκῆψιν ποιούμενος = προφασίζόμενος.) Plato, Phæd. p. 90, A, τὸν δεύτερον πλοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς αἰτίας ζήτησιν, βούλει σοι, ἔφη, ἐπιδεῖξιν ποιήσωμαι; (ἐπιδεῖξιν ποιήσωμαι =

ἐπιδείξωμαι, ex eaque notione pendet accusativus τὸν δεύτερον πλοῦν.) Herod. i. 68, θῶμα ποιούμενος (= θαυμάζων) τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. Comp. viii. 74; ix. 58. Thuc. viii. 41, καὶ τὴν χώραν λείαν ἐποιεῖτο (λείαν ἐποιεῖτο = ἐλεηλάτει.) Herod. i. 127, λήθην ποιούμενος (= ἐπιλανθανόμενος) τὰ (= ἐκείνων, ᾧ) μιν ἐόργεε. Soph. Col. 277, καὶ μὴ θεοὺς τιμῶντες εἶτα τοὺς θεοὺς μοῖρας ποιέσθε μῆδαμῶς (μῆδαμῶς ποιέσθε μοῖρας = ἀτιμᾶτε.) Hermann, (Vig. n. 194, b.): "*Et, cum pii sitis, ne negligite Deos.*" Bernhardt, (*Wissenschaftliche Syntax*, p. 125): "ποιέσθαι especially serves for the formation of phrases in Attic prose; originally in the plainest sense, as, γέλωτα, παράδειγμα ποιέσθαι τινα. Then only as a more intuitive circumlocution, θῶμα ποιέσθαι (Herod.) for θαυμάζειν, λείαν ποιέσθαι (Thuc.), and even σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους τὰ περὶ Πύλον, iv. 15, as the object of plundering, to regard the treaty. By the poets, only Soph. Col. 277, τοὺς θεοὺς μοῖραν ποιέσθε. Seldom is this analogy transferred to similar verbs of a more general sort, as, ὦραν θέσθαι, *Ælian*, N. A. i. 59, (probably in προύθετο τὴν εὐλάβειαν, *Plut. de Malign. Herod.* p. 857, D.) ὑπέχεν λόγον, *Xen. Hellen.* i. 7, 31, and perhaps λόγον δοῦναι, *Demosth. Fals. Leg.* p. 406. προμήθειαν λαβεῖν, *Æsch. Suppl.* 181. εἰρήνην ἔχειν, *Isocr. init.*" Compare Terence, *Adelphi*, iv. 4, 9, "*id unus mihi indicium fecit.*"

§ 5. The following also are nearly of the same description, where the dependents of the sentence will be found depending upon the equivalent mental notion represented verbally by some noun or nouns in regimen, and some form of a verb. Compare Wannowski, (p. 248,) "Quod denique diximus, nonnunquam dictiones, pluribus vocibus constantes, pro notione, quam conjunctae expriment, regimen exercere suum, id a viris doctis jam satis satisque est explanatum. Cf. Cl. Hermannum ad Eurip. Bacchas, vs. 975." And (p. 249,) "Igitur, cum Graeci assueti essent in talibus verborum complexionibus non regimen respicere singularum vocum, sed totius dictionis potestatem, factum esse videtur, ut vel substantiva diversae originationis ponerentur, conjuncta cum verbis ita ut fere prorsus amiserint significationem et vim suam."

Eurip. *Med.* 127, τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' οὐδένα καὶρὸν δύναται θανατοῖς. Notio est: "Quod modum excedit, nihil commodi mortalibus efficere potest." Hermann: "quia δύναται est δυνατά ἐστιν, et ut οὐδὲν δύναται recte dicitur, ita etiam οὐδένα καίρῳ, i. e. οὐδένα καίριον δύναται." Eur. *Hel.* 479, καίρῳ γὰρ οὐδέν' ἤλθε (οὐδένα καίρῳ = ἀκαίρως)

"Intempestive enim accessisti." Soph. *Aj.* 435, τὰ πρῶτα καλλισταῖ' ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ (= τῷ ἀριστεύσαι λαβόν.) Compare vs. 1300. Soph. *Aj.* 136, σὲ μὲν εὖ πρᾶσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω.⁵ (See Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* § 414, 12; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 549, c. § 550; Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 113; Wannowski, *de Anomalis*, p. 143, 144.) Bernhardt, (*W. S.* p. 112): "Soph. *Aj.* 136, εὖ πρᾶσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω is singular, where the composition itself must be taken into consideration." See, however, vss. 790, 1085, 1086. Soph. *Antig.* 211, σοὶ ταυτ' ἀρέσκει = οὕτω σὺ θρᾶν βούλει, unde pendent accusativi τὸν θύσσουν . . τὸν εὐμενῆ). Compare Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 135. Porson (*Advers.* p. 170): "Σὲ ταυτ' Toupus in *Suid.* i. p. 60. Post hunc deesse verum judicat Reiskius, p. 24." Eurip. *Orest.* 1020, ὣς σ' ἰδοῦς ἐν ἡμῶσι πανυστάτην πρόσσφιν ἐξέστην φρενῶν (ἰδοῦσα πανυστάτην πρόσσφιν = ἰδοῦσα πανύστατον). Eur. *Orest.* 1069, ἐν μὲν πρῶτά σοι μομφὴν ἔχω (μομφὴν ἔχω = μέφομαι). Eur. *Herc. F.* 709, ἂ χρῆν σε μετρίως σπουδὴν ἔχειν (σπουδὴν ἔχειν = σπεύδειν). Soph. *Col.* 584, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ ἦ λῆσται ἴσχεις ἦ δὲ οὐδενὸς ποιᾷ (λῆσται ἴσχεις = ἐπιλανθάνει). Soph. *Col.* 223, θέος ἴσχετε μὴδὲν ὅς' αὐδῶ (μὴδὲν θέος ἴσχετε = μὴ φοβείσθε). Compare Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 125. Eur. *Orest.* 661, δεῖ γάρ σε πλέον φέρεσθαι, καμὰ συγγνώμην ἔχεν (= mihi que ignoscere). Soph. *El.* 214, οὐ γινώμαν ἴσχεις; "Nonne intelligis?" cf. 392. Eur. *Ion.* 572, ὃ δ' ἤξας ὀρθῶς, τοῦτο καὶ ἔχει πόθος (= τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ ποθῶ). Æsch. *Suppl.* 134, καὶ τὰπὶ χέρσου νῦν προμήθειαν λαβεῖν (= μῆδεσθαι). Soph. *Phil.* 687, τότε θαυμ' ἔχει με (= τότε θαυμάζω). Eur. *Hec.* 812, οἶμοι τάλανα, ποῖ μ' ὑπεξάγεις πόδα;⁶ (ὑπεξάγεις πόδα = φεύγεις, a qua notione, quam in mente habuit poeta, regitur accusativus μέ. Confer Bernhardt, (*W. S.* p. 113). Porson (ad loc.) is decidedly wrong in comparing as a similar formula, Soph. *Col.* 113, καὶ σὺ μ' ἐξ ἰδοῦ πόδα κρύψον κατ' ἄλσος, which belongs to the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. Nevertheless Wannowski (*Syntaxeos Anomalæ Graecorum*, p. 248,) ventures the following assertion: "Neque μ' pro μοῦ positum est, quæ est Brunckii opinio, neque hoc ope schematis, quod vulgo dicitur καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος, explanandum [in opposition to the opinions of the most eminent grammarians. See Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 120; Matthiä, *Gr.*

⁵ Compare Bernhardt, (*W. S.* p. 113): "Ellipses here have been transmitted from the earliest times; as δὲ, Apoll. *Synt.* p. 289; and even ἰδῶν, or

ἀκούων, according to the Scholiast on *Il.* i. 77. Brunck and others have ventured to suppose them."

Gr. § 421, obs. 5; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 584, 1], sed quia χρόνον πόδα idem valet, atque ἐκκόμενος, inde accusativi qui positus fuerit, causa petenda. Sic ibid. vs. 1496, ὁ γὰρ ξένος σε καὶ πόλις μα ἐπαξιοῖ . . . δικαίαν χάριν παρασχεῖν. Accusativus se explicandus hac ratione, quod χάριν παρασχεῖν est id, quod ἀντεσφραγεῖν." For similar passages to that from *Hecuba*, 812, see Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 113. Compare also *Soph. Phil.* 1146, quoted in § 8.

Soph. Phil. 276, οὐ δὲ, τέκνον, ποῖαν μὲ ἀνάστασιν δοκεῖς ἐξ ὕπνου στήναι τότε; (= πῶς με ἀναστῆναι δοκεῖς;). Eurip. *Orest.* 1121, γόους πρὸς αὐτὴν θηρόμεθ' ἃ πάσχομεν (γόους θηρόμεθα = γοηρόμεθα, i. e. γοηρόμεθα (ταῦτα), ἃ πάσχομεν). "Nostro quidem in loco accusativus ἃ regi videtur et a πάσχομεν et a γόους θηρόμεθα, i. e. γοηρόμεθα."—Schäfer. *Æsch. Agam.* 649, δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ κλύοντες ἀνδροκμήτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς ἐς αἵματηρὸν τεύχος οὐ διχορρόπως ψήφους ἔθεντο (ψήφους ἔθεντο = ἐψηφίσαντο, ex eaque notione pendet accusativus ἀνδροκμήτας φθορὰς). "Nam *Dii causas non a lingua causidicorum aut sophistarum audientes, sortes viris perniciosas Ilioque calamitosas in cruentam urnam non inter diversa consilia fluctuantes conjecere.* Pertinet autem accusativus ἀνδροκμήτας φθορὰς ad ψήφους ἔθεντο ea constructionis ratione quam exposuimus not. ad vs. 180, 183. Cf. Porson, ad Eur. *Phæn.* 300; Seidler ad *Iph. Taur.* 1061; Hermann, *Vig.* p. 899, et maxime *Opusc.* III. 221."—Haupt. Homer, *Il.* 9, 171, σῆμα τιθεῖς Τρώεσσι ἑτεράλκεια νίκην (σῆμα τιθεῖς = σημαίνων, a qua notione regitur accusativus ἑτεράλκεια νίκην).

Herod. IV. 88, ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεύξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου (ζῶα γραψάμενος = ζωγραφησάμενος). Eustathius: "καὶ παρ' Ἡροδότῃ το, ζῶα γραψάμενος, ἔγουν ζωγραφήσας." *Æsch. Agam.* 183, στόματός τε καλλιπρώρου (sc. ἔφρασεν κατῆρ) φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκῳ (φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν = φυλάσσεσθαι, ita ut accusativus φθόγγον ἀραῖον pendeat ex hac notione). Eur. *Med.* 860, πῶς δ' ὅμματα προσβαλοῦσα τέκνοις ἄδακρον μοῖραν σχήσεις φόνου; οὐ δυνάσει. Hermann, (*Opusc.* III. p. 220): "Nobis persuasum est, rudem istum hiatum φόνου οὐ non esse ab Euripide admissum. Habent autem multi libri φόνον. Neque vero dubitamus, quin scripserit Euripides: πῶς δ' ὅμματα προσβαλοῦσα τέκνοις ἄδακρον μοῖραν σχήσεις φόνον; Quæ satis usitata Tragice figura dicendi est, idem significans, quod πῶς οὐ θαυρόσεις φόνον. Vide Porsonum ad Eur. *Phæn.* 300; Seidlerum ad *Iph. Taur.* 1061, et quæ nos ad Vigerum diximus p. 899. Hic ἄδακρον μοῖραν σχήσεις φόνον idem est ac si dixisset, πῶς ἀνέξει μὴ θαυρόουσα τὸν

φόνον, sive explicatius mavis, πῶς σχήσεις μοῖραν τὴν σὴν, ὥστε ἀδάκρυτον φόνου εἶναι, vel ὥστε μὴ δακρύουσαν εἶναι τὸν φόνον [ἀδάκρυτον and δακρύουσαν, in Hermann's explanation, agree with μοῖραν. If they referred to the nominative to σχήσεις, he must have used ἀδάκρυτος and δακρύουσα. See § 3.] Nam ἄδακρυν μοῖραν dicit, *effectum complexus* [Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 439, 2; Schäfer, *Greg. Cor.* p. 1047,] cum satis fuisset dicere σχήσεις δάκρυα. Simillime Sophocles in *El.* vs. 241, γονέων ἐκτίμους ἴσχυουσα πτέρυγας ὀξυτόνων. Quem locum recte explicuit Seidlerus ad Eur. *El.* 442. [Cf. *Append. ad Vig.* p. 718, Ed. Glasg.] Ut Euripides φόνον, ita Sophocles potuerat γονέας scribere." Comp. Soph. *Antig.* vs. 856, ap. Donaldson, *Complete Greek Grammar*, § 498.

Soph. *El.* 1377, ἦ σε πολλὰ δὴ, ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομι, λιπαρεῖ προὔστην χερί (= πολλὰς θύουσα ἐλιπάρουν σε). πολλὰ = πολλὰς. Cf. Soph. *El.* 603, 415, 520 (misrepresented by Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* p. 669); Porson, *Advers.* p. 307; Toup, Long. *Subl.* III. § 5. See Lexicons. Eur. *Phen.* 1590, ἃ πόδα σὸν τυφλόπουν θεραπεύμασιν αἰὲν ἐμόχθει (= μοχθοῦσα ἐθεράπευε, "painfully tended"). Soph. *El.* 556, εἰ δέ μ' ὥδ' αἰεὶ λόγους ἐξήρχες (= εἰ μ' ὥδ' αἰεὶ προσέλεγες ἀρχομένη, "if you had always thus addressed me from the first"). Cf. Eur. *Andr.* 1198. Eur. *Orest.* 960, κατάρχομαι στεναγμόν, τιθεῖσα λευκὸν ὄνυχα διὰ παρηγίδων (= ἀμύσσουσα τὰς παρηγίδας), αἵματηρὸν ἄταν (κατάρχομαι στεναγμόν = ἄρχομαι στενάξιν, unde pendet accusativus αἵματηρὸν ἄταν). Eurip. *Androm.* 1198, θανόντα δεσπότην γόους νόμῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ κατάρξω (γόους κατάρξω = ἄρξομαι γοῶσθαι.) Eur. *Tro.* 149, μολπὰν οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν οἶαν ποτὲ δὴ ἐξήρχον θεοὺς (= οἶαν μολπὰν ἐξήρχον = οἶω τρίπῳ μέλπειν ἡρχόμεν).

Soph. *Rea*, 339, τίς γὰρ τοιαῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ὀργίζοιτ' ἔπη κλύων, ἃ νῦν σὺ τήνδ' ἀτιμάζεις πόλιν (= ἀτιμάζων λέγεις). Hermann, (*Vig.* n. 283): "Hic τοιαῦτ' ἂν κλύων conjungenda sunt: quis non irascatur, si forte talia audierit? Nos: wer, der vielleicht so etwas hören müsste, würde wohl nicht zornig werden?" Soph. *Ajax*, 1107, ἀλλ' ὥνπερ ἄρχεις ἄρχε, καὶ τὰ σέμν' ἔπη κύλαζ' ἐκείνους (τὰ σέμνα ἔπη κύλαζε = σεμνοστόμους νουθέτει). Æsch. *Agam.* 940, οἷα τις ἔσθ' ἀκρότερος βοᾷς, φεῦ, ταλαίνας φρέσιν Ἰτυν Ἰτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῇ κάκῳ ἀγδῶν βίον (= αἰεὶ πολυστόνως ὀλοφυρομένη). Neque dubito, quin hoc modo intellexerit Sophocles (*El.* 147), cum hujus loci sensum imitando expresserit: ἀλλ' ἐμέγ' ἃ σθένος ἄραρεν φρένας, ἃ Ἰτυν αἰὲν Ἰτυν ὀλοφύρεται, ὕμνις ἀνυζομένα. Sed Blomfieldii ratio non temere spernenda. θροεῖ rependum

censet e præcedenti θροεῖς : θροεῖς, οἷα τις ξουθὰ ἀγδὼν στένουσα (sc. θροεῖ), ita ut accusativus ἀμφ. βίον a repetito θροεῖ regatur.

Æsch. *Agam.* 1262, ἡ μέγαν οἴκῳ σοῖς δαίμονα καὶ βαρύνησιν αἰνεῖς, φεῦ, φεῦ, κακὸν αἰνὸν, ἀτηρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου, ἰὼ, ἰῆ, διὰ Διὸς παναῖτίου πανεργέτα (= αἰνοῦσα δυσθροεῖς τὸν δαίμονα τὸν μέγαν καὶ βαρύνησιν τοῖς σοῖς οἴκοις, φεῦ τῆς ἀτηρᾶς ἀκορέστου τύχας διὰ Διὸς i. e. ὑπὸ Διὸς πεμφθείσης). Similiter Æschylus ap. Plat. *Rep.* II. p. 105, B, θεοφιλεῖς ἑμὰς τύχας παιῶν' ἐπευφήμησεν. Æsch. *Agam.* 145, Ζῆνα δὲ τις προφρόνως ἐπαινᾷ κλάζων τεύζεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν (ἐπαινᾷ κλάζων = εὐκλείζων, ex eaque notione pendet accusativus Ζῆνα) : "Qui Jovem ob partam victoriam celebrat." Comp. *Agam.* 48; Soph. *Antig.* 112; Æsch. *Theb.* 312. Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1468, ὁμῆες δ' ἐπευφημήσατ', ὦ νεάνιδες, παιᾶνα Διὸς κόρην Ἄρτεμιν (ἐπευφημήσατε παιᾶνα = ἐπικαινίσατε). Comp. Eur. *Iph. T.* 1403. Soph. *Colon.* 1120, μὴ θαύμαζε, τέκν' εἰ φανέντ' ἄελπτα μῆκύνω λόγον (μῆκύνω λόγον = μακρηγοῶ, a qua notione reguntur accusativi τέκνα φανέντα). Matthiä : "i. e. τέκνα μακρὰ λέγω, μακρηγοῶ, in the sense of *speak to some one*, § 416, b. β." Comp. Soph. *El.* 1484; Herod. II. 35. Hermann, (Append. *Vig.* p. 706) : "volebat dicere, εἰ τέκνα ἄελπτως φανέντα μῆκύνειν με ποιεῖ λόγον, sed mutat tenorem orationis." Matthiä, whose explanation I have given above, afterwards (§ 562, 3,) changes his opinion, and quotes this very passage as an example of the *accusative absolute*. Lübker, (*de Participiis*, p. 44) : "Nominativos istos eodem jure dicas. [So Brunck, *ad Pers.* 120, but very erroneously.] Accusativos habet Hermannus, absolutos esse negat; significari enim verbis : εἰ τὰ τέκνα μῆκύνω λόγον, hoc est : εἰ μακροῖς λόγοις τὰ τέκνα ἀσπάζομαι. Ac recte quidem sic censet." Æsch. *Eum.* 507, ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἂν πατήρ ἢ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθῆς οἶκτον οἰκτίσας (οἶκτον οἰκτίσας = simpl. οἰκτίσας, unde pendet accusativus ταῦτα). Wannowski (*Syntaxeos Anomalæ Graecorum*, p. 249) : "ταῦτα referendum ad οἶκτον οἰκτίσας; quia hoc denotat idem, quod οἰκτίζειν." Comp. Eur. *Troad.* 155, διὰ γὰρ μελᾶθρον ἄνδρ' οἶκτους οἷς οἰκτίζει. Ex eadem analogia Æsch. *Agam.* 978, ὕμνοισι δ' ὕμνον δώμασι προσήμεναι πρῶταρχον ἄταν (ὕμνον ὕμνοισι = simpl. ὕμνοισι. Confer ὕβριν ὕβριζειν, et similia). "Canunt hymnum domibus adherentes de principali culpa,"—Haupt. Confer Eur. *Herc. F.* 687. Sic Bacch. 71, τὰ νομισθέντα (= τοῖς νομίμοις) γὰρ ἀεὶ Διόνυσον ὁμνήσω. Æsch. *Agam.* 1255, ὕμνον ὁμνεῖν ἐπαύχεται. *Ibid.* vs. 818, τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὁμνοῦσθαι θρη-

νον Ἐρινός. Adde Pind. *Nem.* iv. 16, (Ed. Böckh); Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 184; Æsch. *Suppl.* 678.

Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1089, ὅρις, ἃ παρὰ τὰς πετρίνας πόντου δευράδας, ἀλλων, ἔλεγον οἶτον ἀεῖδεις (ἔλεγον ἀεῖδεις = θρηγεῖς). Hermann: "Illa ἔλεγον ἀεῖδεις pro una notione sunt, ex eaque pendet accusativus οἶτον."

Eur. *Ion.* 695, φίλαι, πότερ' ἐμᾶ' δεσποίνα τάδε τορῶς ἐς οὓς γεωνήσομεν πόσιν. Barnes: "ὁ νοῦς · ὃ φίλαι, πότερον ἡμεῖς ταῦτα τῇ Κρεούσῃ διαδηλώσομεν, εἰς ἀκὴν προφέρουσαι πόσιν, ἤγουν τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόσιν." Matthiä: "πόσιν belongs to γεωνήσομεν as an active verb, and πόσιν εὐτυχεῖν should have followed." Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 405, ἔνθα κούρα διατέγγει βωμοὺς καὶ περσέονας ναοὺς αἷμα βρότειον (διατέγγει αἷμα βρότειον = αἵματι βροτείῳ μυδαίνει = καταβροτοῖ).

Matthiä, (*Gr. Gr.* p. 682): "Still bolder is the phrase, *Iph. T.* 225, αἰμοβρόντων δυσφόρμιγγα ξείνων αἰμάσσουσ' ἄταν βωμοὺς, which, however, does not belong to this head, being compounded of the two phrases αἰμάσσειν ξένους (instead of which αἷμ. ξένων ἄταν is here used,) and αἷμ. βωμοὺς, and one of them is not used instead of an active verb.—See § 633." Comp. Eur. *Ion.* 168. Bernhardt, (*W. S.* p. 109): "So sometimes the Alexandrians and later writers: Theocr. xxiii. 61, αἷμα ἐφονίχθη, and Apoll. *R.* ii. 985, ἔμξαν ὑσμίνην, after the manner of the phrases in use with all the Attics, ταρασσειν αἷμα—πόλεμον. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 226, αἰμάσσουσ' ἄταν. More striking is Theoc. xiii. 38, δαίνοντο τράπεσθαι, to take a repast; and in similar poets πρίην χόλον." Eur. *Suppl.* 1205, τρώσῃς φόνον (= ποιήσῃς πτρώσκων.) Conf. *Andr.* 836; *Herc. F.* 1183. Soph. *Antig.* 675, ἦδε σὺν μάχῃ δορὺς τροπὰς καταβρῆγγουσι (= καταβρῆγγουσα τροπὰς ποιεῖ). *Ibid.* 972, ἔλκος τυφλωθέν (= ἔλκος ὃ τυφλότης ἐποιήθη). Cf. Herod. vii. 148. Soph. *Aj.* 55, ἔνθ' εἰσπεσάν ἔκειρε πολυκερὸν φόνον, κίχλη ραχίζων (= κείρων ἐποίει): "Having fallen upon the horned herd, he was reaping an abundant harvest of blood." Comp. Herod. "ἦτοι ἀντὶ τοῦ κείρων ἐπήγει (l. ἐποίει)." *Ibid.* 376, ἔρεμνον αἷμ' ἔδευσα (= δέων ἔχσα). Cf. Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 110, 108; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 570. Pind. *Nem.* x. 75, (Ed. Böckh), θερμὰ δὴ τέγγων δάκρυα στοναχαῖς ὄρθιον φάνασσε. Soph. *Trach.* 847, ἣ που ἀθνηῶν χλωρὰν τέγγει δακρύων ἄχραν. Cf. *Res.* 1279. *Trach.* 49, πολλὰ μὲν σ' ἐγὼ κατεῖδον πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα τῇ Ἡράκλειον ἔξοδον γωμένην (πανδάκρυτα ὀδύρματα γωμένην = οἰκτιστα ὀδυρομένην). Comp. Neue ad loc. Hermann: "Illa ὀδύρματα γωμένην pro una notione sunt, ex eaque pendent accusativi τῇ

"Ἡράκλειον ἔξοδον." Porson: "Ubi constructio usitatio esset, πανδακρύτους ὑδύρμασι." Matthiä: "The construction of πανδάκρυτ' ὑδύρματα belongs to this place [§ 408], but γοῶσθαι ἔξοδον to § 414." By Haupt (*Agam.* 103), and Reisig (*Com. Crit. Col.* p. 225), it is rejected as not belonging to this classification. The latter critic adds: "Ubi accusativus τίνα τρόπον aliquid fiat, ostendit." See the passages quoted at the end of this section. Eur. *El.* 207, αὐτὰ δ' ἐν χέρνῃσι δόμοις ναῖσι ψυχὰν ταχομένα δωμάτων πατρώων φυγὰς (ψυχὰν ταχομένα = ὀλοφυρομένη, ab eāque notione regitur accusativus φυγὰς). Hermann: "Tollitur metrica dubitatio Seidlerii, si φυγὰς pro accusativo habeas. Dicit enim ψυχὰν ταχομένα sic, ut insit in his verbis notio dolendi deplorandique; unde accusativum φυγὰς addit." Soph. *El.* 123, τί⁶ αἰεὶ τάκεις ὧδ' ἀκόμεστον οἰμωγὰν τὸν πάλαι ἄλόντ' Ἀγαμέμνονα; (= τί ὧδ' ἀκόμεστος αἰεὶ τηκομένη οἰμώζεις Ἀγαμέμνονα;). Bernhardt, (*W. S.* p. 112): "Soph. *El.* 123, τάκεις ὧδ' ἀκόμεστον οἰμωγὰν . . . τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, the object of the lamentation." Cf. Hom. *Od.* εἰ. 263. Haupt, (*Agam.* 103): "Alius vero generis ea loca, ubi Accusativus ab omnis sententiæ vi pendet, ut Soph. *El.* 123; Æsch. *Theb.* 294; *Agam.* 145; Eur. *Iph. T.* 1061. Cf. Reisig, *Com. Crit. Col.* p. 225. Quo etiam pertinet τὸ μὴ, vs. 15." Soph. *Col.* 1166, τίς δῆτ' ἂν εἴη τίνδ'⁶ ἐκ προσθακῶν ἔδραν; (= ἐκ οὕτως ἔκαστων). Cf. *Rex.* 2, 31; Eur. *Phæn.* 293; *Hec.* 935; *Fragm. Incert.* xxiv.; *Androm.* 117; *Orest.* 871, 956, 1251; *Herc. F.* 1214; *Heracl.* 55; *Rhes.* 547; *Iph. A.* 142; Arist. *Thesm.* 889; Æsch. *Prom.* 389; *Agam.* 149, 670, 815. See Lobeck, *Ajax*, p. 240; Bernhardt, *Wissenschaftliche Syntax*, p. 115; Spanheim ad Æsch. *Theb.* 96. Soph. *Ajax*, 42, τί δῆτα πόμιναις τίνδ'⁶ ἐπεμπίπτει βᾶσιν; (= ὧδε ἐμπεσὼν βαίνει). Comp. Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 108. Hermann, (*Vig.* n. 140): "In quibus minime activam vim verbum habet, sed adjectum eodem modo, ut in ἔρχεσθαι ὁδόν, et aliis similibus." Eur. *Phæn.* 293, γονυπετεῖς ἔδρας προσπίπτω σ' (= προσκυνῶ σε τὸ σὸν γόνυ προσπίπτουσα. Cf. *Androm.* 165; Herod. i. 134, vii. 136),

⁶ Sic Soph. *Ajax*, 1346, σὺ ταῦτα (= οὕτως), Ὀδυσσεύ, τοῦδ' ἐπιεμαχίης (Blomf. P. V. 66,) ἰμοί, Soph. *El.* 1180, ἀμφ' ἰμοί στίχους τάδε (= ὧδε); *Ajax*, 1096, τοιαῦτ' ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἐν λόγῳ ἴσθι (= οὕτως ἀμαρτανεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις). *El.* 293, τάδ' ἐξορίζω. *Ibid.* 613, στίχοι τοιαῦτα

τὴν τίκοντα ἔβριση. Cf. *Ajax*, 1156; *Rex.* 340; *El.* 397, 300; Thucyd. iv. 12; Herod. ii. 1. Comp. Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 549, d.; Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* § 471, 13, § 425, 5, § 421, b.; Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 106, 107.

ἄναξ, τὸν οὐκοθεν νόμον σέβουσα. Comp. Eur. *Tro.* 757; *Androm.* 537; *Æsch. Theb.* 87. Porson: "γονυπατεῖ σ' ἔδρα, conjecturam Valckenarii, male recepit Brunekius. Si enim προσπίπτειν σε et προσπίπτειν ἔδραν separatim recte dicantur, cur non etiam conjunctim?" Similiter Hybrias, ap. *Athen.* xv. p. 695, F. πάντες γόνυ πεπτηῶτες ἀμὺν προσκαυντί με δεσπόταν. Eur. *El.* 231, εὐδαιμονοίης μοῖθόν' ἠδίστων λόγων, "i. e. τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν μοῖθον ἔχους ἠδίστων λόγων."—Hermann. Eur. *Phœn.* 1352, ὦ τλήμων, οἷον τέρμον', Ἰσκάστη, βίου γάμων τε τῶν σῶν Σφηγγὸς αἰνιγμούς' ἔτλης; (= ὡς βίῳ τε καὶ γάμῳ ἐξατολύπευσας ("hast freed") τοὺς τῆς Σφηγγὸς αἰνιγμούς.) Porson: "Sensus est: Sphingis ænigma Jocestæ attulit infelicem cum vitæ tum nuptiarum finem." Homer, *Il.* δ'. 155, θάνατόν' νύ τοι ἔρκει ἔταμνον (= θάνατόν σοι κατεσκεύασα ὅρνια τέμνων). Porson: "Fœdus, quod pepigi, tibi mortis causa est." Soph. *Antig.* 857, ἔψαυσας ἀλγενοτάτας ἐμοὶ μερίμνας πατρός τριπύλιστον οἶτον (ἔψαυσας ἀλγενοτάτας μερίμνας = οὐκείστα ἔλεξας). Hermann: "Accusativus οἶτον ita excipit genitivum μερίμνας, ut qui pendeat ex sententia in præcedentibus latente, ἔλεξας μερίμνας." Cur non possit μερίμνας pro accusativo haberi, causam vide ap. Herm. *Opusc.* vi. p. 113.

The following is scarcely a just example, inasmuch as δικάζω is regularly construed with a cognate accusative: *Æsch. Suppl.* 186, καὶ κεῖ δικάζει τὰμπλακίμαθ', ὡς λόγος, Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκαας, "Passes final sentence on their offences."

The following are rather examples of the "Accusativus modi": *Æsch. Theb.* 268 (Ed. Blomf.), ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρας ἕξ ἀντρήετας ἐχθροῖσι τὸν μέγαν τρόπον τάξω (= μεγαλοπρεπῶς τάξω), "Will post in great array six warriors, opponents to the foe." Ubi Schol. B.: "μὴ λάβοις δὲ εἰς τὸν μέγαν τρόπον ἔξωθεν κατὰ, ἀλλ'

¹ Bernhardt (*Wissenschaftliche Syntax*, p. 127): "Epxegetis has exercised a greater influence in the domain of the accusative, which epxegetis is subjoined to the verb in an indirect apposition, and which, in the form of a particular object forming an opinionative secondary definition, refers to the principal notion of the sentence. Homer, *Il.* α'. 735, μέγχι χειρὸς ἰλῶν ἀπὸ σῖγγου, λυγρόν ἔλθεον, i. e. ῥίψιν ἔλθεσαν. More concise: *Υ.* 155, θάνατόν νύ τοι ἔρκει ἵταμνον, as it were τομὴς θανάσιμου. Regularly so the tragedians: Soph. *Aj.* 1200,

τιγγόμενος κόμας, λυγρᾷς μνήματα Τροίας. Euripides often: *Orest.* 1105, Ἐλίην πτόναμι, Μινίλιφ λύσην σικράν. [See Donaldson's *Complete Greek Grammar*, p. 190.] Compare *El.* 1261, Ἀλλήλοῖον ἔτ' ἵστα' ὁμῶφρον Ἄρης, μῆτιν ὀργατρὸς ἀνοσίῳ νομφιμῶσται, where λύσην and μῆτις appear as the expression of an interposing cause. *Helen.* 1490, χρόνῳ ξυλλεῖσθα χέρις . . . νυχθὶν εὐφροσύνη. Cf. *Herc. F.* 355. *El.* 231, εὐδαιμονοίης μοῖθον ἠδίστων λόγων: as especially happens with ἄσπινα. Also in *Agam.* 1421, and in Pindar."

ὡς ἤραμεν τάττω τάξιν, οὕτω καὶ τούτων." Ibid. 387, ἀσχημάτισται δ' ἄσπις οὐ σμεκρὸν τρόπον (= οὐκ ἀσχημόνως) "In no mean sort." See Bernhardy, *W. S.*, p. 119. Comp. *Lexicons*, voc. τρόπος. *Æsch. Agam.* 939, θροεῖς νόμον ἄνομον. In all these the accusative, as Reisig (*Com. Crit. Col.* p. 225) remarks of some other passages, "τίνα τρόπον aliquid fiat, ostendit." Eur. *Phæn.* 1379, ᾗξαν δρόμημα θεινόν. This last may serve as an example of a large class of formulæ. See Bernhardy, *W. S.*, p. 119.

The following is merely an example of poetic amplification and exuberance: Eur. *Tro.* 122, προῖραι ναῶν ὠκεῖαι, Ἰδιον ἱερὰν αἰ κώπαισιν πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν ἐξηρτήσασθε. Hermann: "Poeta cum dicere vellet Ἰδιον ἱερὰν αἰ κώπαισιν ἐβητε, pro verbo ἐβητε posuit uberiorem rei descriptionem, πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν ἐξηρτήσασθε."

§ 6. But the most perfect examples of the influence of the metaphysical tendencies of the Greek mind upon the structure of their language will be found in the following formulæ, wherein we find the "*Ratio Syntactica*" altogether abandoned, the writer heeding only the connection between the *thoughts*, and constructing the several parts according to their equivalent mental value and the notion present to the mind. Soph. *Rea*, 536, φέρ' εἰπὲ πρὸς θεῶν, δειλίαν ἢ μωρίαν ἰδὼν τιν' ἐν ἐμοὶ, ταῦτ' ἐβουλεύσω ποιεῖν; ἢ τοῦργον ὥς οὐ γνωρίζομαι σου τόδε; Hermann: "In verbis δειλίαν ἢ μωρίαν ἰδὼν τιν' ἐν ἐμοὶ latet hæc sententia, 'Qua mente?' quæ in altero membro repetita regit verba ὥς οὐ γνωρίζομαι." Idem ad *Vigerum* (n. 355): "In participio ἰδὼν latet νομίζων vel simile quid, unde ὥς cum optativo pendet." Wunder: "Pendent hæc ab eo, quod verbis prægressis ταῦτ' ἐβουλεύσω ποιεῖν continetur, ὁπολαβὼν vel νομίζων." Neue: "Totum enunciatum liberius constructum est cum v. ἰδὼν." Plato, *Rep.* v. p. 223, E, οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν νευστέον καὶ πειρατέον, ἐλπίζοντας, κ.τ.λ. (ἡμῖν νευστέον καὶ πειρατέον = δεῖ ἡμᾶς νεῖν καὶ πειρᾶν. See § 1.) Herod. iv. 132, Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἔην (= Δαρεῖος ἔγνω), εἰκάζων τῇδε. Valckenaer: "Ex usitatissimâ veteribus scribendi formâ, quâ non τὸ ῥητὸν respicitur, sed τὸ σημανόμενον, refertur εἰκάζων ad ἔγνω Δαρεῖος, ut pulchre monuit Cl. Abresch. *Dihuc. Thucyd.* p. 71." Eur. *Hec.* 970, αἰδώς μ' ἔχει ἐν τῷδε πότμῳ τογχανοῦσ', ἔν εἰμι νῦν (αἰδώς μ' ἔχει = αἰδοῦμαι). Eur. *Cycl.* 330, σῶμα περιβαλὼν ἐμὸν, καὶ πῦρ ἀναίθων, χιόνος οὐδὲν μοι μέλει (οὐδὲν μοι μέλει = οὐδὲν φροντίζω). Eur. *Hippol.* 22, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ πλοκάμωσ', οὐ πόνου πολλοῦ με δεῖ (με δεῖ = δέομαι). De locutione με δεῖ

vid. Pors. *Orest.* 659; *Advers.* 239; *Tracts.* p. 33; Monk, *Hippol.* 22; Blomf. *Prom.* 86; *Mus. Crit.* II. p. 21; *Ed. Rev.* No. XXXIII. p. 228; et auctores citatos ap. Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* p. 658.

Æschyl. Cho. 404, πέπαλται δ' αὐτὲ μοι φίλον κέαρ (= τρόμος μ' ἔχει) τόνδε κλύουσας οἶκτον. Notio est: "Pavor me agitat hæc audientem lamenta." *Soph. El.* 478, ὑπεστί μοι θράσος ἀδυνάτων κλύουσας ἀρτίως ὀνειράτων (ὑπεστί μοι θράσος = θράσος μ' ἔχει). Cf. vs. 961. *Æsch. Pers.* 825 (*Ed. Haupt*). *Soph. Aj.* 1006, ποῖ γὰρ μολεῖν μοι δυνατόν, τοῖς σοῖς ἀρήξαντ' ἐν πόνοισι μηδαμῷ; (ποῖ μολεῖν μοι δυνατόν; = ἀδυνάτον ἐστὶ με μολεῖν,⁸ unde ἀρήξαντα addit, id quod cogitatur respiciens). Formulas interrogandi (ποῖ δυνατόν, et similia,) sæpe fortiolem continere negationem res est notissima.⁹ Vid. Schäfer, *Greg. Cor.* pp. 141, 143, 144, 878; Blomf. *Gl. Pers.* 1013. *Hom. Il.* ε. 135, καὶ πρὶν παρ θυμῷ μεμαῶς Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι, δὴ τότε μιν τρίς τόσσον ἔλε μένος (= τρίς τόσον ἐχώσατο, quæ notio poetæ menti obversabatur, quamvis aliter sententiam ordinaret).

Æsch. Pers. 94, καὶ τὸ Κίρσινον πόλισμ' ἀντιδοῦπον ἔσεται ὁά, τοῦτ' ἔπος γυναικοπλήθης ὄμιλος ἀπίων. (Notio est: γυναικοπλήθης ὄμιλος αἰζῶν ποιήσει τὸ Κίρσινον πόλισμα ἀντιδοῦπαι ὁά, *resonare lamentis*. Poeta constructionis, quam ratio grammatica postulat, securus, satis habebat orationem notioni, quæ menti suæ obversabatur, accommodare).

Plato, *Phædr.*, p. 17, E, καὶ δὴ οὖν μοι ἔδοξεν (= ἡγοῦμην,) . . . ὥς οὐ πᾶν εὐπορῶν τοῦ πολλὰ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. *Thucyd.* III. 36, καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς (= ἐψηφίσαντο) οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτείνειν . . . ἐπικαλοῦντες τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν κ.τ.λ. *Thuc.* IV. 108, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐφάνετο αὐτοῖς (= ἡγοῦντο,) . . . τὸ δὲ πλεον κρινόντες κ.τ.λ. *Thuc.* VI. 24, καὶ ἔρωσ ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως (= οἱ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπεθύμησαν) ἐκπλεῦσαι, καὶ εὐελπίδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι. Ubi εὐελπίδες ad id, quod cogitatur, refertur.

Thuc. VII. 42, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίαις καὶ ξυμμάχοις κατάπληξ

⁸ It is equally good Greek to say, ἀδυνάτον ἐστὶ μοι μολεῖν ἀρήξαντα (*Jell, Gr. Gr.* § 674), ἀδυνάτον ἐστὶ μοι μολεῖν ἀρήξαντα, or, which is less usual, though more grammatical, ἀδ. ἐστὶ μοι μολεῖν ἀρήξαντι. Comp. Brunk, *Aristoph. Plut.* 287; *Lys.* 179. Sometimes we even find both constructions united in the same sentence: *Arist. Plut.* 912, οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τῷ ἡμᾶντοῦ μοσιπλὶν ἐνέργειάν μοι.

⁹ A negative question often forms a mere parenthesis, amounting to an exaggerative statement: thus we have in *Demosth. de Coron.* p. 241, τί κακὸν εὐχὴ πασχόντων, for τῶν ἐτιοῦν κακὸν π. Hence, in *Soph. Antig.* 2, the same force is conveyed by an indirect interrogative, for ἐπῶν εὐχὴ κακὸν means, "every sort of evil," *Donaldson, Complete Greek Grammar*, § 412.

ἐγένετο (= οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ἐϋμμαχοὶ καταπλάγησαν), ὁρῶντες οὕτε διὰ Δακέλαιαν κ.τ.λ. Eur. *Bacch.* 1132, ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁμοῦ βοή, ὁ μὲν στεναζών, αἱ δ' ἡλάλαζον (ἦν πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ βοή = ἀνεβόησαν πάντες ὁμοῦ). Eur. *Ph.* 1460, ἀνῆξε δ' ὀρθὸς λαὸς εἰς ἔρην λόγων (= ἀναστάντες ἐλέγμεν φιλονείκως), ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς νεκῶντα θεσπύτην ἐμὸν, οἱ δ', ὡς ἐκείνον. ἦν δ' ἔρις στρατηλάταις (= ἐρίζοντες ἔλεγον οἱ στρατῆλαται), οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δ' κ.τ.λ. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 725; Bernhardt, *W. S.*, p. 134. Richter (*de Anacoluthis*, p. 21): "Ubi verba ἀνῆξε δ' . . . ἔρην λόγων *dicendi* notionem proferunt." Soph. *Antig.* 259, λόγοι δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐρρόθουν κακὴ (= κακοὺς λόγους ἐρρόθοῦμεν ἀλλήλοισιν. Cf. vs. 290), φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα. Lübker (*de Participiis*, p. 43): "Recte Sophocles nominativo absoluto usus est, ubi genitivus rem quandam alienam, quæ ad alteram illam rem aliqua ratione pertineret, proposuisset." Cf. vs. 413. Æsch. *Prom.* 200, στάσις τ' ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὠροθύνητο (= ἤρχοντο στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους), οἱ μὲν θέλοντες ἐκβαλεῖν ἔδρης Κρόνον . . . οἱ δὲ τοῦμπαλιν σπεύδοντες. Æschines, c. *Timarch.* p. 48, ἀπὸ σωφροσύνης πρῶτον ἤρεξαν, ὡς ὅπου πλείστη εὐκοσμία ἐστὶ, ταύτην ἄριστα τὴν πόλιν οἰκισομένην. Elmsley: "Verba ὡς . . . οἰκισομένην significant ὡς . . . οἰκίσσεσθαι δοκῶν."

Wannowski (*Syntaxeos Anomalæ Graecorum*, p. 169): "Jam ob confusionem notionum casus hujus usum informatum esse multifarie, ex ordine exponam. Æschyli auctoritas primo ponatur loco. In *Cho.* enim vs. 670, στείχοντα δ' αὐτόφορτον οἰκεία σάχη εἰς Ἄργος, ὥσπερ δεῦρ' ἀπεζύγην πόδας, ἀγνώως πρὸς ἀγνώπ' εἶπε συμβαλὼν ἀνὴρ — quod ἀσυνάρτητον facillime explicatur, cum animo poetæ, orationem exordientis, obversaretur notio verbi ἀνεκάλεσε aut similis; quibuscum cf. *Eumen.* vs. 404, πᾶσι δ' ἐς κοινὸν λέγω · βρέτας τε τοῦμὸν τῷ δ' ἐφημένῳ ξένῳ, ὅμῃς θ' ὁμοίας σὺδενὶ σπαρτῶν γένει. Ubi ex λέγω atque dativo ξένῳ, qui ab illo verbo regitur, poeta transit ad accusativum, cum de verbo ἐρωτῶ, cuius notio cum verbo dicendi conjuncta est, cogitaret." And again (p. 173): "In hanc classem referendus est etiam locus Luciani *Piscat.* 46, 613, ὃν δ' ἂν ἀτενὲς ἀποβλέποντα (ἴδης) καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ὀρέγοντα ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ καυτήριον τοῦτον, ἀποκείραντα πρότερον τὸν πάγωνα. H. l. diligentior constructio exegerit haud dubie ἀποκείρας, quia ἀπάγειν significationem imperativi obtinens, nominativum assumit. Sed notio verbi δεῖ præponderans in causa erat, quod scriptor accusativum posuit."

§ 7. When it is recollected that adjectives are not merely indicative of distinctive epithets, but also have sometimes this in

common with *participles*, that they denote agency and energy, it will not seem strange if they be found occasionally *with the regimen of participles*, and followed by an accusative. Most of the examples given are simple enough, wherein an adjective and the verb εἶναι combine into one cognate verbal notion, upon which notion the accusative object depends. Compare Richter (*de Anacoluthis*, p. 26): "Minus frequenter adjectivum a verbo transitivo derivandum ita cum accusativo conjungitur, ut pro adjectivo participium activi subintelligendum sit." Cf. Lübker, *de Participiis*, p. 15.

Plato, *Charm.* p. 313, A, ἐξάρνη εἶναι τὰ ἐρωτώμενα (ἐξαρνος εἶναι = ἐξαρνεῖσθαι). Demosth. *Mid.* p. 570, 21, τοιούτους θεῖς νόμους, οὓς πάλιν ἐξαρνος ἦν μὴ τεθεικέναι. Isocr. *adv. Callim.*, τὴν διαταν μέλλειν ἐξαρνον εἶναι. Herod. III. 52, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῖν μέτοχος εἰμι (= μετέχω. Cf. Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.*, § 325, obs. 1). "Major pars hujus calamitatis ad me pertinet." Soph. *Antig.* 786, καὶ σ' οὐδ' ἀθανάτων φόβος οὐδεὶς. "Qui te effugere potest." Eur. *Med.* 686, τρέβων¹⁰ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Cf. *Rhesus*, 625; Arist. *Nub.* 867. *Æsch.* *Prom.* 867, ἄπορα πόρμος. "ἄπορα regitur a πόρμος, transitiva verbi potestate ad adjectivum translata; de quo confer Musgravii notam in Sophocle. *Antig.* 798," Blomfield. Plato, *Alcib.* II. p. 279, A, οἶμαι δὲ σε οὐκ ἀνίχοον εἶναι (= ἀρνοῦν) ἐνὶ γὰρ χθιζὰ τε καὶ πρῶτιστα γεγενημένα. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* III. 3, 9, ἐπιστήμονες¹⁰ δὲ ἦσαν (= ἠπίσταντο) τὰ προσήκοντα. See Bernhardt, *W. S.*, p. 273. Plato, *Epinom.* p. 351, A, ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιστήμων (= ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιστάμενος). Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1255, ἐγὼ τὰ τε οἰκτρὰ συνετός εἰμι, καὶ τὰ μὴ sc. οἰκτρὰ (συνετός εἰμι = ξυνήμι). *Æsch.* *Agam.* 893, μισόθρον μὲν οὖν (sc. πρὸς), πολλὰ συνίστορα αὐτοφύνα κακὰ, κάρταναν, ἀνδρὸς σφαγεῖον καὶ πέδον ῥαντήριον (συνίστορα = συνειδύτα. Cf. *Cho.* 217.) "Conscious of many crimes of domestic murder." Soph. *Trach.* 614, καὶ τῶνδ' ἀποίσεις σῆμ' ("a token") ὃ κείνος εὐμαθὲς (l. εὐμαθής = ῥαδίως γνωρίζων, ita ut ὃ pendeat ex hac notione) σφραγίδος ἔρχει τῷδ' ἐπ' ὄμμα θήσεται. "Ἐρκος σφραγίδος pro simplici σφραγίς. Comp. *Schol.* περιφραστικῶς τῇ σφραγίδι. Paulo aliter Hom. *Il.* δ'. 350, ἔρκος ὀδόντων, "dentes os sepientes," uti recte intellexit Solon, *Fragm.* XIV. Nec causam video quare hos versus Soloni suppositos esse putet Por-

¹⁰ Ex eadem analogia Choerilus, *Fragm.* I. (p. 104, Ed. Näge), ἃ μάκαρ, ἔστις ἡν κῆρον χεῖρον ἴδεις ("Illius temporis bene gnarus") ἀδιδῶν μούσων θερά-

πον, ὅτ' ἀκέραιος ἦν ἔτι λαιμῶν. Nisi forte sensus est, "qui eo tempore (Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 577,) peritus erat."

sonus, *Misc. Crit.* p. 207. Callimachum (*Frag.* cxxxvi.) eodem modo intellexisse ostendit Kiddius, *ibid.* p. 389. Sic Aristoph. *Plut.* 268, χρυσὸν ἐπῶν (= ἐπη χρυσᾶ). Hesiod, *Sc. H.* 144, δράκοντος φόβος (= δράκων φοβερός). Eur. *Herc. F.* 700, πέρσας δαίματα θηρῶν (= θήρας δεινούς). Eur. *Hel.* 1096, ἀστέρων ποικιλματα. Phædrus, I. XIII. "*Stupor corvi.*" Eodem modo intelligendum puto Soph. *Colon.* 687, νομάδες ῥεέθρων, "meandering streams." Quod constructionem attinet, confer Soph. *El.* 1387, μετὰδρομοὶ κακῶν πανουργημάτων, "that take vengeance on vile iniquities." Plato, *Apol. S.* p. 101, A, σοφὸς τὴν ἐκείνων σοφίαν, μήτε ἀμαθὴς τὴν ἀμαθίαν. Inscriptio ap. Hermannum (*Opusc.* iv. p. 326,) πάντα τ' ἔντα σόφος. Cf. Bernhardt, *W. S.*, 173. Soph. *El.* 178, χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρὴς θεός, "for time is a soothing deity." Æsch. *Theb.* 291, δμῶδες δὲ καινοπήμενες νέαι τλήμονες εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος, ὡς θυσιμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου (τλήμονες = τλᾶσαι, ex eaque notione pendet accusativus εὐνὰν αἰχμ.), "and youthful women-slaves, unused to affliction, enduring the captive bed of a conqueror (ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος), "since the foeman is victorious." "*Tum demum patientes captivum torum* (captivorum sortem) *laeti viri, utpote hostis victoris.* τλήμονες autem verbale verbi casum habet adjunctum," Haupt. "'Mira comminiscitur Heathius, potestatem sc. transitivam verbi activi τλήμ cum adjectivo τλήμονες, quasi ejusdem verbi participium esset, communicatam videri.' Examples, however, of verbal adjectives with accusative cases, may be seen, *Agam.* 1099; *Prometh.* 903; Soph. *Antig.* 787," *Ed. Rev.* No. xxxviii. p. 484. Æsch. *Agam.* 103, ἐλπίς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπληστον, τὴν θυμοβόρον (= θυμοβοροῦσαν = βιβρώσκουσαν) φρένα λύπην. "Grief that corrodes the heart (φρένα)." The repetition of the idea in θυμός and φρήν is a mere poetic amplification, as in the Homeric βουκολέεσθαι βοῦς, βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνὴρ (*Od.* χ'. 268,) &c. See Porson, *Phæn.* 28; Haupt, *Prometh.* p. xv. Comp. *Schol.* "ἐλπίς θεραπεύει τὴν ταιαύτην φροντίδα τὴν βιβρώσκουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν." Soph. *Trach.* 553, ἧ δ' ἔχω, φίλαι, λυτήριον (= λυτήριόν τι = λυτικόν τι) λύπημα, τῇδ' ὑμῖν φράσω (= λυσιμέριμόν τι ἔχω, "something that relieves sorrow.") "Remedium solvens mœrorem." Hanc rationem probat Reisigius, *Com. Crit. Col.* p. 325.

§ 8. The phenomena noticed above in adjectives, may also to some extent be observed in *substantives*, inasmuch as they may be followed by an *accusative* of the object of their equivalent mental notion, by virtue of a verbal notion of energy and

agency deduced from, and involved in, the signification of the substantive, which equivalent mental notion is present to the thoughts, though not verbally stated in the grammatical form.

Such substantives are mostly derived from, or connected in origin with verbs, and may therefore in formulæ of this kind be looked upon as *quasi participles*. Compare Richter, (*De Anacoluthis*, p. 26): "Longe rarius substantiva, quæ a verbis substantivis derivantur, accusativum regunt, quasi pro participiis usurpata essent." Hermann, (*De Emend. Rat. Graec. Gram.* p. 144): "Accusativus, quo unice *accidentia* significantur, non potest cum nomine solo construi, quia, quum substantiæ notione destituatur, per se constare non potest, sed verbi accessione indiget. Nam quum *accidentia* rerum nihil nisi prædicata sint, prædicatum autem non nisi copulæ, *i. e.* verbi auxilio cum subiecto conjungi queat, clarum est, accusativum ab solo verbo regi posse. Cum quo casu si quando *nomen* conjunctum reperitur, ut apud Plautum," [*Trinum.* II, 3, 20,] "*Celatum indagator.*" [Aulul. "*Quid tibi ergo, inquit, meam me invito tactio est?*" Amphit. "*Quid tibi hanc curatio est rem?*"] et apud Græcos etiam frequentius, facile intelligitur, ea accusativo adjecta nomina non fungi nominum, sed *participiorum* officio. Nec sane possunt cum hoc casu ea nomina conjungi, in quibus non est aliqua *faciendi* significatio." Æsch. *Pers.* 880, μυρία πεμπαστάν, "*Secundum myriadas numerantem,*" Haupt. "Verte: *qui exercitum per myriadas recensuerat,*" Blomfield, πεμπαστάν igitur = πεμπάζοντα. Eur. *Herac.* 65, γνώσει σύ· μάντις δ' ἤσθ' ἄρ' οὐ καλὸς τάδε (= κακῶς ἄρα τάδε μαντεύσει.) Æsch. *Suppl.* 204, ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ πότερον ὡς ἔτην λέγω, ἢ τηρὸν (τηρὸν = τὸν τηροῦντα) "Ερμού ῥάβδον, ἢ πόλειως ἀγόν;" "At offensioniest, quod τηρὸς alibi non invenitur, etiam quod Accusativum junctum habet,"—Haupt. Æsch. *Agam.* 1394, γίνοι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον οἰκουρὸς (οἰκουρὸς = ἡ οἰκουροῦσα, et ab hac notione regitur accusativus τοὺς ἤκοντας, ut in vs. 645 supra.) "*Mulier, tu, illius e bello nuper reversi domus custos,*"—Haupt. Plato, *Apol. S.* p. 91, B, τὰ μετέωρα φροντιστῆς (= φρονῶν.) Æsch. *Cho.* 21, χοὰς πρόπομπος δέξυχει κτύπων (χοὰς πρόπομπος = χοὰς προπέμπουσα.) Eur. *Herc. F.* 786, βᾶτε συνάαιδαι νόμφαι τὸν Ἡρακλέους καλλίνικον ἀγῶνα (βᾶτε συνάαιδαι = βᾶτε συνάδουσαι, ex eaque notione pendent τὸν καλλίνικον ἀγῶνα.) Eur. *Hippol.* 1029, φυγὰς χθόνα, "*Patria exulatus.*" Soph. *Phil.* 1146, ὦ πταναὶ θῆραι, χαροπῶν τ' ἔθνη θηρῶν, οὓς δὲ ἔχει χῶρος οὐρεσιβύτας, φυγὰ μ' οὐκέτ' ἀπ' αὐλίων πελάτ

(φυγᾶ με παλάτα = ἀποφεύξεσθέ με.) Comp. Schol. "ἀντὶ τοῦ, οὐκ ἐστὶ φεύξεσθε με." Neue: "De accus. με ab eo nomine suspensio ad *El.* 124; *Ant.* 788; *Col.* 584. Adde locutionem τεθνάναι τῷ δέει πνᾶ ap. *Matth.* § 423, ann. Nisi forte est μὴ οὐκ ἐστὶ. Wund. accus. construit c. verbo παλάζειν, coll. vs. 1163; *Rex.* 1134; *Col.* 1059; aliisque locis. Hermannus: *non amplius fuga vestra me ab antro meo ad vos adducitis.*¹¹ ["No more will ye draw me after you," Liddel and Scott's *Lex. voc.* παλάζω.] Canterus volebat μηκέτ' ἐλᾶτ', Erf. dedit οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐλᾶτ'." Eur. *Hec.* 1064, ὦ κατάρτα, ποῖ καὶ με φυγᾶ πτώσσοις (= πτήξασαι φεύγουσί με) μυχῶν. Xenoph. *Anab.* VII, 7, 31, οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος, μὴ λάβωσι προστάτας αὐτῶν πνᾶς τούτων (i. e. κίνδυνός ἐστι τοῦτο = τοῦτον κίνδυνον κινδυνεύομεν, "periculum est, ne.") Comp. *Mem.* II, 1, 25. Eur. *Heracl.* 739, εἰ δὴ ποδ' ἤξομέν γε, τοῦτο γὰρ φόβος (τοῦτο φόβος ἐστὶ = τοῦτο φοβοῦμαι, "quod, ut fiat vereor.") *Æsch.* *Agam.* 14, φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ (φόβος παραστατεῖ = ἀεὶ φοβοῦμαι) τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ. "τὸ μὴ est accus. obj. de eventu," Haupt. Demosth. *Phil. A.* § 15, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους (τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει = ὑπερφοβοῦνται.) "Timent non secus ac mortem." Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* p. 366, 25, ἀλλὰ δουλεύειν, καὶ τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ζένους. *Æsch.* *Theb.* 244, γείτονες δὲ καρδίας μέριμνα ζωपुरοῦσι τάρβος τὸν ἀμφιτευχῇ λειών (ζωपुरοῦσι τάρβος = ποιοῦσί με ταρβεῖν, ex eaque notione pendet accusativus τὸν ἀμφιτευχῇ λειών.) Comp. Wannowski (*Syntaxe Anomalæ Graecorum*, p. 249): "In his dicendi formulis accusativus quodammodo vim sustinet adverbii, quas vices in aliis conjunctionibus dativus explet; dico in dicendi rationibus θνήσκεν τῷ δέει πνᾶ, ut apud Arrian. *Exped. Alex.* VII. c. 9, οὗς πάλαι ἐτεθνήκατε τῷ δέει, aut apud Aristid. *de Quatuorviris*, p. 210, t. II. ὥστε ἕως ἔζη Κίμων, τεθνάναι περιῆν τοῖς βαρβάραις τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας."

Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 425, ταχεῖα δὲ διῆξε φήμη παῖδα σὴν ἀφειρμένην (= ταχέως ἤκουσε τὴν τῆς παιδός σου ἡφίστην.) In Eur. *Hippol.* 128, (Ed. Monk) ὅθεν μοι πρῶτα φάτις ἦλθε δεσποίνας, τειρομένην ἔχεν, longe exquisitior foret syntaxis, si δεσποίνας pro accusativo (vid. Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* p. 669, obs. 1, et p. 503,) acciperemus, ita, ut sententia = ὅθεν πρῶτον ἤκουσα τὴν δεσποίναν [*Mus. Crit.* vol. I.

¹¹ But *παλάτα* is the Attic form of the future. See Dawes, *M. C.* p. 117 seq. | Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* § 181, 2, a. Cf. Soph. *El.* 497.

p. 532. Comp. Longin. *Subl.* iv. § 4,] ὅτι τειρομένη ἔχει. Conf. Bernhardy, *W. S.* p. 114. Sed editores nuperrimi exhibent δέσποιναν τειρομένην κ. τ. λ.

Soph. *Col.* 1019, ὁδοῦ κατάρχεν τῆς ἐκεῖ, πομπὸν δέ με χωρεῖν. Wunder: "Sensus est: *jubeo te in eam me viam ducere, in quam puellae abductae sunt.*" Reisig (*Com. Crit. Col.* p. 325): "Constructionis genus πομπὸν -- με communi judicio probant doctissimi quique, Erfurdtiusque ad *Trach.* vs. 615." The subject of χωρεῖν (as of κατάρχεν supra) is σε,¹² not με; otherwise, the opposition between the two subjects (κατάρχεν μὲν σε -- πομπὸν δέ με χωρεῖν) would require the *emphatic form* ἐμέ. This objection the editors have sought to avoid by writing, some δ' ἐμοί, others δ' ἐμὲ, others δέ μοι: needlessly, for there is no opposition between the pronouns, and δέ is merely superadditory of fresh matter in explanation of the foregoing (*Herm. Opusc.* II. p. 57, 58; Append. ad *Vig.* p. 731). Compare Haupt (ad *Pers.* vs. 157): "Positum δέ ad Epici sermonis normam, nihil nisi annectit singulas sententias, ut sæpius in iis dramatum partibus quibus narrationes continentur, maxime apud Æschylum," the construction being χωρεῖν δέ πομπὸν με (= πομπεύοντά με = ἡγούμενόν μοι. Cf. *Hom. Od.* v. 422.) Compare *Lexicon Sangerm.* (Bachmann's *Anecdota*, vol. I. p. 346): "Πομπὸν · συνοδοιπόρον · καὶ προπέμποντα." Beyond a doubt in reference to this very passage.—Eurip. *Helen.* 261, τὰ μὲν δὲ Ὁραν, τὰ δὲ τὸ κάλλος αἴτιον. "For τῶνδε, where in αἰτίον ἐστι, the idea ἐξερράζεται is also contained,"—Matthiä, (*Gr. Gr.* p. 665.) But this refinement is needless here. "Partly on account of Juno, and partly my beauty was the cause." Compare Demosth. *Coron.* § 147, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡγεῖτο (corr. οὐδένα ἡγεῖτο) προσέξεν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν · ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοίνας προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἵρεθῃ, ῥᾶν ἡλπίζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν, "partly to deceive, partly to persuade them." See Hermann, *Vig.* n. 14; Matthiä, *Gr. Gr.* § 288, obs. 2.

I may add also the singular construction χρεώ ἐστι πινά τιος. Matthiä (*Gr. Gr.* p. 660): "The substantives χρεώ, (χρεώ,) χρεῖα, are often used with ἐστὶ and the accusative, especially in Homer, after the analogy of δεῖ and χρῆ, χρεώ ἐστι being equiva-

¹² Προστάσσω σοι χωρεῖν, and προστάσσω σοι χωρεῖν, are equally good. See the first note on § 6. Moreover, δὲ in the second member, non mutato subjecto, is

no novelty. See *El.* 418. Compare Matthiä, ad *Eur. Orest.* 34; *Gr. Gr.* § 289, obs. 9; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 655, obs. 2.

lent to *χρή*. *Il.* κ'. 650, τί δέ σε *χρεῶ* ἐμείο; *Od.* δ'. 634, ἐμὲ δὲ *χρεῶ* γίγνεται αὐτῆς. *Eur. Hec.* 970, ἀλλὰ τίς *χρεῖα* σ' ἐμοῦ; instead of which, *Od.* β'. 28, τίνα *χρεῶ* τόσον ἔχει; ε'. 189, ὅτε με *χρεῶ* τόσον ἔχει. *Soph. Phil.* 646, ἔδοθεν λαβῶν, ὅτου σε *χρεῖα* καὶ πόθος μάλιστ' ἔχει." He refers to Valck. ad *Eur. Hipp.* 23; Brunk ad *Arist. Lys.* 605; Pors. ad *Eur. Orest.* 659; *Advers.* p. 239. Compare Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 136, who observes: "no one will agree to think of an ellipse of ἐπείγαν or ἰκάναν with the editors of *Bos.*"

Bernhardt, (*W. S.* p. 114): "An unimportant construction of Substantives and Adjectives has been passed over, which could not take an accusative through their own significance, but as verbals and ramifications of particular notions. Collectaneæ may be found ap. Abresch. *Misc. Obs.* VIII. p. 343 seq. and *Æsch.* I. p. 57, 641. For substantives, the first example of the kind appears to be Solon, *Frag.* XVI. τῶν *Σαλαμῶν* ἀφετῶν,—not the comic-jingling *Σαλαμναφετῶν* ["quo in fragmento qui locus quum alios, tum nuper *Nækium* in *Schedis Criticis*, p. 20, frustra exercuit, leni mutatione, in quam ante me I. Bekkerus, ante utrumque Is. Vossius incidit, ita corrigendus est: αἴψα γὰρ ἂν φάτας ἦδε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι γένοτο ἄτυκός οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν *Σαλαμναφετῶν*. Legitur vulgo τῶν *Σαλαμῶν* ἀφέντων. Acerbe *Σαλαμναφέτας* vocat, qui eam insulam hostibus permissuri essent,"—Hermann, *Append. ad Vig.* p. 743. See Spitzner, *Greek Prosody*, p. 12; Hermann, *El. Doctr. Metr.* p. 30; Dorville, *Char.* p. 469.] Most of all *φυγῇ* in the tragedians: *Æsch. Suppl.* 834; *Soph. Phil.* 1148; *Eur. Hec.* 1064. A synonymous expression is τούτο φόβος, *Eur. Heracl.* 739. And in passages which have become famous through the imitations of later writers: *Demosth. Phil.* I. p. 53, τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέμει τοὺς ταυότους ἀποστόλους, and *Fals. Leg.* p. 366, τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ *Θηβαίους*. *Æsch. Pers.* 977, μυρία πεμπαστὰν is more singular. Not so convincing is *Agam.* 109, Ἑλλάδος ἦβαν ξύμφωνα ταγὰν, or *Soph. Aj.* 191, μή μ' . . . κακὰν φάτιν ἄρη. [Comp. Reisig, *Com. Crit. Col.* p. 226, who offers a different explanation.] More certain is *Eur. Iph. A.* 426, διῆξε φήμη παῖδα σὴν ἀεγμένην, and *Thucyd.* VII. 36, (in the MSS.) τὸ ἀντίκρυρον *ξυγκρούσει*. In the later writers also, but not often. The construction of adjectives does not exhibit a greater extent. Sometimes in the Tragedians: *Æsch. Prom.* 904, ἄπορα πόρμος. *Cho.* 21, *χὰς προπομπός*. *Soph. Antig.* 788, φόβμός σε. *Eur. Hippol.* 1029, *φυγὰς χθόνα*. Other examples deviate, especially in the prose writers."

§ 9. For the metaphysical structure of the Relative, I must refer my readers to Bernhardt, *W. S.* p. 428, 294; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 378; Matthiæ, *Gr. Gr.* § 434 seq., where this construction has already met with due attention. Other examples seemingly belonging to this class, where we have a masculine or feminine noun referred to by a neuter relative, are somewhat different. When the grammatical gender is employed, it refers to the *species*, the *attributes* and *properties* (τὰ φαινόμενα) of the thing, while the neuter refers to the *genus*, or to the *real essence* (τὰ νοούμενα) of the thing. Thus, τὸν θεὸν οὐκ οἶδα, ὃ τί ποτ' ἐστίν. Here ὅστις would shew ignorance of his *attributes*. Plato, *Theæt.* p. 185, A. γινῶναι ἐπιστήμην αὐτὸ ὃ τί ποτ' ἐστίν. In the same manner τίς ἐστιν and τί ἐστιν. Plato, *Theag.* p. 264, D, ἡ σοφία τίς ἐστιν; Poet. Gnom. τί ἐστιν ὁ θεός, οὐ θέλει σε μανθάνειν. By this we are forbidden to pry into the *essence* of the Deity. Plato, *Protag.* p. 246, B, τί ποτ' ἐστίν αὐτὸ ἡ ἀρετή. *Men.* p. 361, A. ζητεῖν, τί ποτ' ἐστίν ἀρετή. I may also notice the very unphilosophical proceeding of the old grammarians, who have distinguished the neuter of ὅστις by diacritical marks from ὅτι, the conjunction. The fact is, ὅτι = *that*, is, after all, nothing but the neuter of ὅστις. Compare the Latin "quod" = *that*. So Homer uses the neuter of ὅς (ὃ = *that*) in the same sense. Moreover, ὅτι always has τοῦτο, &c. as antecedent, either expressed or understood. See Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 849, 3. While upon the subject of the Relative, I shall take the opportunity of making the following remarks: ὅς in *comparisons* is construed with the conjunctive, when the relative clause expresses a supposed or possible case in the mind of the speaker, under which the comparison contained in the adverbial clause introduced by ὥς, ὥστε, &c. holds good. Homer, *Iliad*, v. 179, μελίη ὥς, ἦτε τέρενα χθονὶ φύλλα πελάσση. *Il.* β. 434, ὥστε στήλη μένει ἔμπεδον, ἦτε ἐπὶ τήμβῳ ἄνερος ἐστῆκε τεθνηότος. But when the relative clause expresses an independent actuality, standing as the objective attribute of the object of comparison, the verb of the relative clause is in the indicative. Homer, *Il.* γ. 318, οἷος δ' ἀστὴρ εἶσι Ἑσπερος, ὅς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστὴρ. Comp. *Ibid.* vs. 26. *Il.* π. 3, ὥστε κρήνη μελάνυδρος, ἦτε κατ' αἰγυίης πέτρης ὀνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ, "quæ fundere solet." See Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 829, 2. Also with the optative, only that here the speaker shews what would be the general impressions of most men, were they to see such things. Homer, *Od.* ι. 384, 314; κ. 416,

420; ρ'. 366; *Il.* β'. 780; χ'. 389; χ'. 410. See Hermann, *Opusc.* II. p. 51; Append. *Vig.* p. 729. In these, however, the comparison is contained in the *adverbial* clause, not in the relative clause. Jelf, (*Gr. Gr.* § 419, obs.): "The Optative is not used in comparisons, because the supposition contained therein is present." He has himself quoted *two* examples of the optative thus used (§ 426, 1,) at the distance of only seven pages from his former statement!—I may here notice a very remarkable class of formulæ, where *ὅς* or *ὅς ἂν*, with the conjunctive, referring neither to a pronoun, a proper name, nor an appellative noun, but to some abstract notion preceding, is mentally equivalent to *ἐάν τις* (Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 428, a. § 828, 1,) with a conjunctive. Euripides, *Frag. Incert.* XXVIII. (Ed. Tauchnitz), συμφορά δ', *ὅς ἂν τύχη* (= *ἐάν τις τύχη*) κακῆς γυναικὸς. Homer, *Il.* ε'. 81, βέλτερον, *ὅς φεύγων προφύγῃ* (= *ἐάν τις προφύγῃ*) κακὸν, ἢ ἐάλωγ. Thucyd. II. 44, τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς, *οἷ ἂν* (= *ἐάν τις*) τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχων, ὥσπερ οἷδε μὲν νῦν, τελευτῆς. Thucyd. VI. 16, οὐκ ἄχρηστος ἦδ' ἡ ἄνοια, *ὅς ἂν* τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῇ. Eurip. *Iph. T.* 1064, καλὸν τοι γλῶσσ' (*Matth. Gr. Gr.* § 437, 4), ὅτω (= *ἐάν τις*) πίστις παρῇ. Hesiod, *Op.* 327, ἴσον δ', *ὅς θ' ἐκέτην ὅς τε ξείνων κακὸν ἔρῃ* (= *ἐάν τις κακῶς βέξῃ*), *ὅς τε κασιγνήτοις ἐοῦ ἀνὰ δέμνια βαίνει* (= *ἐάν τις ἀναβαίνει*), *ὅς τε τὸν ἀφραδὴς ἀλιταίνεται* (= *ἀλιταίνεται*) ὄρφανὰ τέκνα, *ὅς τε γονῆα γέροντα ναικείῃ*. Thucyd. VII. 68, καὶ νομίζομεν νομιμώτατον εἶναι, *οἷ ἂν* (= *ἐάν τις*) δικαιοῦσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμώμενον. Sometimes,—that is, as often as occasion requires, we have *ὅς* or *ὅστις* with the indicative, mentally equivalent to *εἰ τις* with the indicative. Plato, *Leg.* p. 789, C, τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς, ὅτω (= *εἰ τις*) πρὸς τὸ γῆρας παρεγένετο. Eur. *Phæn.* 509, ἀνανδρία γάρ, τὸ πλέον ὅστις (= *εἰ τις*) ἀπολέσας τοῦ λασσον ἔλαβε. Eur. *Iph. T.* 605, τὰ τῶν φίλων (= τοὺς φίλους) αἰσχιστον ὅστις (= *εἰ τις*) καταβαλὼν εἰς συμφοράς αὐτὸς σέσωσται (= *αἰσχιστόν ἐστιν, εἰ τις καταβαλὼν τοὺς φίλους εἰς συμφοράς, αὐτὸς σέσωσται*). Eurip. *Erechth. Fragm.* XVII. τὰς χάριτας ὅστις (= *εἰ τις*) εὐγενῶς χαρίζεται, ἥδιστον ἐν βροτοῖσιν. The same usage is occasionally found in other formulæ: Hom. *Od.* χ'. 65, νῦν ὑμῖν παρακεῖται, ("now you have your choice,") ἐναντίον ἢ μάχεσθαι, ἢ φεύγειν, *ὅς κεν θάνατον καὶ Κῆρας ἀλώξῃ* (*ὅς κεν* = *ἐάν τις*). Compare Bernhardt, (*W. S.* p. 291): "Of greater importance is the *Exposition of Abstracts*, especially with *ὅστις*, where the abstract or generalizing expression can stand either before, or, as is less frequent, after. *Il.* ε'. 81, βέλτερον, *ὅς* ("it is better for him,

that he," &c.) φεύγων προφύγη κακὸν ἢ ἀλώη. Comp. *Od.* ω'. 286. Hesiod, *Ἔργ.* 325, ἴσον δ', ὅς θ' ἐσέτην ὅς τε ξείνον κακὸν ἔρξει—. Tyrtaeus, III. 15, ξυγὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο—, ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβάς . . . μένη. Next, this idiom has firmly established itself amongst the Attic writers. Amongst the tragedians, Euripides has used it most. *Frag. Inc.* XLIX. συμφορὰ δ', ὅς ἂν τύχη κακῆς γυναικός. Comp. *Dict. Fragm.* VII. *Herc. F.* 309, τὰς τῶν θεῶν γὰρ ὅστις ἐκμοχθεῖν τόχας πρόθυμός ἐστιν, ἢ προθυμία γ' ἄφρων. Thucydides often: VI. 16, οὐκ ἄχρηστος ἦδ' ἡ ἄνοια, ὅς ἂν . . . τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῇ. Comp. 14. Plato, *Theæt.* p. 205, E, τοῦτο μὲν ἄρα μὴ ἀποδεχώμεθα, ὅς ἂν λέγῃ. Comp. *Polit.* p. 296, E. Xenophon occasionally, with some of the orators (Andocid. *de Red.* p. 22, μεγάλη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ, ὅστις—, as Panyasis, *Frag.* 1. pr.; Lysias, c. Sim. p. 159; Orat. c. Euerg. p. 1151; c. Neær. p. 1386), down to the late Sophists. Nicostr. ap. Stob. S. 74, 64, is singular: ὑποτίθενται, ὅτι τὸ ζῆν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ὅστις ἂν φάγῃ. In Aristophanes and Herodotus, this usage does not occur. To the same formula also belongs the construction with οὕτως, where ὅς does not so much express the *degree* (ὥστε) as the *peculiarity*. Yet more frequently in the poets than in the prose writers: οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτω μῶρος, ὅς θανεῖν ἐρεῖ, (comp. Xenoph. *Anab.* II. 5, 21, παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ—, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι . . . πράττειν τι), wherein already the old grammarians perceived the sense of a *climax*, as, amongst other instances, one sees in the various reading ὥστε ὑπολαμβάνειν in Demosth. *Chers.* p. 100, οὐ γὰρ οὕτω γ' εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὁμῶν οὐδείς, ὅς ὑπολαμβάνει—. Elmsley (ad *Med.* 1086,) rightly refuses to take ὅς for τίς or ὅστις. On the Platonic use, see Heind. ad *Phaedr.* p. 240. Cf. obs. 158. So cautious a scholar as Schäfer has been unwilling to acknowledge the resolution into ὅτι οὕτως; perhaps only on account of the shallow arguments of others. To the same person we owe the more accurate consideration of that exposition of abstracts in scattered notes. Cf. ad Pors. *Phæn.* 519; ad *Gnom.* p. 186. With which compare Heind. ad *Soph.* p. 388; *Nachamung des Ennius*, p. 277. Amst. On οὕτως, ὅς— see Schäfer, *Melet.* p. 71; ad Demosth. II. p. 531.

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XX.

ON THE VERB TO BE, AND ITS EQUIVALENTS.

CONCERNING the general theory of auxiliary verbs, there is probably a full agreement among well-informed grammarians : but as the theory does not often find its way into elementary works, it may not be amiss to state it formally here, in the way of preface to a farther inquiry.

It is historically clear that the words Will, Shall, Have, Let, Going, May, pass into auxiliaries, by the process of losing or modifying a part of their signification, generally so as to become less emphatic. It is especially in what a Greek might call their *enclitic* state, that they are blended with another verb as secondary or auxiliary with some modification of sense. The same is true of θέλω and ἔχω in modern Greek, and indeed in the ἔχω ἀτιμάσας and ἔρχομαι φράσσων of the old Ionic.

Nor is the principle less evident in the substitutes for the *copula-verb* which are familiar to us in the languages which we most study. Become, Prove, Turn Out, in English ; Fio, in Latin (whether connected with Facio or with Fui, φύω); have lost a part of their meaning and of their emphasis. So also in Greek γίγνομαι (Be Born,) τυγχάνω and κυρῶ (Alight upon, Happen,) ὑπάρχω (Begin, Arise,) τελέθω (come to completion, or start into existence,) πέλω, πέλομαι, (perhaps = Verto,¹ Vertor, cf. πῶλος, πωλεύω, πωλέω, ἐμπολάω, πωλέομαι,) and in Attic prose ἐξετάζομαι, (be mustered or counted,) τελῶ (pay rates = be registered,) are all of the same character.

The presumption then is, that we can carry out the principle with the verbs Be and Is : which of course must be treated separately. As for Be, Anglo-Sax. Beo, if it is the equivalent of old Latin Foe, Fu, φυ, (differing as Brother, Bear, Bellows, from Frater, Fero, Folles,) the thing is settled. For ἔφυν and πέφικα exhibit to us the primitive sense of Fui, derived from φύω = gigno ; so that Fui = πέφικα = γέγαα, neglecting tense, and Be = φῶνα. Nor is this opinion shaken,—only the facts assume

¹ Liddell and Scott conjecturally interpret πῶλος, *I am in motion*, though they do not overlook that πῶλος and πω-

λεύω are its derivatives. But the analogy which they attempt with *tenio* and *venio* seems to be false.

greater complexity, with more numerous relations,—when we observe that *Be* is comparable with Welsh *Bu* (= fuit,) a root which in numerous derivatives means Life and Dwelling, with sounds closely reminding us of βίος and Vivo. Such facts only show that our languages are (what geologists might call) conglomerates, re-made out of very old materials. The extension of the root *Be* through languages so diverse, may warn us to expect such phenomena.

But the verb *Is* has a still wider range; and the question recurs,—are we to regard it, like the others, as having once been a verb which comprised a predicate with the copula? Such, I imagine, is the prevailing belief, as the primâ facie presumption. In the Indo-European languages the root takes two chief forms, *Es* and *Er*, of which, I suppose, we may regard *Wes* and *Wer* as varieties, thus identifying *Wesen* and *Seyn* of the Germans.² Parkhurst, I believe, who among his many rash conjectures often hit out truth, compared the Hebrew שׁ (there is,) with our *Is*, ἐστ-τι; and Ewald has expressed his acquiescence in this relation. In his *Hebrew Grammar* (Nicholson's Transl. 1836,) p. 300, he says:—שׁ existence, being; from the root יׁשׁ to be firm, established. This root is farther developed in יׁשׁ to sit, dwell: the Indo-Germanic *ās* (to be), has also a similar sound and origin: compare *ās* = to sit.

If this derivation is correct, must we not identify the roots of εἶμι, *I am*, ἔζομαι, *Sedeo*, *I sit*, ἔννυμι, *Vestio*, *I clothe*? Harsh as this may appear, the double form *Es* and *Wes* may be claimed as a confirmation. In ἐδ, *Sed*, the *d* must be treated as a mere accessory; the purer root being *Se* (or *S*?) which appears in ἦσ-ται, ἦσ-υχος, and in Sanscrit *ās*, to sit. The relation of meaning between ἔζομαι and ἔννυμι is found in the verb *To Place*, which the old lexicons described as ἔω, *colloco*.

Yet there are several things which make the above appear to me more plausible than true. The aspirate of ἦσται seems to be radical, and to have been rather lost in the Sanscrit *ās*, than superadded in the Greek. This aspirate is not merely fixed, but characteristic of the word, while its *s* vanishes in εἵσταται, and seems to represent the *d* of *Sedeo* and of ἔδος. Thus the similarity of *ās* (esse) with *ās* (sedere) is accidental; for *ās* = *hās*

² Schweneck in his *German Etymological Dictionary* says of *Wesen*: "It has

probably a relationship with *Esse*, εἶναι, *seyn*."

or *hēs*, elongated from *hā*, *hē*, representatives of *ēd*, *ēd*. Again, the similarity of the two families ἔζομαι, ἔνομι, may seem to be much more due to confusion than to any radical identity; and it is probable that Ewald himself would reject this support. The Teutonic exhibits both *Vas* and *Vad* as roots corresponding to ἔσ-θης, *Vestis*, (Old North, *Vad*; Swed. *Wad*; Angl.-S. *Vaed*; Germ. *Gewand*, clothing; Engl. *Wadding*? Goth. *Vasjan*, to clothe;) but there is nothing to connect these with *Wesen*; nay, whereas in the Scandinavian this last root changes its *s* into *r*, that is not the case with *Vas* or *Vad*.

Next, turning to the Hebrew side, the argument seems to weaken by examination. For the root *יָשָׁא* *yasha*, (to be firm,) is a mere invention of Schultens, built on the analogy of Arabic *washa*, وَشِيَ (to be solid); but neither is any such sense of the Arabic allowed by Golius, nor of the Hebrew in Winer's *Simonis*; and since *יָשָׁא* is confessedly equivalent to Arabic *اَيسَ* *aisa*, (Arabic *s*, as usual, replacing Hebrew *sh*,) we ought to look for *wasa*, (not *washa*) as an Arabic equivalent root. Moreover, the use of the words *yēsh*, *aisa*, which we render "there is," "there are," (if without affecting any definite knowledge of Hebrew an opinion may be ventured,) suggests that they were once a demonstrative pronoun, meaning *Here* or *There*; so that in translating them "*There is*," we are very accurate; only that the verb *Is* must be understood as superadded by the translator, and not as essentially contained in the root.

That these two languages habitually employ the demonstrative as a compensation for the copula-verb, which does not exist in them, is notorious. The English reader of the Bible remembers the phrase, "The Lord, he is God;" more accurately, "Jehovah, he God," for, "Jehovah is God," Ἰαὼ, ἔσθινος θεός. This is carried so far as to use *he* and *they* with all three persons. Winer says, at the word *הוּא* *Pronomen*: is, hic, ille, hoc, illud; . . . *Denique saepenumero pro verbo substantivo*, sum, es, est; fuit, erit, etc. *usurpatur*: and at *הֵם* ii, hi, ea, hæc; . . *Ut Arabes pronomina tertiae personae pro verbo substantivo* CUSJUSVIS PERSONÆ saepissime usurpant, sic *הֵם* pro *הֵם* legitur Zeph. ii. 12. [Unless *pro* is a misprint for *post*, he should have written, sic *הֵם* illi, pro *estis*, post *הֵם* vos; Zeph. ii. 12.] This is an important clue to us, as to the mode in which the copula-verb is produced; and the Greek student will familiarly

feel how such phrases as ὁ γὰρ οὐρανός, ἐκείνος ὁ φηλός · οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκείνοι ἰσχυροί · might generate a verb ἐκείνος = *am, art, is*; ἐκείνοι = *are*, in all three persons.

Now, it perhaps deserves remark, that as in the verb To Be, the form *Ez* (not *Ep*) is alone found in Greek, and *Er* (not *Es*) or *Var* (not *Vas*) is alone found in Scandinavian, while the German and Latin tongues mix the two forms; so for *Is, Iste, Quis* of Latin we have *Er, Wer* in German. The Turks have no legitimate verb to express the English copula *Is*, but they say *Var* for "There is;" which is not likely to be a merely accidental resemblance. They also use *Dar, Der*³ (euphonicallly changeable into *Tar, Ter*) as the particle in composition which gives the force of our copula *Is*; and the similarity of its termination to that of *Var* is probably not an accident.

But in many languages the root *Is* fails to make its appearance in all the persons.

	1 Sing.	2 Sing.	3 Sing.	1 Pl.	2 Pl.	3 Pl.
Welsh . .	wyf (= wyv)	wyt	yw, oes, mae, sydd, sy	ym	ych	ynt, maent
Persian .	em	i	est	im	id	end
Armenian	yem	yes	a	yenk	yek	yen
Turkish .	im	sin	(dir)	iz	siniz	(dir)ler
English .	am	...	is	are
Greek . .	εἰμι	...	ἐστι	εἰσι

The comparison of these seems to me to make it doubtful whether the root *ez* has been obliterated in εἰμι; (which, they tell us, must once have been ἐμι;) for we see a similar phenomenon in the other languages; and in many of them in the 2nd pers. sing. and in the 1st and 2nd plural. Now this is not likely to have happened if the root was a verb; but is just what might have been expected, if the apparent verbal root was really a pronoun = ἐκείνος. For although, by liberty, this would, in some dialects, attach itself to all three persons, in

³ Irish *Tear* and Latin *Tur*, as formative of the passive, deserve to be thought over in comparison with this.

others it would be likely to do this partially or not at all. Thus the Turkish *dar*, *der*, *dir*, *dour*, (euphonic variations,) are found only in the 3rd person, and in forming the tenses of verbs it very seldom appears. In Persian, *est* is confined to the 3rd pers. sing. As for *end* (*ent*), Prichard has explained it to be a mutilation of the Welsh pronoun *hwynt*, they; in which, however, the termination may be presumed to be a plural mark, (like *lar*, *ler* of the Turks,) observing that there is *Eve*, he; *Hi*, she; *Hwy*, *Hwynt*, they.

On the whole, a survey of the present tense of this verb seems to suggest, that its 3rd person was fundamentally a demonstrative pronoun, which *may* or *may not* enter the other persons: that the 1st and 2nd persons sometimes contain mere pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons, sometimes have a demonstrative in combination. So in the 3rd pers. pl. *est* and *end* are a mere plural ending; while *sunt*, *sind*, have the demonstrative *s* superadded.

If this view is admissible, *est* and *est* = *iste*: but *s* in *sunt* is the *s* of Ang. S. *se*, *seo*, *that* = Sans. *sas*, *sa*, *tat* = *δ*, *ῥ*, *τὸ*. Moreover, the German use of *Wir haben* for *Wir habem*, *habemus*, is merely a return to the simpler idea of *haben* as plural without distinction of person. Then the *en* of *Haben*, *Augen*, and Engl. *oxen*, turns out to be identical. Its classical limitation to the 3rd person was arbitrary. The Turks also use final *-lar* or *-ler* only in the 3rd pers. plural of verbs; yet as it is the universal plural mark of substantives, there is nothing in it etymologically to forbid its use with the 1st and 2nd person.

But the tendency of the argument is to separate the cause of *Wes*, *Wer* from *Es*, *Er*, in so far as the former exhibit a complete verbal development through all the persons. At any rate, *Wes* and *Wer* are of later origin, and (from whatever derived) were formed at the very first with a verbal intention: they have also a narrower range. Still, when we compare *I was*, *I were*, with *Eram*—*Eram* with *Ero*—and the two last with *ἔην*, *ἔσομαι*, (if we remember also how *r* that is changeable into *s* is apt to vanish in Greek from between two vowels,) it is hard entirely to disjoin *Wer* from *Er*, or *Er* from *Es*. In applying these roots to other tenses than the present, a purely verbal notion is presupposed, and hence the greater regularity with which the root is carried through all the persons.

F. W. NEWMAN.

XXI.

WHEN DID GREECE BECOME A ROMAN PROVINCE?

SOME two years have almost elapsed since the annual meeting of the German literati took place at Basel, for the purpose of discussing philological matters, "Rehbraten," and champagne. We dare say that many a tourist will remember how, in the autumn of the year 1847, the air and atmosphere of the good old town we speak of, seemed to be impregnated with an extra allowance of learning and—tobacco. The place, from its associations with the past, was well adapted for the objects of a philological meeting. The town in which Reuchlin and Erasmus filled and adorned the professorial chair,—in which Rhenanus and Grynæus toiled over manuscript and type,—could not but check any overweening pride in the philologers of the nineteenth century; while it reminded them, that high as may be the vantage ground which they possess over the scholars who flourished 300 years ago, there were not wanting even then great and kingly spirits, to watch over the embers of classical antiquity, to herald in the advent of a Luther, and soothe the birth-throes of regenerated Europe. Aye, and even in these days, when the pulse of Europe seems to be heating with a convulsive throb, and when the nations of the earth are shaken terribly, and the old foundations are cast down, the statesman and true patriot of Germany may find in the language of those who founded the Basel University, words of noble and manly encouragement, which may serve to guide and support him in his endeavours to heal the distracted bosom of his Fatherland. "Although, in all matters which contain the germs of future Good or Evil, it be not unmeet to temper a strong confidence in the Good with a sober apprehension of the Evil, still, it is the duty of every well-conditioned governing body, not to be driven, through any fretful craven fear, lest ill betide, to let slip any Good, especially so great a Good, so precious to the whole of Christendom; but rather, to go honestly to work by God's help, and to endeavour by all human means, by wise ordinances and a bold execution of the same, to forefend and remove every obstacle which may let and hinder. For if this had not been

the operating principle in the foundation of all institutions,—if unmanly fears of evil had always stifled the energies of a good confidence and hope,—no scheme could ever have been put forth, much less brought to a consummation and a close.”—But we must not suffer considerations suggested by the stupendous character of the present crisis in the affairs of Europe, to turn our attention aside from the object now before us.

In the last number of the *Classical Museum*, our readers were presented with a translation of one of the memoirs read at this meeting by Dr. Streuber, a Professor of the Basel University, on the early poetry of the Romans. We propose on the present occasion to communicate the substance of another memoir, or rather, of a portion of a memoir, read by a well known Goettingen Professor, Mr. K. F. Hermann, on two errors of very long standing in the history of Greece. With the first of these errors, it is not our intention to occupy either the reader's time or our own. For we think we should be fighting with a shadow, as we believe it to be very generally allowed by modern scholars of any repute, that the story of Cærops having colonized Attica from Sais in Egypt, is destitute of foundation. But what will our readers say, when they find the learned professor making a long stride from the mythical days of Cærops, to the broad daylight of history, and openly asserting, that what teacher and tyro, learned and unlearned, have alike looked upon hitherto as a fact, on which they could not so much as entertain a doubt, is in reality as void of truth as the more questionable story of the Athenian legislator? “I am bold to affirm,” says Mr. Hermann, “that as far as the evidence of ancient authors is concerned, that in favour of the Egyptian origin of Cærops, bad and meagre as it is, is at any rate stronger than that in favour of Achaia having been turned into a Roman province by Mummius; a story in support of which, not so much as one clear decisive statement can be met with in the whole of antiquity.” This is a somewhat startling assertion. We have never met with a single modern work, which does not make the subjection of Greece to Rome in the form of a province, contemporary with the destruction of Corinth by Mummius; whereas, if Mr. Hermann is to be believed, Achaia did not become a Roman province before the time of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, or perhaps not even till the time of Augustus. Mr Hermann's reputation as a scholar, however much it

may be eclipsed by that of his great namesake, whose spirit has lately departed from amongst us, should still be sufficient to guarantee to his opinions a ready hearing, even in the absence of any arguments by which they may be enforced. These we will now proceed to lay before our readers, leaving it to them to decide whether they be successful in overturning a statement which no one that we are aware of has ever yet hesitated to look upon as true. For our own part, we think they will be compelled to agree in the remark, which the result of investigations unequalled in depth of research by any historian of past or present times, extorted from the pen of Augustin Thierry:—"Ce qui est imprimé dans tant de livres, ce que tant de professeurs enseignent, ce que de tant de disciples répètent, obtient force de loi, et prévaut contre les faits eux-mêmes."¹

Mr. Hermann begins at the fountain-head, by examining the direct evidence to be found in ancient authors. If he can succeed in shewing that this is altogether inadequate to bear out the received opinion, his task will be more than half accomplished: for, this done, any indirect evidence which may be alleged, should not be received without very cautious examination. He observes, that not even Rufus, in his miserable *Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ*, can be brought forward to support the vulgar notion. For this writer, in speaking of the destruction of Corinth, does not, as elsewhere, make use of the phrase, "provincia facta est," but only says, "obtenta est," which, while it undoubtedly indicates the ascendancy held by Rome over Greece, as little proves the formation of a province, as in the case of Armenia, in which the same writer says, after speaking of the victory over Mithridates: "Armenia Minor quam idem tenuerat armis obtenta est;" whereas we know that, down to the time of Nero, it had its own kings, though they were dependent upon Rome. As regards the two other ancient authors, quoted by Sigonius,² the originator of the story, Strabo,³

¹ See the Preface to Mr. Thierry's *Letters on the History of France*. The whole work, by the way, is an admirable comment in illustration of the words we have quoted; and who can doubt that they apply equally well to the histories of all countries, and of all times!

² We regret that we have had no opportunity of consulting the work of

Sigonius here alluded to by Mr. Hermann, *De antiquo Jure Provinciarum*. As the Bologna Professor flourished in the middle of the 16th century, the falsehood which Mr. H. has undertaken to refute, is about three hundred years old! Many a truth dies and is forgotten in its early prime.

³ The passage referred to is in Book

says, quite in a general way, that the whole country as far as Macedonia, was made subject to the Romans, adding, that "generals were sent some to one place, some to another," an expression which tallies ill with the received opinion. Again, Pausanias, whom Sigonius quotes as his principal witness, will be found on closer examination to make directly against him. His words are as follows, (VII. 16): 'Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ οὖν αὐτῶν βουλευσόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυσε (scil. Μομμίος) καθίστατο δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς · καὶ φόρος τε ἐτάχθη τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες ἐκυλόντο ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι · συνέδρια τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν Φωκεῶσιν, ἡ Βοιωτῶν ἡ ἐτέρωθεν πού τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καταλέλυτο ὁμοίως πάντα. Ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἔλεον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδοῦσαν ἑκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ γῆν ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι · ἀφῆκον δὲ καὶ ὅσοις Μόμμιος ζημίαν · Βοιωτοῦς τε γὰρ Ἡρακλεώταις καὶ Εὐβοέας τάλαντα ἑκατὸν καὶ Αἰαίους Λακεδαιμονίους διακόσια ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπᾶσαι. Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄφεσιν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὗραντο Ἕλληνες · ἡγεμόνων δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀπεστέλλετο · καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ἑλλάδος ἀλλ' Ἀχαιῶν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνες δι' Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προεστηκότων.

Mr. Hermann admits that from this passage two inferences may be drawn. First, that when Pausanias wrote, Greece had for a considerable time been reduced to the form of a province, under the title of Achaia; and secondly, that the destruction of Corinth was the commencement of the entire dependence of Greece on Rome. But he denies altogether that this passage can be made use of to shew that the fall of Corinth was immediately succeeded by the organization of Greece in the form of a province. He submits, that a very wide distinction must be drawn between the greatest possible restriction of civil rights, and that political death-warrant which was implied in the idea of a Roman province. However favourable might be the condition ensured to such provinces by the terms of what was called their "formula," however much the provincials might, as such, have been protected by the Roman laws, from the extortion and

VIII. p. 381, σημειοῖσιν γὰρ ἀξιολόγου στρατιῶς, αὐτὰ τε (scil. Κορίνθιοι) κατεκρητο ὑπὸ Λουκίου Μομμίου, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μίχρη Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἱκνέσθαι. Ἰν' ἄλλοις ἄλλων σημειοῖσιν στρατηγῶν. Τῶν δὲ χώρων ἔχον Σικυώνιοι τὸν πλείοντον

τῆς Κορινθίας. Both here and in the case of Pausanias we have thought it better to give the original Greek instead of the translation, as in Mr. Hermann's Memoir.

oppression of their governor, still they were altogether bereft of all individual personal rights, of all independence as a legislative or executive body; nay, the very ground on which they stood did not escape the clutches of their conquerors. It was not indeed the custom of the Romans, at once to reduce every nation whom they conquered in stricken battle, to such a condition as this: they had in their latter days too much respect for the rights of foreign nations to adopt so stringent a course: they contented themselves with depriving them of the means of being any longer dangerous as foes; so that down to the time when the boundless rapacity of individuals had sapped the political principles of the state itself, the Roman provinces consisted either of those countries which had already been shorn of their liberties by other powers, and were thus, to begin with, little better than so many objects of booty, or of those, which by repeated renewal of hostilities (rebellio) had drawn down upon themselves the utmost rigour of Roman vengeance. To the first class belong Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Cisalpine Gaul; to the second Carthage and Macedonia, which last however assumed the form of a province, not on the fall of its monarchy in the year B. C. 169, but on the revolt of Andriscus in B. C. 147. Mr. Hermann suggests, that while, on the one hand, the absence of all proof should deter us from placing Greece under either of the two categories above enumerated, we should, on the other, be amply justified in supposing that its condition at the fall of Corinth was not in many respects different from that of Macedonia between the years 169 and 147; till at length the perverted policy with which, during the civil wars, it perpetually clung to the weaker side, compelled the conquering party to take such steps as could only aid in its being reduced to the normal condition of a province of Rome. Up to that period, however, Mr. Hermann repeats that there is not the smallest well-grounded reason for supposing, that the position of Greece towards Rome was different from that of Macedonia, during the interval above mentioned. On the contrary, he observes, that many of the measures attributed by Pausanias to the conqueror of Corinth, correspond almost word for word with those which, according to Livy, (xlv. 29,) Æmilius Paullus adopted in the case of the vanquished Macedonians: "Neque connubium, neque commercium agrorum ædificiorumque inter se placere cuiquam extra fines regionis suæ esse." If then this

latter nation, in spite of these restrictions, in spite of its division into four separate republics, nay, in spite of the tribute which it was compelled to pay to Rome, was throughout twenty years enabled to pursue its freedom and internal autonomy, then all the circumstances enumerated by Pausanias with respect to Achaia, do not indicate any relations with Rome different from those which that all-powerful neighbour exacted even from federate states.

Mr. Hermann, before he proceeds to examine whether any mention of a Roman governor of Achaia is to be met with before the civil war, winds up his observations on the direct evidence to be found in ancient authors, by a most important passage from Plutarch, who, in speaking of the authority exercised by the proconsul of Macedonia over the Bœotians,—an authority which Mr. Hermann compares with that which the French held over the Rhenish Provinces without infringing their sovereignty,—expressly adds: "For the Romans had not as yet sent any governor to Greece," (*οὐπω γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγούς διεπέμποντο.*) And if this direct evidence, says Mr. Hermann, that Greece at the time of Cæsar and Pompey was no Roman province, is to be enfeebled by any conclusions which may be drawn from the vague statements of Strabo and Pausanias, the supporters of the received opinion ought at any rate to bring forward some more cogent arguments than those which have hitherto been alleged. He adds,—that as regards less direct evidence, the indications in his favour are so strong that it must have required all the weight of an antiquated prejudice to blind the eyes of scholars to such a manifest fact, as the freedom of Greece having survived the fall of Corinth.

And here let us for a moment pause: we have hitherto abstained from stringing any comments upon the thread of Mr. Hermann's argument; we would now endeavour to anticipate some of the strictures which they may call forth. It will probably be said by some, that Mr. Hermann's conclusions, however valid, cannot greatly affect the real state of the case; that the condition of Greece differed from that of a province only in name, and that the received opinion is therefore correct in the spirit, if not in the letter, of its acceptance. It might indeed be sufficient, in order to refute such a notion, to take a more favourable case than almost any which can be met with in the history of the government of Roman provinces: we mean, we

might confine our attention to the systematic oppression by law established, and for a moment wave the yet more iron rule of laws eluded. We might point to the code of provincial administration, and we might tell our opponents, that unless they can prove that Achaia was a victim to all the oppression in that code prescribed, they are at best but talking loosely, when they speak of it as a province all but in name; we might fairly ask them to produce any instance in which a state dependent upon Rome was subject to the cruelties of provincial government, while it dispensed with all its outward circumstance and forms. But we may go yet further: we have here been dealing with a supposed case; we have omitted all considerations of the horrors, which in addition to the misery and wrongs which accompanied the normal execution of the laws, were almost uniformly inflicted by malversation and private rapacity, on the provinces of Rome. The corpse of their deceased liberty did not even meet with the treatment which common decency demanded: it was soiled and mangled with all the ruthless depravity which festered in the dunghill of a proconsular brain. Follow a Roman governor with his train of blood-sucking, pampered parasites, into Sicily or Asia; see him eating up the people as if he would eat bread, turning a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the wise, and the supplications of the weak; see him brandishing the scourge and condemning to the crucifix, polluting the public shrine with his sacrilege, and the private hearth with his lust, sincere in nothing but infamy and vice, dissembling in nothing but integrity and virtue; see him taking reward against the innocent and conniving at the escape of the wrong doer, trampling on the widow, cheating the orphan, oppressing all; witness this, and bear in mind that it was the infamy of *one* which thus wrought the misery of *all*; and then say whether it was a matter of merely nominal interest to Achaia, that the tyranny of a Verres should place the coping-stone upon the victories of a Mummius. Surely, to think that this picture is overdrawn, would be to ignore the writings of Cicero, and turn a deaf ear to the voice of history. "Deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantiâ moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur." The orator adds (*pro Lege Manil.* 22): "Difficile est dietu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exterâs nationes propter eorum quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias. Quod

enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur." We cannot too strongly insist on the distinction drawn by Mr. Hermann, between the greatest possible restriction of political rights, and that utter extinction of them which in the time of the Republic was implied in the idea of a Roman Province.

Another point which the reader should bear in mind, is the different character of the evidence produced by Mr. Hermann. On the one hand you have Pausanias, a contemporary of Aurelius, of whose statement the most that can be made is, that in his day Achaia was under the immediate authority of a Roman governor, a fact which no one would venture to impugn: he does not mention the period when the appointment first took place; he has contented himself with recording the fact, that when he wrote, the office had not ceased to exist. On the other side you have the historian of Chæronea, the contemporary of Nero, who, in language so plain and unequivocal that it is impossible to mistake his meaning, expressly states, that up to the time of Lucullus the Romans had not sent any governor to Greece. Now, Mr. Macaulay may or may not be justified in treating Plutarch's merits as an historian with the withering contempt of his well-poised antitheses and fizzing periods; this is a point which we have not as much leisure as inclination to discuss. But surely it would be very cruel to accuse the poor man of such gross ignorance on the one hand, as not to have been acquainted with the condition of his country, in so important a particular, less than a century before he wrote, or of such stupidity on the other, as wilfully to have stated what every one must have known to be false.

We now proceed to examine the remainder of Mr. Hermann's arguments, which are, we think, equally successful with those which have been already adduced.

That the ten commissioners, who, along with Mummius, regulated the affairs of Greece, furnish no proof in favour of the received opinion, may be gathered from the fact, that precisely the same proceeding took place in the year B. C. 189 ("decem legati more majorum missi ad res Asiæ disceptandas componendasque," Liv. XXXVII. 55), on which occasion we know that all the conquered lands were divided between Eumenes and the

Rhodians, without the Romans having at that time any idea of forming Asia Minor into a province: and the case stands the same with that "consilium" by whose advice ("de cujus sententiâ,") Æmilius Paullus made the arrangements above mentioned in Macedonia. It is quite amusing, Mr. Hermann observes, to see how Pighius in his *Annals* puts down Achaia year by year after B. C. 146 as a Roman province, but without annexing the name of the governor, for the very simple reason that no mention of a governor was to be found. He has indeed contrived to muster up five names, wherewith to interlard his blank list.

Now, although it cannot be denied, that if Pighius could establish his claims to correctness with respect to even one of these five names, Mr. Hermann's case would of necessity fall to the ground; still, none who is acquainted with the loose inaccuracy of the Dutch annalist, would consider his having registered the names of these five governors, to be in itself a sufficient proof that the owners of those five names ever occupied the position assigned to them. And indeed, on closer examination, we have no difficulty in securing the statement of Plutarch from any doubts and cavillings which may assail it from this quarter.

The first of the five names quoted by Pighius is Æmilius Scaurus, the celebrated "Princeps Senatus," who is put down in the year B. C. 119 as a Proprætor of Achaia: and on what grounds? because on some coins of this Æmilius, emblems of Apollo are to be met with, which Pighius considered as a proof that they must have been struck out of the coins of Greek tribute-money, the temple at Delphi being as it were the central point of Greece. The weakness of such an argument in favour of the existence of a province which would not have included Delphi in its limits, must be apparent to every one: but in addition to this, Drumann has long since shewn that these emblems refer to the Apollinarian games given by Æmilius as prætor, at Rome itself.

Of the second, Q. Aucharius, whom Pighius without any authority assumes to have been prætor of Achaia in the year B. C. 90, all that is known is that he was a man of prætorian rank, and was put to death by Marius.

Although the third, whom he places in the year 88, seems at first sight to rest on a somewhat better foundation, he will be found on enquiry to owe his rank to the very lively imagination

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of Pighius. It is certainly true that P. Gabinius was prosecuted at Rome by the Achæans in B. C. 80 on account of extortions which he had practised in Greece: but is this any proof that he was governor of that country, and might not this have happened equally as well if he had been in Macedonia?—Most assuredly. What was the case with Verres? We find him endeavouring to extort money from a Sicyonian magistrate, and visiting his refusal with punishment, though we very well know that he had never any legal authority over the Sicyonians. “Etenim quum lex ipsa,” says Cicero in the only passage where Gabinius is mentioned (*Divinat.* 20.), “de pecuniis repetundis sociorum atque amicorum populi Romani patrona sit.” So that it was not only to provincials that the law de Repetundis was applicable; and the fact of a man having rendered himself amenable to the penalties of that law, is no proof that he was the governor of the country in which the crime imputed had been committed.

We now come to the fourth on the list, L. Gellius, whom Pighius, from Cicero, *Legg.* i. 20, has assigned to Achaia as “Proprietor Consulari potestate.” Cicero’s words are: “Audire . . . memini Gellium familiarem tuum cum pro consule ex præturâ in Greciam venisset Athenis philosophos qui tum erant in locum unum convocasse.” Now, if it could be shewn on other grounds that Achaia was under the authority of proprietors with proconsular power, we might then accept the interpretation which Pighius has given to this passage. Till such proof however is afforded, there is no necessity for our so doing, as Gellius might very well have been passing through Greece on his way to his province. Thus Crassus is made to say in Cicero, *De Orat.* i. 11.: “Quum Quæstor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas.” One might at first sight suppose that he had been quæstor in Macedonia, whereas we know from *III.* 20, that it was in Asia he held that office. In like manner, in the case now under discussion, we may fairly conjecture that Gellius was proprietor, not of Achaia, but of Asia, especially as it is only to the latter province that the “proconsulare imperium” applies.

The fifth, Caninius Gallus, rests on a passage in Cicero (*Ad Fam.* ii. 8,) written on his travels to Cilicia: “Ego quum Athenis decem dies fuisset, multumque mecum Gallus noster Caninius.” So that from the fact of his having been in Cicero’s company for a few days at Athens, which, by the way, was never included in the province, Pighius sets him down as

governor of Achaia, in the year 52, A. C. But waving the absurdity of such a conclusion from such meagre data, we are now brought to the threshold of the Civil War, where we repeatedly meet with individuals who exercised a direct command over Greece: and even these have more of the character of military authorities designed to secure a country, so important in a strategic point of view, on behalf of one of the two contending parties, than of civil governors, who do not appear to have been placed over Greece, till on the partitions of the provinces between Augustus and the Senate. "Tuetur Greciam" is the expression used by Cicero in his tenth *Philippic*, c. 6, which is very significant of the republican army of occupation in Greece, as contrasted with the provinces, properly so called, of Macedonia and Illyricum, of which he says, "Tenet populus Romanus." And if such a distinction were applicable at the time of the Mutinensian war, Mr. H. would be disposed to consider both Appius Claudius, and the well-known Servius Sulpicius, and Censorinus, whom Cæsar, Pompey, and Antony respectively set over Greece, as nothing more than commanders of forces, who were not replaced till the time of Augustus by a permanent proprætor. Military appointments of this description existed at a yet earlier period. L. Flaccus, for example, as legate "imperatore Metello Achaiaë, Bœotiaë, Thessaliaë præfuit," (Cic. p. *Flacc.* 26,) that is, he held those countries in military occupation; whereas, his general Metellus had Crete, not Achaia, for his province; so that here again we have a fresh proof that Greece had at that time no governor, but was rather in much the same condition as Massilia, which, though recognised as a free town, still submitted in some measure to the authority of the same L. Flaccus. ("Militem quæstoremque cognovit.") It was only the country about Corinth, says Mr. Hermann, which became the immediate property of the Romans; as may be gathered from Cicero's speech against Rullus, c. 2: "L. Mummi imperio et felicitate ad vectigalia populi Romani adjunctus est;" but even of this, we have Strabo's express testimony (see note 3,) that a portion belonged to the Sicyonians; and that these had preserved their freedom, may be gathered from the illegal character of the conduct adopted by Verres towards one of their magistrates, which we have already touched upon.

The truth is, that no *de facto* dependence should be used as

an argument against an independency *de jure*, which latter may best be established by those passages which speak of its having been violated. Thus in the case of Piso, who, through the instrumentality of Clodius, had carried a law giving him the right, as proconsul to Macedonia, to borrow money from Achaia, Thessalia, and Athens; a proceeding by which, as Cicero remarks, "omnis Græcia addicta erat." But that he had none of the authority of a provincial governor over those countries, is plain from the mention made of Athens, which was never under provincial administration. Accordingly, in another passage we find Cicero giving the substance of the law alluded to, in the following words: "ut de pecuniis creditis *jus in liberos populos dicere liceret*."—(*De Prov. Consul.* c. 7.)

Mr. Hermann concludes his paper by observing, that the opinion which he has here advanced in detail, he had already briefly enunciated in the concluding paragraphs of his *Manual of the Antiquities of Grecian States*. But as he had small hopes that that work would meet with a circulation at all commensurate with that of the error attacked, he had thought it well to avail himself of their reunion, in order to extend as widely as he could, what he conceived to be the correct view of the subject.

We think we have it in our power to throw up a few out-works, to defend Mr. Hermann's opinions from any assaults which they may be destined to bear; though we believe that the natural advantages of his position are such as to render him secure from any very serious attack.

In Cicero's oration for Flaccus, one of those numerous efforts of his powers as an advocate, by which he succeeded in cajoling the judges of his guilty client into a verdict of acquittal, there is a passage from which I think indirect evidence may be gathered, that Achaia was not at the time Cicero spoke, a province of Rome. Flaccus had been accused of extortion in his administration of the province of Asia. The evidence against him was so overwhelming, that one of Cicero's main efforts in his very clever defence, is to throw doubt upon the testimony of the Asiatic Greeks, by confronting it with some that had been trumped up from Achaia and other parts. Towards the conclusion of his oration, he makes the following appeal: "Quodsi provinciarum vos ratio magis movet quam vestra: ego vero non modo non recuso, sed etiam postulo, ut provin-

ciarum auctoritate moveamini. Etenim opponemus Asiæ provinciæ primum magnam partem ejusdem provinciæ, quæ pro hujus periculis legatos laudatoresque misit, deinde provinciam Galliam, provinciam Ciliciam, provinciam Hispaniam, provinciam Cretam, Græcis autem, Lydis et Phrygibus et Mysis obsistent Massilienses, Rhodii, Lacedæmonii, Athenienses, cuncta Achaia, Thessalia, Bœotia.”—(*Pro Flacco*, c. 40.)

Now, we admit that the evidence here afforded, is but of an inferential character; but still we ask any candid person to say, whether it would not have been most natural for Cicero to have added Achaia to the numerous list of provinces here mentioned, if province it had been. His not doing so, is all the more remarkable from the fact of his subjoining in the next line, “cuncta Achaia;” it is not as if he had omitted it altogether: he mentions the country, but in a different category from those designated as provinces of Rome. We look upon this to be one of those cases of undesigned testimony, which an attentive perusal will often elicit, and which, as such, are often of greater cogency than more direct evidence. Many very remarkable instances of the truth of this as regards Sacred History, may be found in a work recently published by the Margaret’s Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, under the title of *Undesigned Coincidences*.

We now come to another passage in Cicero, which has indeed been quoted by Mr. Hermann, but in such a fragmentary form as to deprive it of half its weight. In the Oration against Piso, an excellent model of the Roman Billingsgate style, we read as follows: “Obtinuisti provinciam consularem finibus iis quos lex cupiditatis tuæ, non quos lex generi tui pepigerat. Nam lege Cæsaris justissimâ atque optimâ, populi liberi, plane et vere erant liberi: lege autem tuâ, quam nemo legem, præter te et collegam tuam putavit, omnis erat tibi Achaia, Bœotia, Athenæ, cuncta Græcia addicta.”—(c. 16.)

This, when coupled with the passage already quoted by Mr. Hermann from the oration *De Prov. Cons.* c. 7, furnishes no contemptible quota to the evidence already adduced.

Before leaving Cicero, we will but briefly allude to the vague expression, “illud Achaicum negotium,” with which, in a letter to Servius Sulpicius, he designates the appointment of that individual to the management of Greece, and which seems, we think, in some measure corroborative of the view held by Mr.

Hermann, with respect to that and other analogous appointments by him enumerated.

We now come to one of the most eminent of Byzantine writers, we mean Zonaras. If it be urged, that in the earlier part of his work, he deserves the name of a compiler, rather than that of an historian; that his claims to originality are so slight, that he is repeatedly found quoting the "ipsissima verba" of classic historians; we make the concession all the more readily, because it is in the character of a compiler, of one who, to use his own words, collected all his earlier facts from original sources, (τὰ μὲν οὖν μέχρι τοῦδε πεπραγμένα Ῥωμαίοις, βιβλίων τυχὸν τῶν παλαιὰ ταῦτα ἱστορησάντων ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐκείθεν ἐξεληφα κατ' ἐπιτομήν, καὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος τούτου ἐντέθηκα,) that his evidence in the case now under discussion becomes of singular value, and ill deserves to be slightly cast aside, or smothered by the incubus of a "received opinion." We are inclined to think that the writer of the life of Mummius, in the *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, has not been able to obtain access to this work of Zonaras, which forms one of his very numerous and valuable references. We have come to this conclusion on two grounds; First, because the passage is erroneously cited; and secondly, because the statement given by Zonaras, is diametrically opposed to that furnished by Mr. Donne. If we are wrong in these conclusions, if Mr. D. has indeed inspected the passage to which he refers, we must give him credit for a degree of partiality, which we hesitate whether to qualify as excessively honest, or excessively factious. For when a statement of any description is succeeded by references to other authors, we would naturally expect to find in them a confirmation, not a refutation of the facts alleged. But this by the way. We proceed to quote the passage from Zonaras. It is to be found in book IX. chap. 31. Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀλόντων, τείχη τε τῶν περιεῖλε, καὶ ἐλευθέρους πάντας καὶ αὐτονομούς· πλὴν τῶν Κορινθίων ἀφῆκε. Τῆς δὲ Κορίνθου τοὺς τε οἰκίτορας ἀπέδωκε, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐδημοσίωσε, τὰ τε τείχη, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα πάντα κατέσκαψε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς πνὲς πρὸς αὐτὴν οἷα μεγίστην συστήσῃ. Ἰνὰ δὲ μήτε τις ἐκείνων λάθῃ, μήτε τῶν λοιπῶν τις Ἑλλήνων πραθῇ, ὥς Κορίνθιος, συνεκάλεσε πρὶν ἐκφῆναι τὸ κατητόν, πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφανῶς πως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκυκλιωσάμενος, ἐκήρυξε τὴν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων δουλωσιν. Ἐπειτα προσέταξε πᾶσι τῶν

παρασηκώτων σφίσι λαβέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω σαφῇ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο. Καὶ ἡ μὲν Κορίνθος οὕτως ἀνάστατος γέγονε, τὸ δ' ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν παραγρῆμα μὲν καὶ σφαγαῖς καὶ χρημάτων ἐκλογαῖς ἐκακώθη. Ἐπειτα ἔν τε ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τοσαύτῃ ἐγένετο, ὥστε λέγειν ὅτι εἰ μὴ θάπτον ἐαλίσκεσαν οὐκ ἂν ἐσέσωντο.

Now, if we bear in mind that this passage is immediately succeeded by the words which we have already quoted from this excellent author, and which find their corroboration in the fact, that it is to him we are indebted for what we know of so many books of the history of Dion Cassius, we think that no testimony could well be found, which so strongly and expressly declares the political autonomy and independence of Greece after the destruction of Corinth.

Indeed, so strongly have our own subsequent researches tended to confirm the impression first produced by the perusal of Mr. Hermann's Memoir, that in spite of our uniform reluctance to impugn the text of ancient authors, without being able to back up the assault by the authority of manuscripts, (which we have at present no opportunity of consulting,) we should be disposed to make an alteration in a passage from Pausanias, which might, we think, suggest some suspicions in the mind of the critic, independently of any reference to the subject now at issue. In the first chapter of his second book, we meet with the following statement as to the subjugation of Greece, which, be the text sound or not, furnishes at any rate *negative* evidence in Mr. Hermann's favour:—"Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ παρεῖλοντο μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τεῖχη περιεῖλον ὅσαι τετειχισμέναί πόλεις ἦσαν. Κορίνθον δὲ ἀνάστατον Μομμίου ποιήσαντος τοῦ τότε ἡγούμενου τῶν ἐπὶ στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαίων, ὕστερον λέγουσιν ἀνοικίσαι Καίσαρα ὃς πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρῶτος τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατεστήσατο. II. 2. 1. Now, we admit that we may scarcely be looked upon as impartial judges in this matter, but we certainly think that the words ὃς πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κ. τ. λ. as they stand, are very much out of place: indeed they are not altogether true. Whereas, if we were to read ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι or Ἀχαΐᾳ, the case would be entirely altered. What more natural than that Pausanias should couple the fact of Julius Cæsar having colonised Corinth, with that of his having been the first to institute provincial form of government in Achaia? However, we assure our readers that they cannot attach less importance to this conjecture than we do ourselves. The late eminent master of

Shrewsbury school, Dr. Butler, used to say that conjectures were worth a farthing a cart-load. This would be a flattering standard from which to estimate the value of mine!

We apprehend that what has been advanced in these pages will be received at first with a sneer of incredulity. Men in general, and Englishmen in particular, do not like to be told that they have from their childhood been listening, with all the confidingness of unreserved and implicit faith, to what, when examined, proves to be unreal and a lie.⁴ Excepting in matters where the pure sciences are involved, in which the cogency of mathematical demonstration cannot be resisted, men care not "to purge their sight" with the "euphrasy and rue" of critical enquiry. That "*suspicio quædam et diffidentia*," of which Lord Bacon speaks, "*quæ nihil nunc posse inveniri autumat, quo mundus tam diu carere potuit*," helps to confirm the delusion, and stop the ear to the appeals of argument and reason. There is a tenacious conservatism of error, which is most fatal to the planting and growth of truth.

"Some blind themselves, 'cause possibly they may
Be led by others the righte way :
They build on sands, which if unmoved, they find,
'Tis but because there was no wind.
Less hard 'tis not to erre ourselves than know
If our forefathers erred or no."

Those who are concerned in the education of our youth (and it is of such, we conceive, that the readers of this Journal are mainly composed), would do well to examine diligently whether

⁴ There is an amusing passage in Mr. Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* (iv. 20), which we cannot refrain from quoting:—"Would it not be an insufferable thing for a learned professor, and that which his scarlet would blush at, to have his authority of forty years' standing, wrought out of hard rock, Greek and Latin, with no small expense of time and candle, and confirmed by general tradition, and a revered beard, in an instant overturned by an upstart novelist! Can any one expect that he should be made to confess, that what he taught his scholars thirty years ago, was all error and mistake!

and that he sold them hard words and ignorance at a very dear rate! What probabilities, I say, are sufficient to prevail in such a case! and who ever, by the most cogent arguments, will be prevailed with to disrobe himself at once of all his old opinions and pretences to knowledge and learning, which with hard study he hath all this time been labouring for, and turn himself stark naked in quest afresh of new notions! All the arguments that can be used, will be as little able to prevail, as the wind did with the traveller, to part with his cloak, which he held only the faster."

the so called received facts, which in the routine of their craft they are daily imprinting upon the *rasa tabula* of the pupil's mind, be indeed true or not: it is their province to dig the mine of truth for others; let them be careful to sift and separate the pure metal from the dross and rubbish, which the slovenliness of uncritical credulity has suffered to accumulate; let them search well, whether there be no crack or flaw in the second-hand statements which they are content to receive from history-brokers and epitome-mongers. They should remember the saying of our great living poet, that "the child is father of the man," and not suffer the rising generation to be clogged and fettered all their lives through with the misbegotten prejudices and "niaiseries" of the school-room, and an ill-starred proneness to take for granted whatever they meet with in the pages of the class-book. Above all, if they would acquit themselves worthily, let them never forget that their greatest stumbling-block does not consist in the lack of brilliancy of talent, but of singleness of purpose, and that their strongest armour against the insidious attacks of error, is that healthy moral earnestness which leads them, as by instinct, to discern the truth.

If they neglect these duties of their high calling—for a high calling it is, if conscientiously discharged⁵—they are turning their school-room into a seed-plot of habits of thought which may be fatally injurious to the minds of their scholars in after life. By not encouraging a constant appeal to the fountain-head, a restlessness of enquiry, a distrustfulness of popular notions and current opinions, they are sapping the foundations of the pupil's judgment, in its decisions on questions of greater moment than the issues of a Roman conquest, or the fluctuations of a Greek tense; they are fostering a disposition to cleave with blind pertinacity to the beaten track—"non quo eundum est sed quo itur"—to substitute the fleeting conventionalities of this world's custom for the higher and more enduring standard of objective truth.

We hope that we shall be pardoned this brief digression; for we feel assured that nothing can be altogether misplaced which can succeed, however feebly, in calling the attention of our

⁵ It has been well said by Erasmus,—
"Tria sunt unde potissimum rerum publicarum salus, aut etiam pestis, mihi pendere videtur; a principe recte aut

secus instituto, a concionatoribus publicis, et ludimagistris."—*Antibar. Lib.* p. 1698, E.

English διδάσκαλοι to the fact, "that while they *teach* the boys they *make* the men;" which can remind them that to *educate* is not merely to *instruct*; and that it is not so much their duty to make men walking encyclopædias, as to enable them nobly to think, and dare, and do.

We have said that we apprehend Mr. Hermann's opinions will be treated with contempt. We trust that when our readers have recovered from their disposition to ridicule, they will have the condescension to refute. For our own part, though we believe Mr. Hermann's conclusions to be perfectly correct, we have none of that strong bias in their favour, which, had we been their author, we might have entertained: they are our children by adoption, not by birth; and we shall accordingly be perfectly ready to surrender our judgment to any fair and cogent proofs which may be urged in reply. Fortunately, we possess in the pages of the *Classical Museum* a valuable medium for the discussion of subjects of this nature, which the frivolous character of every other periodical would look upon as ponderous and dull.

C. K. W.

XXII.

REMARKS ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE ANCIENT AUTHORS.

I. EURIP. *Bacch.* 1353, Dind. (1350 Elmsl.):

ὅς θ' ἢ τάλαντα σύγγονοί τε σαί . .

So stands this verse in the Palatine MS. The editors fill up the hiatus by the addition of the word φίλαι. But it seems more probable that the word to be supplied is κόραι, which has been omitted on account of the κακὸν at the end of the preceding line. Cf. *supr.* 1088 seqq. :—

ὥς δ' ἐγνώρισαν
σαφῇ καλευσμὸν βακχίου Κάδμου κόραι
μήτηρ Ἀγαυὴ ξύγγονοι θ' ἐμόσποροι
παῖσά τε βάκχαι.

The line will then stand thus:—

οὐ θ' ἢ τάλαντα σύγγονοί τε σαι κόραι.

However, whatever word is substituted, it can only be by conjecture.

II. Sophocles, *Œd. Col.* 285, 6:—

ῥύου με κακφύλασσε, μηδὲ μου κára
τὸ δυσπρόσωπον εἰσορῶν ἀτιμάσης.

Brunck suggested *δυσπρόσωπον* for *δυσπρόσωπον*, comparing *Electr.* 460:—

πέμψαι τὰδ' αὐτῇ, *δυσπρόσωπ'* ὑνείρατα,

and that this is the right reading is clearly proved by the fact, that it appears in all the *best* manuscripts.

"Legitur τὸ *δυσπρόσωπον* in Laur. A. B. Par. F. Ricc. B. Ceteri MSS. τὸ *δυσπρόσωπον* ut impressi," says Elmsley.

Keep, then, τὸ *δυσπρόσωπον*, and translate it, "of ill aspect."

III. Plautus, *Trinumm.* 1. 2, 120, 121:

Si quid eo fuerit, certo illius filiae,
Quæ mihi mandata est, habeo dotem unde dem.

Such is Lindemann's reading, with this note:—"Si quid eo fuerit, si quid ei acciderit. *Esse* enim, ut *facere*, *fieri*, ablativo jungitur, rem notans, quæ in aliquo accidit, ubi nos dicimus: mit jemandem vorgehen; mit jemandem anfangen. *Quid me fiet*; was soll aus mir werden? *Quid te faciam*; was soll ich mit dir anfangen? *Si quid me erit*; wenn etwas mit mir vorgeht. Sic *Pæn.* v. 2, 125. *Si quid me fuat*. Et sæpe alibi."

This doctrine of *Esse* with the ablative seems rather open to doubt. In the passage in the *Pænulus*, the sense shows *fuat* to be quite out of place. The line as it stands in the common editions runs,—

Quin mea quoque iste habebit, si quid me fuat.

We evidently require a future tense instead of the subjunctive. I therefore propose to read—

Quin meâ quoque iste habebit, si quid me fiet.

i. e. "Nay he will have my property also, if anything happens to me."

Fuat would mean, "if anything *were* to happen;" and we should require *habeat* in place of *habebit*.

With the expression, *si quid me fiet*, compare Cicero's "*Quid Tulliola mea fiet?*" (*ad Fam.* XIV. 4, 3.)

In the present passage, then, I suggest that we should read—

Si quid eo fiet, certo illius filiae, &c.

i. e. "If anything shall happen to him, I have by me a store from which," &c.

Ib. II. 4, 1:

Minus quindecim diés sunt, quom pro his aédibus, &c.

Query, *est for sunt?* Compare *Aulul. Prol.* 3, 4:

Hánc domum

Jam múltos annos ést quom possideo ét colo.

Ib. II. 4, 139: The common reading is—

Sués moriuntur ágina acérruma—

to correct the disagreeable hiatus in which, Hermann interposed the word *hic* between *agina* and *acerruma*. This Lindemann does not approve of, and proposes to correct the line thus:

Sués agina móriuntur acérruma:

but this gives the wrong accent to *moriuntur*, inasmuch as we are obliged to pronounce it *móriuntúr* instead of *móriúntur*. Perhaps the line may be corrected thus:

Acérrume móriúntur anginá sues.

There is not the slightest difference as far as regards the sense between *acerruma* and *acerrume*; but as the latter is the reading of the Palatine MSS., it is perhaps better to adhere to it, although the correction has a great show of truth on its side.

Ib. v. 172, Lindemann has evidently committed an oversight in adopting the conjecture *Quid istuc?* in place of the reading of the MSS. and editions, *Quid istic?* *i. e.* "Well, well, have it your own way."

IV. Aristoph. *Ran.* 285, sqq.;—

ΞΑ. νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ μὴν αἰσθάνομαι φόφου τινός.

ΔΙ. ποῶ ποῶ ὅστιν; ΞΑ. ἐξόπισθεν. ΔΙ. ἐξόπισθ' ἴθι.

ΞΑ. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρόσθε. ΔΙ. πρόσθε νυν ἴθι.

This dialogue may have suggested to Terence (*Eunuch.* 4, 7, 11, 12), his

Thr. Tu hosce instrue; ego ero póst principia: inde ómnibus signúm dabo.

Gn. Illúc est sapere: ut hósce instruxit, ípsus sibi cavít loco.

V. Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 691.

οἶ' ἔγω, κατ' ἄκρας ἐνθάδ' ὥς πορθούμεθα.

"ἐνθάδ' Turn. et Steph. interpolatio est; ἐν πᾶσι M. Guelf. Ald. Rob. corrupte," says Dindorf.

The passage might be corrected by reading ἐμπέδως for the ἐν πᾶσι ὥς of the MSS., *i. e.* ΕΜΠΕΔΩΣ for ΕΝΗΑΣΩΣ, which only involves a slight change of three letters.

ἐμπέδως would mean "continually, lastingly;" we have the adjective used in the sense of "continual, lasting," in *Agam.* 561; Sophocl. *Æd. Col.* 1674; Pind. *Pyth.* 12, 25.

If this be not considered satisfactory, we might read thus:—οἶ' ἔγω κατ' ἄκρας ἔμπα θ' ὥς πορθούμεθα, *i. e.* "Alas, how entirely and utterly we are ruined."

This is the reading of the MSS. with the change of only two letters.

ἔμπα is of frequent occurrence in the sense of "altogether, utterly;" and the form ἔμπα is used as its equivalent, both by Pindar (*Nem.* 4, 58), and Sophocles (*Ajax*, 563).

VI. Plaut., *Capt.* 5, 4, 25, 26, read,—

Núnc ego demum in mémoriam redeó, quom mecum cógito;

Núnc ego demum in mémoriam epol régregior audisse me.

The common reading which Lindemann has adopted (with the exception, that in the first line he writes *recogito* for *cogito*) is open to the objection, that it obliges us to give an accent to the word *memoriam*, which no reader of Plautus and Terence will allow to be possible, viz., to pronounce it *memóriam* in place of *mémoriam*. In the reading I have adopted, the first line is as it is found in Lambinus' edition, the second is a correction of my own for the old reading,—

Nunc edepol demum in memoriam regredior audisse me.

It may seem bold to lengthen the last syllable of regredior,

but I think it is defensible from another passage in this very play, 3, 3, 15:—

Nec cópiast, nisi si áliquam corde máchinōr astútiam.

Compare also *eminōr* in 4, 2, 11.

Exactly the same error with regard to the pronunciation of the word *memoria* as that corrected here, occurs in *Mil. Glor.* 1, 1, 49, where the common reading is,—

P. Edepol memoria est optuma. A. Offa me monet.

Read,

P. . 'Epol memoria óptumast. A. Offa émonet.

A syllable is wanting at the commencement of the line; might we read *enimvero* for *epol*? It would suit the metre and sense exactly.

Lindemann, who keeps the old reading with the change of *offa me monet*, into *offa emonet*, which is sanctioned by the MSS. has not only the wrong accent of *memoria*, but also a most disagreeable hiatus between *optuma* and *offa*.

VII. "This syllable (the enclitic νον) though common in tragedy, is always, I believe, long in comedy."—Monk in the *Museum Criticum*, vol. i. p. 73.¹

There is apparently only one passage in a poet of the Old Comedy, in which we have the enclitic νον short, and that is Cratinus *Odyss.* 15.²

σιγάν νον ἄπας ἔχε σιγάν
καὶ πάντα λόγον τάχα πεύσει·
ἡμῖν δ' Ἰθάκη πατρίς ἐστιν,
πλέομεν δ' ἄμ' Ὀδυσσεύϊ θείῳ.

In Aristoph. *Thesm.* 105, the old reading was λέγε νον, which, by conjecture, has been altered into λέγε νιν; but even granting that νον were sound, it would not affect us, for, as Meineke observes, "Agathonis verba habemus, non Aristophanis."

VIII. "ἀλώξει] *Evitabit.* Vox Homérica. Rarius est apud

¹ I say Monk, judging from the initials (J. H. M.), otherwise I have no certain proof that he was the author of the "Notes on the Electra of Sophocles," published in that Journal.

² The fragments of the Greek Comic Poets are quoted from Meineke's excellent collection, published at Berlin, 1839-41.

tragicos simplex verbum ; occurrit tamen Sophocl. *Antig.* 488, cum genitivo, ubi vid. Brunnk. et *Electr.* 627. Phrynichus in Pleuronius ap. Pausan. in *Phocic.* p. 348, ed. Sylburg. *χρυσὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἦλθε μόνον.*—Blomfield, *Gloss. ad Pers.* 93. We have it also in Æsch. *Agam.* 1615 ; *Prom. Vinc.* 587.

IX. Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 2, 5, 46. The common reading is,
S. Ecce omitto. *P.* At ego abeo missa. *S.* Muliebri fecisti fide ;
 which, with an exception not worth naming, Lindemann retains. But the question then arises, how are we to pronounce the syllables *abeo missa mul*, so as to make them a ditrochæus ? This is a problem which I conceive to be insoluble ; but I think that the error lies in the word *fecisti*, which is hardly in the right tense to suit the meaning. I therefore propose to read,
S. 'Ecce omitto. *P.* At ego ábeo missa. *S.* Múliebri facís fide.

It is plain that the present imperfect suits the sense much better than the present perfect. Sceledrus lets the woman go, on her promise to go into the house of her own accord. Instead of so doing, however, she runs off, and the stupid slave seeing her in full flight, bursts out with, " You are acting with the good faith of a woman." He does not allow her to get out of sight before he makes his remark.

Ib. 2, 6, 77. The common reading is :

Ratusne me istic hominem esse omnium minumi pretii.

Lindemann gives :

Ratúsne me istic ésse hominem minumí preti,

omitting the word omnium.

Perhaps we might read :

Ratúsne me iste hominem ómnium minumí preti ;

for in this way we omit nothing but *esse*, which is not material to the sense, and merely change *istic* into *iste*, which is a change often necessary in the text of Plautus as we now have it.

Ib. 3, 1, 70. The common reading, *Opus leni* ? will not pass as a ditrochæus. Lindemann, to make up the metre, writes *Opusne leni* ? But though *ópūs* is to be pronounced as a monosyllable, *ópūsne* can by no means be pronounced as a dissyllable. I would therefore suggest *'Opus tibi leni* ? &c.

Ib. 3, 1, 141. *Jam* after *nunc* is so often a dissyllable (*e. g.* *Asinar. Prol.* 1 ; *Ter. Andr.* 5, 2, 1, &c. &c.,) that I should be

inclined to consider it corrupt, were I to come across it as a monosyllable in such a position. I should therefore be disposed to omit it in this line, and read merely *Nunc istis rebus*, &c.

Ib. 4, 3, 1. To make metre of the common reading,

Quid mihi nunc es auctor, ut faciam, Palæstriō?

Lindemann transposes *es* to a place between *faciam* and *Palæstriō*. Now the Palatine MSS. have *est auctor*, which, though evidently the wrong reading, proves that *es* should immediately precede *auctor*; and comparing *Pen.* 1, 3, 1, I would read—

Quid nunc mi es auctor, út faciam, Palaëstriō?

Ib. 4, 6, 1. Lindemann rightly reads from the Palatine MSS. and the edition of Camerarius *video* for *videto*, but gives the whole line thus:

M. Hera, ἐccum πρῆστο μίλιτεμ! *A.* Ubi ést. *M.* Ad lævam.

A. Vídeo;

in which he not only does not cut off the last syllable of *militem*, but even makes it long.

Probably some such word as *istic* has fallen out between *ubi* and *est*.

Ib. 4, 8, 5. *Materque et soror*. The copulatives are rather remarkable. We may compare *Capt.* 2, 2, 63, *auditque et videt*; *Virgil, Georg.* 3, 434, *asperque siti atque exterritus æstu*.

X. *Eupolis, Bapt.* 3.:

ἀναρίστητος ὢν
κούδεν βεβρωκώς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ στέφανον ἔχων.

Would not the insertion of γ' after στέφανον improve both rhythm and sense?

XI. *Eupolis, Colac.* 3. Meineke arranges the lines thus:

οὐ πῦρ, οὐδὲ σίδηρος
οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείργει
μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δαίπνων.

They may also be arranged as trochaic tetrameters catalectic as follows:

οὐδὲ πῦρ,
οὐδὲ σίδηρος, οὐδὲ χαλκὸς εἰργεῖ μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ
δαίπνων.

ἀπειργαί is a correction of Meineke's. Plutarch, who in two places quotes the fragment, has εἶργαι, and in one place he has οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ., and in the other οὔτε πῦρ, οὐ σίδηρος, οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ.

If the lines were spoken by the Chorus, Meineke's arrangement is undoubtedly the best; if not, perhaps the other is better.

XII. Enpolis, *Maric*. 23:

πότερ' ἦν τὸ τάριχος Φρύγον ἢ Γαδειρικόν;

The verse will be more harmonious if we omit the article before τάριχος.

R. H. S.

XXIII.

ROMAN NAMES.

QUINTE, puta, aut Publi, gaudent prænominē molles auriculæ.

Why should the prænomen be flattering?

"Gaudent prænominē. An ideo fortassis quod prænominē carebant servi: quodque liberti, quamvis prænomen adepti, raro aliter quam¹ cognominē, quod fere ex servitute retinebant, appellabantur? Facete Persius,

. Memento turbinis exit

Marcus Dama: papæ! Marco spondente recusas

Credere tu nummos? Marco sub iudice palles?

Marcus dixit, ita est; assigna, Marce, tabellas.

Addam et Ciceronis locum, in Oratione pro Domo; Clodium interpellans iis verbis: Literas in concione recitasti, quas tibi à Cæsare missas diceres, Cæsar Pulchro. Cum etiam argumentatus amoris esse hoc signum, cum neque adscriberet Proconsuli, aut Tribuno pl. Idem Cicero Epistola quadam ad Volumnium: Quod sine prænominē familiariter ut debebas epistolam ad me dedisti, primum dubitavi, num a Volumnio senatore esset. Accedant etiam Tacitus et Suetonius de Nerone et Britannico: qui

¹ Can this be true?

quod obvii inter se, Nero Britannicum, hic² Domitium, salutavere, familiaritas illa Britannico exitium peperit."

Torrentius, partly from Theodorus Pulmannus in the second Henricopetrine edition, who adds,—

Quod Horatius ait, expressit mores Romanorum, qui cum aliquem honorifice, ut liberum aut ingenuum, appellabant, prænominē salutabant; nam salutare cognomine familiaris erat (quoting "Cæsar Pulchro"): et Polybius in historia semper superiorem Africanum, honoris credo gratia, Publium appellat.

Persius, Sat. 1. Ingenteis trepidare Titos.

Potest tamen et in eo, interdum, quiddam familiaritatis latere.

Turn. lib. 2, cap. 19.

Baxter says, "Siquidem familiares compellabant prænominibus sibi familiares atque intimos." Gesner adds, Sic Cic. *Fam.* 1, 9. Quoniamque illi haberent suum Publium (Clodium) darent mihi ipsi alium Publium (Vatinium) in quo possem illorum animos . . . repungere. But this is nothing to the purpose. The prænomen is selected simply because it furnishes the point of relation between Clodius and Vatinius. And as to Baxter's general assertion, 1. I believe it to be true only among relations. 2. However true, it would be just the reason for not adopting it in Horace's instance. Familiarity would not be the way to approach the rich man, previously unknown too, as supposed.

De re communi scribæ magna atque nova te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.

Quinte, familiariter prænominē collegam olim suum appellat scribæ. Orelli, note.

The passage is referred to by Orelli, from the other. The other references of Orellius do not prove what he asserts, that cognati atque familiares addressed one another by the prænomen.

The person meant by Horace could not be an actual slave, from his circumstances; and if he were, to give him a prænomen which he had not, would only be an insult.

There are different parts, or *cases*, to that satire: *Damocomes* in in two of them, of which this is not one, even if literally meant at all.

² Curious, for Domitius is a nomen, Britannicus a cognomen. Perhaps the fault rather was, that *Domitius* recalled

Nero to his own original family, unconnected with the Augustan house.

I doubt whether he meant him to pass even for a freed-man. If he was, had he no third name? If he had not, could it be necessary to say that he was not to be called by his slave-name?

He introduces his Quintus or Publius generally, as a rich party to a litigation, whom Ulysses is to support in it.

That slaves had no *prænomen*, means simply that they had but one name. It was equally true, I apprehend, that they had no *nomen*, like any Roman family name. Quintus* would as much have shewn that a man was not a slave, as Quintus. If we are to take it, that at manumission they simply added a *prænomen* to their slave-name, that might give a peculiar value to the *prænomen*, but would give a still greater value to a *nomen* if it could be justly applied; since that would be a privilege which even a freedman, if new, could not have. And yet Persius, who is quizzing the man, might use the *prænomen*, as the peculiar mark of manumission. Slaves, when freed, did often take the *nomen gentilitium* of their masters, or sometimes a different one, and *prænomen* too. Morelli, i. 33. Terence had two names. Was Afer his original slave-name, or a new cognomen? Hardly his master's. How as to Publius Syrus?

The formal legal official address was *Dic M. Tulli*; assentior *Cn. Pompeio*; Cic. *ad Att.* of what was to happen in the senate. A semi-formal address was the *prænomen* and cognomen. See in Cic. *Phil.* 2, *exempli gratia*, the list of persons who approved him. So *pro Lig.* he speaks of Q. Tubero, &c., and says C. Cæsar, to him. Cicero somewhere supposes the public to say to him, Marce Tulli, quid agis? Perhaps he did not dislike being pompous as to himself.

In Horace, "Cæsar" and "Auguste," I take it, are titles rather than names, and quite respectful on that footing; more so than Mæcenas and Agrippa. Poetry, however, is of course a little loose, and also short. See Horace's list of his friends, Furni, &c. So on the journey. Also consults the metre. Albi, Quintilium, Pompei, in Horace; Corneli, and perhaps Marce Tulli, in Catullus, may be attributable merely to this. It is therefore no good guide.⁴ I think, except the strictly legal

* These nomina are the old genitives, like *illius*, *alterius*, of the *prænomina*: as *Μελτιάδης Κίμωνες*, Filippo di Brunellesco; and so Williams, Edwards; not plural. The surname is applied

first to one, not to a class, as some names are. Yet *ius* sometimes is used in a *prænomen* itself, as *Lucius*. Does not the *nomen* always end in it?

⁴ In English poetry we write the

forms perhaps, there would be a difference according as the cognomen was more or less peculiar. In Cicero, *Phil.* 2, he uses C. Cæsar and Cn. Pompeius in the same sentence, the one a cognomen, the other a nomen. Magnus was but seldom used; I suppose, being personal and new. We all know that some Gentes were so subdivided, as the Cornelian, that the cognomen of the subdivision, Scipio exempli gratiâ, was a nomen, for common use; and a cognomen in this way came to bear another less extensive cognomen superadded to it, as Nasica.

It would have been, for this reason, absurd to have called Sulla, P. Corneli, except, if even except, in the strict cases of form by rule; or Lepidus, Æmilius.

To use the cognomen alone was familiar, but not so familiar as the surname alone is with us.

Some customs about names were broken into; under the empire, Morcelli, I. 143 and 147.

The prænomen was unavoidably the name within the family. Whether "O Tite," in Ennius, to Flamininus, could have been said in prose, or in real life, I doubt. It is curious, however, that women had no prænomena, but numerical ones sometimes, and those, such as were disused for men, as Tertia, Quarta. Anciently some had: Festus, &c. apud Hofm. Lex. Men have only Quintus and Sextus, though Septimius and Octavius appear as derivative nomina: Secundus and Decimus are cognomina; Lælius Decimus in Lucilius: or is Decimus Brutus a prænomen?

But a family with them primarily meant, what in its secondary use it includes with us, the servants. Now their servants, being slaves, were permanent, whether born slaves or not; they were completely, or very much more than with us, shut out from the rest of the world, and into the household of their master only. They therefore used the prænomen too. The household was the world to them; and they had nothing to do with the names that distinguished their master's family from others, but only with such as distinguished one member of it from the rest. Hence Cicero, describing Antony returning by night in the disguise of his slave from a distance, makes him give in his name

name (and even a lord's) *tout court*, upon a sort of conventional principle:

So shall thy Craggs.

Indeed, in Pope's lines on Parnell, he successively uses Oxford, Harley, and

Mortimer singly, as names of the same person. So even as to ladies: as Prior, of the same lord's daughter-in-law; Pope, of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; and Mason, of Lady Coventry.

as *Marcus*. Domum venit capite involuto. Janitor: Quis tu? A Marco tabellarius. Cic. *Phil.* 2. *Ernesti*, p. 1287 (31, 18.) This sounds very familiar to us.

It leads me to suspect that, in Horace, the rich man may like the prænomen because it is the style of the most servile flattery, is talking to him as his slaves would do.

I am afraid I am attempting to illustrate a subject for which a good deal more reading than I can pretend to would be properly necessary, and a disposition to research, of which at present I have but little. But it may afford hints.

But one thing to be remembered in all this is, that the Greeks and Romans had no titles of rank or respect to address superiors or equals, where civility and not familiarity is intended: as Sir, or my Lord. Contra *Sen. Ep.* 3, Obvius si nomen non occurrit dominos salutamus. Wetst. *ad Joh.* xx. 15. Except the inexplicable *δαμόνιος* of Homer, which seems applicable to all ranks, and therefore is not perhaps an address of respect in any case; and *Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ*, &c. merely poetical, at any rate periphrastical. The Greeks address the highest female personages *Γυναῖ*, or by name, or a title, as *Atossa*; unless a slave is speaking, who would say *δέσποινα*. In Epictetus we are told that the girls, from the age of fourteen, are spoilt by being used to hear themselves called *κυρία*; αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κυρία καλοῦνται, c. XXXVII.; but I doubt whether this means, that they were addressed so in ordinary conversation, and not rather that, in making love or talking gallantly, they were spoken of and to as dominæ, mistresses. Dominæ Licymniæ, in Horace, is an uncertain person; but domina certainly is not a title; that would be ridiculous. Domina is used in Catullus so as to shew, that from the mere natural meaning of an object of courtship, it had come to be used of any woman, not being a wife, by a man with whom she lived in intimate connection, as mistress in English. In the Acts of the Apostles, the English reader is deceived by the word *sirs*, twice applied by St. Paul to the ship's crew: but the original is *ἄνδρες*, and the translator might as well have said *sirs and brethren*, in the earlier part of that book. It is remarkable in Greek in general, that though *ἄνδρες* is made an address, *ἄνερ*, I believe, never is; *ἄνθρωπος* is, but in poetry, where we should say, O man, meaning to lay down something applicable to human nature. The reason, I imagine, is, that *ἄνδρες* is not an original form of

address, but is short for ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικάσται, φίλοι, or what not; you find it used as a repetition, when the longer form had previously been introduced. In the other parts of the New Testament, where κύρις is used, it is chiefly to Christ either as Master, (Παῖς,) or Lord in the Christian sense; or to some superior; the priests to Pilate, Matt. xxvii. 68, (no note in Wetstein). There is the insurmountable passage, John xx. 15, where Mary Magdalen says κύρις to the supposed gardener. The New Testament, however, is not much to the purpose. Hebrew customs, &c. must affect it.

The French never could get rid of titles, and speak plain like the ancients. They kept *citoyening* one another; and even *citoyen* premier consul; When Cæsar was addressed in public as plain C. Cæsar. And so the Quakers, till lately.

GREEK NAMES.

Greek names appear at first sight to be names applied to the individual and not to the family, and made for the purpose generally of expressing qualities which might be hoped for in the child, or which existed, as Homer tells us in the case of Astyanax, in the father. Payne Knight thinks that they never introduced ill-omened names, and that the common derivations of Ajax, Achilles, and Ulysses must be discarded. It seems impossible to discard the last, from its very near approach to the verb ὀδύσασθαι. The name Achilles, may perhaps be connected with Achæi. But I think there are instances of *triste* names which cannot be got over—Æschines and Æschylus. Or did the word αἰσχρός once mean the good sort of shame? αἰδώς? If so, it was before Homer I believe.

But when we see farther, we find that names became family names, by being repeated alternately, the child being named after its grandfather, and especially, it would seem, in great families, as the Alcæonidæ. This, however, would only apply to one child. Sometimes names not identical, but with a certain resemblance, were used in families, as Nicias and Nice-ratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, and this collaterally, as well as in a single line.

Women's names are not, as we might expect, chiefly composed with reference to female qualities; the meaning of Penelope, even, is hardly certain; but generally, and in a remark-

able degree, to the most vigorous qualities of men, with the termination altered; and scarcely ever taken from the names of men in their own family. And this among the Macedonians too; and in Homer. Whether patronymics, as Chryseis, ever existed much, may be doubted. Many names we find in Horace and the Greek epigrams, are the names of slaves, and are quite another thing. They are sometimes from places, sometimes founded on qualities rather disparaging, as Lycisca. The names of the Nymphs in Homer are curious, mostly run up at the moment probably, and chiefly taken from the sea.

C. B.

XXV.

AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE THE TEXT AND THE SCANSION OF HOMER, UPON AN ENTIRELY NEW SYSTEM AND PRINCIPLE.

(Continued from No. XXIII. p. 33.)

THE reason, then, as I have already pointed out in the former part of this treatise, why the letters ω, η, ε, ι, ο, and υ, were not usually elided in the ancient Greek poetry before any other syllable beginning with a vowel, was from the necessary and almost unavoidable intervention of the sounds of Y and of W. But in order to make my system more thoroughly intelligible, it will be necessary for me to enter, for a few moments, into an examination of the real nature and effects of these vowels, and more particularly, of the letters Ω and Η, or of the two long letters, as they have been properly denominated by the grammarians, and I shall begin with the Omega.

This letter has usually been supposed to be a compound of two short o's; but there is in reality no sort of occasion for any such combination. I cannot indeed imagine a much more erroneous principle than that which has been adopted, and even without a question, by almost every prosodist, viz. that every long vowel is equal to two short ones; and I doubt very much whether this can in truth be said even of a diphthong, the which is undeniably a compound of two distinct letters, but pronounced, as I should say, in the time of one only; for there can be no

other possible distinction between the long and the short sound of any of the vowels than that which relates to tone or force merely; and any other representation of the matter is nothing more nor less than a deception. There is no other difference, for example, between \tilde{a} and \bar{a} , \tilde{e} and \bar{e} , \tilde{o} and \bar{o} , whether in the French or English, and in the two tongues these sounds are by no means identical, than what arises from the greater or less force of the breath employed in their enunciation. The first is the sound of the pistol or musket, when merely scaled with a little powder, and the other the sound of the same weapon when fired with a full charge or cartridge in it. All, therefore, that Clarke and others have said upon this subject—and very little has been done in it since his day—(see note on p. 51, *Iliad*, A,) together with the reasoning employed by him upon the effects produced by the cæsura, is in fact but so much rubbish,—a lame and impotent attempt to get rid of a difficulty which the scholars of that day had either not the honesty to meet fairly in the face, or else knew very well they had not the ability of solving. But to this part of the subject I shall have occasion to revert more particularly hereafter. If the Greek Omega was in reality compounded of two o's, its pronunciation must have been oo = to English *Who*, without the aspirate, but in the Greek we know that this particular sound was usually represented by the combination *Ov*; and as all grammarians appear to be agreed in giving to the Omega the name of *o* longum, there can be no doubt, I should think, that the pronunciation of this letter must have been the same with the ancients as with ourselves, viz. \bar{o} , and this is the pronunciation that it still retains in the small emphatic words in which this letter occurs, interjections in particular, and which are usually the last to change, in most of the languages of Europe. Thus, for instance, in the Greek adverbs Ω , $\bar{\Omega}$, and $\bar{\Omega}\bar{\epsilon}$; Latin *O*, *Oh*; German *O* (ach); Spanish and Italian *O*, and in the English and French interjections *O*, *Oh*, and *Ho*; the sound is the same in all, as well as in the words $\Omega\chi\mu\alpha$, Germ. *Ocher*, Span. *Ocra*, Ital. *Ocre*, Fr. and Eng. *Ochre*—Gr. $\Omega\kappa\epsilon\chi\upsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, Ital. and Span. *Oceano*, Germ., Fr., and Eng. *Ocean*, and in the purely English words *Know*, Gr. $\Gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\mu\iota$, formerly $\Gamma\acute{\nu}\omega$, 2. a. s. $\Gamma\acute{\nu}\omega$, and *Crone* from $\Gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$, vel $\gamma\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, *Senex*, *senio confectus*, aliter $\kappa\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$, contracted *Crone*, when applied to a sheep; as *Crane* is from $\Gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ aliter $\tilde{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ c. *Crane*, for *Crone*, when applied to a woman, is rather a corrup-


tion of Γερύων, al. Κερύων, c. Κρύων or *Crone*; *Garrula*, meaning a babbler or gossip, as the word *old* which almost invariably accompanies it, even in the most correct authors, evidently testifies. Taking then for granted, that the pronunciation of the Omega was precisely equivalent to the long open sound of the same letter in most of the languages of modern Europe; for the accidental resemblance of the smaller letter ω to two o's conjoined proves nothing, any more than that the figure of the Anglo-Saxon letter Ω = M, would establish the same thing,—we have next got to discover the reason why the intervention of a *W* seems invariably to have been connected, in some way or another, with the sound of this letter, whether long or short, and still continues to be so among the vulgar, and also in many cases with the more polite, even to the present hour.


A very short consideration of the subject will, I conceive, be quite sufficient to establish this fact, and beyond all contradiction. Let any one that has but a tolerably correct eye and ear, only place himself before a mirror, and pronounce to himself slowly and distinctly the letter o, and he will at once perceive the justness of Walker's definition, viz., that the mouth does actually take, in a great measure, the shape of the letter it is uttering, and that as the mouth is relaxing into its naturally long form,—this will be best seen by drawing in the breath whilst pronouncing this letter, and letting it out gradually afterwards—an indistinct sound like Wūr, Wēr, or Wār, will be produced, and that if he now attempt to pronounce any one of the English vowels except *u* = *you*, the sound or intervention of the digamma will become manifest, viz., O-wa, O-we, O-wi, O-wo, &c. This is what the undisciplined and vulgar person,—and the early Greeks, it must be remembered, were both undisciplined and vulgar,—cannot readily get over, inasmuch as it is the necessary and natural effect of the passage of the lips from the round form \bigcirc —into the long one — . It will further be perceived, by a careful observer, also that, in order to pronounce the letter *W* itself, it is necessary, in the first place, to shape the lips into the form of *O*, and then to let them go again before that letter can be uttered properly. I have been obliged to enter thus at length into a description of the letter *O*, in order to prove that this intervention of the *W* did not arise from any accident, caprice, or vulgarity of pronunciation among the ancients, but was produced rather almost as a matter of course, and even as a physi-

cal necessity. The short vowel follows naturally the same rule as the long one, only from the enunciation of the former not having been so strong, in a minor degree, as did likewise the *classic* letter υ, and the combinations αυ, ευ, and ου, diphthong, as having been produced by the same organs of speech, and in a similar manner nearly.

With the Ητζ, however, the case is different, and by no means so satisfactory. Whether this letter was pronounced as broad Scotch *ā*, as some have imagined, as long English *e*, in sound resembling *ee*, as *i* long in English, or long French *ê* = *ai*, Eng. *ay*, or, which is the same thing, as long slender *â* in our language, I shall not attempt to determine. If we are to take as authority the well-known line of Cratinus, quoted by Messieurs de Port Royal, the first would appear to have been the case undoubtedly. Eustathius says that the combination βῆ, βῆ, produced a sound made in imitation of the bleating of a sheep, and cites the line above alluded to, viz.: 'Ο δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ προβάτον, βῆ, βῆ λέγων βαδίσει, in corroboration of it, "He, like a silly sheep, goes crying *baa*;" but if we are to pay any attention to the Latin version of this line, viz.: Is fatuus perinde ac ovis, bê, bê, dicens, incedit; we shall perceive that the Latin author's idea of the sound produced by this combination was equal rather to the French *Bai*, English *Bay*, and not to the long Scotch *ā*, or Italian *a*. The voice of a sheep depends, in a great measure, upon its age: the ram, the wether, but more particularly the old ewe, give utterance to a sound that certainly resembles *Bā* or *Bāā*, whilst the voice of the younger animal is that of *Bă* or *Băă*; but some people, and particularly children, express this sound as in the Latin, viz., *Bây* or *Bâyây*, so that it is by no means certain what was actually the sound intended by Cratinus. Possibly the eta, like to English *a*, which is equal to both *ay* and *ăr*, might have a double sound attached, and the difference be indicated by the circumflex. I cannot bring myself, however, under any circumstances, to imagine that this letter, when uncircumflexed, from its effects upon the scanning, could ever have been sounded as the Italian *a*, or as Scotch *ā* either; although it must be confessed that there are several purely Greek words still to be met with in the English, in which it would certainly appear that the original eta of the root must have been so sounded. For example, the word *Dăg*, or rather *Dăgs*, in Devonshire, signifies a worm, from the Greek

Δῶξ, or δῶξ—Vermis, idem quod Δάξος, and the common appellation for a youngster more distinguished by his attire than for his wits, viz., *coaxcomb* vel *cáxcomb*, properly *caaxcomps*, from the Greek words Κῆξ—*Larus*, idem quod Κάπρος, and Κόμφοξ—*Scitus elegans*, i. e. *Elegant blockhead*, Silly dandy. In both these words it will be observed that the final *s* has been mistaken for a plural, and, therefore, improperly rejected. The first has been confounded with the common English *dog*, and the latter with the *comb of a cock*, with neither of which they can, of course, have any sort of relation; the spelling of the latter would alone be sufficient to establish that, independently of its palpable absurdity; and there are many similar examples. But if we are to take the English language as affording any evidence for the pronunciation of this letter, then there would be equal authority for pronouncing it as double *e* = *ee*, as may be perceived in the English words *deer* from Θήρ; *Sere*, *seer*, or *sear* from Ξηρὸς, as applied to leaves; viz.: *Aridus*, *siccus*, *tabidus*, or Cheely the claw of a shell-fish, from Χηλή, in which this sound is heard in both the syllables. *Fleet* from πλῆθος, i. e. *multitudo navium*; *Neat* = *neet*, when applied to wines, for neat meaning elegant or cleanly, is from the French *net* (*propre*) from Γνήσιος vel Γνήσιος, *genuinus*, and many others. Nor are examples wanting of this letter being changed into short *ä*, short *ë*, short *ö*, and also into a short *ï*, in our language. The fact is, that the diphthongs, and both *ε* and *η*, are, properly speaking, rather compounded sounds than simple, the first being equivalent to *äy*, and the latter to *äy*, are more variable even than the vowels, and may, as is well known to every etymologist, exchange with each other almost *ad libitum*. So that no certain inference can be drawn with respect to the pronunciation of this letter from the English. The probability is, I think, that the eta was actually pronounced by the Greeks in the same manner as the long *ē* is uttered by the French, Italians, and Spanish at the present moment; for one can hardly conceive that the name of the goddess Juno, for instance, was ever pronounced as *Hârâ*, or that of Hebe as *Hâbâ*; but either as *Heeree* and *Heebee*, their pronunciation in the English, or, with more justness, *Häyrây* and *Häybây*, as in the French and most of the other Continental languages; neither is it at all improbable, that as the Greek itself was an early offshoot from the Sanskrit, that the earlier Greeks, although they borrowed their

letters confessedly from the Phœnicians, having themselves been ignorant of the use of an alphabet, might still have retained the enunciation of their ancestors. Professor Wilson, in his Grammar of the Sanskrit, says, that in that language the long \bar{e} and \bar{o} , are equivalent to the diphthongs ai and au of the Italian words *Mai* and *Paura* respectively. It is, however, rather unfortunate, I should say, that the Professor has chosen the Italian in preference to the French for his medium, inasmuch as the combination of the letters a and i in *Mai*, are equivalent precisely to the same combination in the English, viz., $\bar{a}i = \bar{i}$, and not to \bar{a} or ay ; thus, too, the combination au in the Italian word *Paura*, is not equivalent to \bar{o} , but rather to $\bar{a}oo$, or ow ,—whereas, in the French words *mais* (*but*) and *Pau*, the name of a town near the Pyrenees in France, the sounds of the long French \bar{e} and English \bar{o} , and which were doubtlessly the sounds intended, are heard exactly. But whatever may have been the pronunciation of the eta among the Greeks, it is palpable from the effects produced by this letter upon their prosody, that it must certainly have contained either the letters e or i in its composition, for its effects are invariably the same as those produced by the two letters just mentioned, only a little more positive and certain; as a matter of course, the short vowel \acute{e} being only a modification or softening of the long one, and which is itself an equivalent for the combination $\bar{a}y$, the intervention of the sound of y will still become apparent, although not quite marked so strongly. And the same reasoning applies with equal force also to the letter i , inasmuch as the Continental sound of this letter, and which is the correct one, whether long or short, is equivalent to ee , for the English pronunciation of the i when long, viz., $\bar{a}i$, is an exception, and peculiar to the language, and has no sort of correlation with the short sound of it whatever. Now we shall perceive, if we but have recourse to the mirror once more, that, independently of the sound of the y being actually contained in that of the French letter e , there is moreover a physical reason, as I have already pointed out in the case of the o and the w , why after the Greek letters ε and η an intervention of the y must almost, of necessity, have taken place. For the sound of $\bar{a}y$ is formed by an arching of the tongue, thus  against the lower teeth, whilst, on the contrary, that of ee is formed by

bending the tongue reversely, thus  against the upper ones; and as the organ returns to its natural position again, an indistinct sound like that of Yür, Yîr, or Yâ, is produced almost unavoidably; and if we now attempt to utter any one of the vowels, the y becomes palpable thus; *Ay-ya, Ay-ye, Ay-yi, Ay-yo, Ay-yu, &c.* From all that has just been said, then, it would appear that there was a natural and sufficient cause for the intervention both of the digamma and the diiyota in the early Grecian poetry. Indeed, so positive is this tendency among untutored persons, that I am more than half inclined to doubt whether, even with the three short letters ε, ι, and ο, there could, properly speaking, even have been any elision in the times of Homer; for the effect both of the *w* and *y*, whenever these letters were preceded by a consonant and succeeded by a vowel, is rather to run into the sounds of *dwa, dya, twa tya, rwa, ryu, &c.* than to be dropped, or cut off altogether, as Bentley has very properly pointed out in his note upon the 19th line of the first Book of the *Iliad*, where, commenting on the words Εὖ δ' οἶκ' ἄρ' ἔκασθαι, he says: "*Homero semper est Φῶικος, Φωκάδης. Ergo hic scribendum εὖ δ' Φωκάδ', DWOIKAD', ut Anglice DWELL.*" And the only reason that can with any truth be assigned for the two long vowels ω and η not being melted in a similar manner into the vowel following, is, that the quantity or force of the breath, the ictus or impulse of the voice required for its enunciation, alone prevented any such fusion. Of the intervention of the diiyota, or the sound of *y* after the short *e*, or simple vowel, we have a palpable example in the second line even of the *Iliad*, in which the words Ἄλγε ἔθηκε should, of course, be read, in order to prevent any elision, as if they had been written Ἄλγε *y* ἔθηκε; and of the intervention of the same sound after the short *i* in line 24, where the words Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ should in like manner be read as Ἀγάμεμνονι *y* ἦνδανε θυμῷ. It must also be remembered that, whenever the vowels *e* or *i* are followed by another vowel, whether in the same syllable or otherwise, the tendency of these two letters is to slide into the sound of *Ya, Ye, Yi, Yo, Yu, &c.* as in the words χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, line 15, which should be certainly enunciated as χρυσ *yo* ωανα σκήπτρῳ, and in line 489, Λωγεῖν Πηλέως υἱός, as Λωγεῖν Πηλ *y*ωος υἱός; ὥκως Ἀχιλλεύς, as ὥκως Ἀχιλλ *y*ους. Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλαι, as Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ *y*αλλαι, line 17. Δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, as Δημοβόρος *y*ασιλεύς, l. 231, &c. from which it sometimes hap-

pens that an intervention both of the digamma and diiyota is produced in the same word, and even in the same syllable as in line 185, where the words Τὸ σὸν γέρας ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῆς should be read as Τὸ σὸν γέρας ὄφρα, γῶ, Weiðḥς, and not with an elision of the alpha, as it is usually scanned, which both spoils the effect of the line, and is decidedly erroneous. And from this rule even the η itself is not excepted, when it is succeeded by the vowel υ, as we may perceive in line 261, in which the words ἔψα πτερόεντα προσήδα should also be read as ἔψα πτερόεντα προσγυδα; for the combinations αγ and οο, or εε and οο, so readily slip into the sound of yoo, that it is almost difficult to prevent them from so doing. In like manner the four diphthongs αι, ει, υι, and οι, will equally produce this intervention, as may be seen in the lines following, *Iliad* A. 188, Ὡς φάτο · Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ' · ἐν δὲ οἱ ἦτορ; read Ὡς φάτο · Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ' · ἐν δὲ γο γ ἦτορ. Line 221, Μύθοι Ἀθηναίης · ἥ δ' Οὔλυμπόνδε βαβήκει; read Μύθο, W, Ἀθηναίγης, &c.—like to the letters ai in the Latin *Aio* = either *A yō* or *A-ī-yō*, that is to say, either to a dactyl or a spondee. In the same way, too, the diphthongs αυ, ευ, and ου, as I have already mentioned, produce the intervention of the W. Thus, Αὐ ἔρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα, l. 459, should be read as Αὐ W ἔρυσαν μὲν, &c. Κλυθεῖ μευ, Ἀργυρότοξ, l. 37, as Κλυθεῖ μῦθ W Ἀργυρότοξ. L. 496, Παθὸς ἐστὶ ἀλλ' as Παθὸς ἐ γ οὐ W ἀλλ', &c. in the two last examples, the effect both of the digamma and of the diiyota in one and the same syllable are distinctly audible. And with respect to the elision of the *Omicron*, we shall in general find that the elision takes place only in the third persons singular and plural of the verbs; and in these cases the suppression of this letter is, I think, rather to be looked upon as by Apocope than by Apostrophus, as a contraction rather than by Synalœpha, thus, Ὡς ἔφατ' for ὡς ἔφατο. Δαίνοντ' for ἐδαίνυντο; but ἔφατ, φάτο, or ἔφατο, were all alike intelligible to a Greek, the same as *Cant* or *Cannot*, *Hant* or *Have not*, *Rise* or *Arise*, *List* or *Enlist*, *Dreamt* or *Dreamed*, *Hid* or *Hidden*, *Lit* or *Lighted*, are to us, and *Cor* or *Core*, *Amor* or *Amore*, are to an Italian, which last cannot properly be considered as elisions, for they as frequently terminate a line, or are placed before a consonant, as otherwise.

The same sort of reasoning will possibly apply to most of these cases, as that made use of by Butler in his *Hudibras*, when speaking of the personage named Ralpho, who was, as he says,

called either "Ralph or Ralpo, 'tis all one;" for otherwise the *o*, like the *w*, usually produces a distinct intervention, which tends to prevent any elision: as for instance the words *Αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔγνω ἦσαν*, l. 333, should be read as *Αὐτὰρ ὁ wḗγνω-wḗσαν*, &c.; and again in line 485, ending with *Ἐπ' ἡπείροιο ἔρυσσαν*, these words should be read as *ἐπ' ἡπείροιο-w ἔρυσσαν*; and so likewise with the vowel *u* in line 393, where the words *Ἀλλὰ σὺ εἰ δύνασαι γε* should be read as *Ἀλλὰ σὺ-wεἰ δύνασαι γε*.

But the effects, both of the Omega and the Eta, are perhaps the best to be perceived in line 184, viz. *Πέμφω · ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηον*, which should undoubtedly run thus: *Πέμφω·-wḗ|γῶ δέ κ' ἄ|γω Βρι|σηίδα |καλλιπάρηον*. As singular a line, however, as any probably in the whole poem, is line 515, viz.: *Ἥ ἀπόειπ', ἐπεὶ εὖ τοι ἔπι θέος ἔφρ' εὖ εἰδῶ*, and which should evidently be read in the manner following: *H-γαπο|waiπ' ἐπεί|γού το-γῆ|πι δέ-γος |ἔφρα γού|waiδῶ*, and in which there are no less than *five y's* and *two w's*. It will, however, be naturally asked by what rule, as I deny the efficacy of the cæsura in all these cases, the latter syllable of the word *ἔπι* can possibly be made long; and to which my only answer is, that the text itself, as I trust I shall be enabled to prove satisfactorily hereafter, is decidedly erroneous.

The difference, then, between the long letter and the short one, is this: They may both produce the intervention of the *y* or *w*, as the case may be, or they may themselves be changed into either of those letters respectively, but the *e* and *o* must still remain short, whereas the *η* and *ω* may be either long or short; that is to say, may be rendered common, according to the option of the poet. For example, in the line beginning with *ῶ Ἀχιλεῦ, κέλεαι, με*, &c. the *ω* is long undeniably, viz., *ῶ-w Ἀχιλεῦ*, but in the word *χρυσέῳ* of line 15, viz. *χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ* = *χρυσῶ wά|νὰ σκήπτρῳ*, it is as manifestly short. So likewise in line 40, the first eta of the words, *Ἥ εἰ δὴ ποτε* = *Ἥ-y εἰ δὴ ποτε* is long, but in line 61, beginning with *Εἰ δὴ ἑμοῦ πόλεμος* = *Εἰ δῆ-y ἑ|μοῦ πό|λεμος*, and again in lines 384 and 398, in the words *Πάντῃ ἀνὰ στρατὸν* = *Πάντῃ ἀ|νὰ στρατῶν*, &c. and *Ὡς ἔν ἀθανάτοισιν* = *Ὡ-γῆ-yῆ| ἀθ|ανά|τοισιν*, &c. it is as clearly short.

Of the vowels, then, all that now remains to be spoken of is the *A*. The sound of this letter in Greek was doubtlessly that which is found either in the French or in the Italian alphabets; and as neither the sound of *i* nor of *o* is to be perceived in it, it could not consequently produce an intervention either of the *y* or

the *w*, and for that reason one can easily conceive that it was readily elidable, either when placed before itself, or before any other of the vowels, at the will or convenience of the poets; for if we can pronounce without difficulty two *a*'s in succession when found in the same word, as in Ἄγλαᾶ, for instance, or in φᾶνθεν, there is no reason that ought to prevent us from pronouncing those letters in a similar manner when contained in two separate words, and where they are found immediately to succeed one another, as, for example, in the two words Ἀγῶα ἄποννα = Ἀγῶᾶ ἄπονᾶ; but as three short vowels in succession would be disagreeable, either to the ear or to the organs of speech, and therefore incompatible with the laws of euphony and the usages of rhythm, one of these would be naturally rejected, and accordingly we find that Homer always makes use of such phrases as Ἄγλα ἄποννα, Μοῖρ' γ' Ἀχαιῶς, Ἄλλ' ἔθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε &c.; indeed, were it not for the interventions above alluded to, all the vowels would be equally elidable.

It will be perceived that, in enunciating the Italian letter *ä*, scarcely any change is observable in the form of the organs of speech, the mouth is merely opened rather wide, and the breath forced steadily through it; whilst to produce the long sound of this letter = *ä*, the under lip is only advanced a little closer to the upper one; consequently there is no impediment whatever to the reiteration of either of these sounds in succession, and which is not the case with any of the other vowels, inasmuch as there is a relaxation of the lips in the one instance, viz., in that of the *o* and *u*, and of the tongue in the other, *i. e.* in the case of the *ε* and *ι*. This will perhaps best be rendered palpable by what I should designate as chiming the vowels. Thus, in the letters *a, e, i, o, u*, of the Italian alphabet, the sequence would be *a, e, yi, yo, woo*, and in the English, *a, e, yi, yo, yoo*; for the sound of the English *u* being like the Greek adverb εὔ, equivalent to *ooo*, the *e* before *oo* has a natural tendency to slide into the sound of *y*, instead of admitting of the intervention of a *w* after the *o*, as in the case of the Italian.

It may then at once be seen of what an immense advantage was the use both of the digamma and of the diiyota, but more particularly of the latter, inasmuch as its occurrence is much more frequent, to the poetry of the ancients, or at least towards the metre in the times of Homer; and when to this is added the further consideration, that by the presence of these two powers, a con-

sonant preceding was certainly rendered common, that advantage can indeed be scarcely appreciated too highly. It was from want of a proper attention to these facts, that Bentley, with all his acuteness, has fallen into such a state of confusion and error. Of the digamma, he had certainly a sort of indistinct idea, although he was totally unable to apply it rightly; but of the diiyota, or more important power, he does not even seem ever to have suspected the existence.

In my next section, I intend to give a few examples from the Doctor's MS. upon this subject, and shall then proceed at once to an exemplification of my new system, as applicable to the Scansion of the *Iliad*.

H. BONNYCASTLE.

(To be continued.)

XXV.

MISCELLANIES.

1. ON THE USE OF THE WORD ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ IN HOLY WRIT.

THE literal meaning of διαθήκη is, of course, "a disposition," or "an arrangement:" hence, "a testamentary disposition," "a will,"—ἡ ἐπὶ θνήσκοντος εὐταξίς, says Suidas. It is in this latter sense that it is most commonly used by classical authors. At the same time it will be found to mean "a covenant" in a passage of Aristophanes (*Birds*, vs. 415):

ἦν μὴ διαθωνται γ' οἷδε διαθήκην ἐμοὶ
ἦν περ ὁ πίθηκος τῇ γυναικὶ δίδετο.

To this may perhaps be added another passage where διαθήκη has the same meaning as in Aristophanes. We speak diffidently, for we confess we do not understand the passage in question: we can only say that we think the balance of probability is in favour of the interpretation assigned. Deinarchus, in the beginning of his oration against Demosthenes, touches upon the charge of partiality and falsehood brought by the latter against the senate, when he was condemned by that body for having received gold at the hands of Harpalus, his country's foe. He asks Demosthenes whither he would have the people resort for just judgment and truth; he then subjoins: τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνέδριον, τὸ πρότερον δοκοῦν εἶναι πιστὸν, ἀν' καταλείβεις, ὃ δημοτικὸς

VII.

X

εἶναι φάσκων, ὃ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φυλακὴν ὁ δῆμος παρακαταθήκην ἔδωκεν, ὃ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν πολλάκις ἐγκεχεῖρκεν, ὃ διαπεφύλαξε τὸ σὸν σῶμα τοῦ βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος πολλάκις—ὥς σὺ φῆς—ἐπιβουλευθῆν, ὃ φυλάττει τὰς ἀπορρήτους διαθήκας, ἐν αἷν τὰ τῆς πόλεως σωτήρια κείται.

H. Wolf, in his note on this passage, says that he sees no reason why διαθήκη, which elsewhere means "testamentum," should not here have the same signification as συνθήκη. He adds, with philosophical contempt: "Neque vero mea interest scire arcana Atheniensium qui jam nulli sunt." This is a somewhat facetious principle for a scholar to adopt! For the satisfaction, however, of those who are weak enough to take some interest in the "Arcana Atheniensium," he says in conclusion: "Si θήκας legas, possint intelligi αἱ κίσται τοῦ Διονύσου ἱεραὶ καὶ ταῖν Θεαῖν." Reiske's note we shall give at length, as it bears upon the more immediate subject of this memoir, the use of διαθήκη in Holy Writ: "Fateor me hunc locum non intelligere. Videor tamen hoc me cernere, saltim suspicor, in custodiâ Areopagitarum fuisse oracula, Bacidis aut Amphilyti (aut nescio cujus alius vetusti vatis,) quibus in oraculis reipublicæ Atheniensis et sortes prædictæ essent et fortunarum discrimen versaretur, ut se aut fortunatos crederent aut miseros, prout illis obsequerentur oraculis aut adversarentur; prorsus ut libri Sibyllini penes Romanos erant fatales libri. Ejusmodi codicem oracula fatalia perscripta tenentem appellatum olim a Græcis fuisse διαθήκας, cū ex hoc Dinarchi loco, qui vereor ne sui generis sit unicus, tum ex illâ tritâ et vulgo notâ appellatione τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης et καινῆς colligo, quibus appellationibus nemo nescit libros a nobis designari qui nobis fatales sunt." We think this note is somewhat of a curiosity. For our own part, we decline expressing any decided opinion on the subject, unless it be to condemn the interpretation given in Liddell's *Dict.*, where διαθήκη is rendered "deposite," as if it had been παρακαταθήκας.—We think that these διαθήκαι eminently deserve the appellation of ἀπορρήτους, or "mysterious," given them by the orator.

Having thus disposed of the only two passages with which we are acquainted in profane authors, where διαθήκη has a meaning different from "testamentum," we pass on to the writings of Evangelists and Apostles.

And here we would premise, generally, that while on the one hand no one can for a moment pretend to unravel the difficulties of the New Testament, without a careful and diligent study of the same in the original tongue; so on the other hand, this study, if it is to be conducted on sound principles and brought to good effects, cannot dispense with a competent knowledge of the Alexandrian or Septuagint version of the Old Testament. This, we are convinced, would throw

light on many a dark saying, and furnish the key-note to the disputed meaning of many a word. Indeed, one of the most valuable contributions which has of late years been made to the knowledge of Scripture,—the end of all theology,—is the edition of the New Testament published by Mr. Pickering, in which the reader will find the words and idioms of the inspired penmen most ably and diligently illustrated by the corresponding phrases in the Books which “Moses and the Prophets did write.”

And we cannot but regret exceedingly that this work is not now by our side, to aid us in our present investigation.

The case before us furnishes an instance of the truth of what we have here observed. There is one passage in particular in the O. T., the perusal of which in the Septuagint version leaves, we think, little doubt that it was the quarter from whence the word *διαθήκη* has received its meaning in the New Testament. In the book of the Prophet Jeremiah, c. xxxviii. 31. (Sept.), we read as follows: *ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατέραςιν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν, ἔξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν φησὶ κύριος.* The Hebrew word here, as elsewhere, rendered *διαθήκη*, literally means “a sacrifice,” and thence by implication “a covenant,” of which the sacrifice was the ratifying act; a transition of meaning which finds a very obvious parallel in the Greek word *σπονδαί*. We should perhaps observe, that in the Hebrew of this passage (see English version, c. 31.), the *διαθήκη* is compared with a marriage covenant or contract: which seems altogether to preclude the idea that any notion of a Testament is here combined with the use of the word.

It remains for us to shew how this meaning of *διαθήκη* has been transplanted into the New Testament; first observing that, where the Deity is one of the contracting parties, “Covenant” and “dispensation” are obviously almost convertible terms.

In the following passages, where our version employs the word “testament,” the correct meaning of *διαθήκη* is “a covenant.”—St. Matth. xxvi. 28; St. Mark xiv. 24; St. Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 25; 2 Cor. iii. 6. For the epithet *καινὴ* there attached to it is obviously opposed to *παλαιά*: and the thing qualified must necessarily be the same in both cases; and as the *παλαιά* was a covenant, not a testament, a covenant must the *καινὴ* likewise be.—Comp. Hebr. viii. 6, vii. 22, xii. 24, xiii. 20, where the margin erroneously gives “or testament.” Again, in Acts iii. 25, the covenant with Abraham, vii. 8, *διαθήκην περιτομῆς*, i. e. *περιτομὴν τῆς διαθήκης σημείον*,—not “the precept of circumcision.”—Rom. ix. 4, *διαθήκαι* in the plural, alluding to the various covenants made by God with the patriarchs; St. Luke

1. 72; Rom. xi. 29; Ephes. ii. 12; Hebr. ix. 4; Gal. iii. 15, 17, on which last passage see *Classical Museum*, xxi. (April 1849), p. 95. In Galat. iv. 24, δύο διαθήκαι are likewise "two covenants;" not, as the margin says, "two testaments." A comparison is there instituted between the Law and the Gospel: the one a dispensation of bondage, the other of Grace and Mercy; the latter supplanting the former, yet still ἀντιστοίχος, and answering to it: hence, as the Law was a covenant, so must the Gospel be. The covenant may indeed in this passage be to a certain extent connected with a testament (see vs. 7, 30), and very naturally, for part of the promise of the covenant was, that we should be received by adoption as sons of God, εἰ δὲ τέκνα καὶ κληρόνομοι.

The only passage of any difficulty as to this word is in Heb. ix. 15. It would appear that the meaning almost uniformly attached by classic writers to the word διαθήκη, "testament," is there superadded to that of covenant, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὥπως θανάτου γενομένου, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας. ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μὴ ποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος. ὁθεν οὐδ' ἡ πρώτη χωρὶς αἵματος ἐγκεκίνησται. In vs. 15, 18, διαθήκη clearly means "a covenant:" First, because of the opposition between πρώτη and καινῇ, of which we have already spoken; secondly, because of the word μεσίτης, which cannot, of course, apply to a testament; thirdly, on account of the words χωρὶς αἵματος, which allude to the custom of using blood in making a covenant, not a will or testament. See Exod. xxiv. 6. So that the conclusion to be come to on this passage seems to be, that while in vs. 16, 17, the word διαθήκη does undoubtedly signify "a testament," in all other passages, indeed in the verses immediately preceding and succeeding, it means "covenant;" and even in vs. 16, 17, the meaning of "testament" is but tacked on, so to speak, as a postscript or tail-piece to that of "covenant;" the covenant, "to be made sons of God," and if sons, then—the testament—"to be heirs." There is a fearful note on this passage in Bloomfield's *Greek Testament*. We have not had time to read it,—nor inclination.

The conclusion to be drawn from all that has here been advanced, is, we think, this: that the Latin word testamentum and our own word testament, do not give either the proper meaning of διαθήκη, as used by the Seventy and the writers of the New Testament, or a proper notion of the nature of the Christian dispensation. This is not a mere testamentary bequest, transmitted to us by the simple death of the testator, but as the early covenants made by God with mankind were typically ratified by sacrifices, so is the Christian or New Covenant

itself ratified by the *Blood*, by the *sacrificial* and *propitiatory* death of Christ.

We learn from Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 1, that the Latin Christians used the word "Testamentum," in relation to the inspired volume, before the close of the second century; on the other hand, the phrase *καινή διαθήκη* is not found to designate the books of the New Testament, till the time of Origen; though *παλαιά διαθήκη* is used for the books of the Old Testament in 2 Corinth. iii. 14.

W.

August 18, 1849.

2. SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE PRIMARY MEANINGS OF THE RELIGIOUS TERMS FOUND IN THE LATIN AND GREEK LANGUAGES.

We shall find that the words of this class in both languages naturally divide themselves into two categories; of which the first contains those which involve the fundamental idea of *Reflection*; the second, those which involve the fundamental idea of *Emotion*.

I begin with the former, and with the word which naturally occurs to us first—*Religio*. In the present condition of Latin lexicography, it is difficult to ascertain the most satisfactory results which modern scholarship has arrived at in regard to the etymology of particular words. In the case of "religio," while some persons still hold to the very untenable derivation from "religare," most scholars seem to adopt without reserve the account which Cicero gives of it. Mr. R. C. Trench, for example, in a note to his Hulsean Lectures, states expressly his acquiescence in it, following Nitzsch and St. Augustine.¹ Cicero's words are as follows: "Qui autem omnia quæ ad cultum pertinerent diligenter retractarent et tanquam *relegerent*, sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo, tanquam a diligendo diligentes, ex intelligendo intelligentes.—Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 28. Now I think there can be no doubt that "religio" came from "relego;" but Cicero's mode of accounting for it is so superficial as to make the whole derivation appear unsatisfactory. We might be certain, *a priori*, that a word like "religio" would have a subjective import, deeper than the description of an outward ceremonial habit; and what

¹ Since writing the above, I have seen in Mr. Morell's able and interesting work on the *Philosophy of Religion*, that he doubts whether we are to derive *Religio* from *religere* or *religare*, the former giving the idea of "pondering," the latter the idea of "obligation." The

word may, therefore, have been explained already, as I have endeavoured to explain it: if so, I must say I cannot see how there can be any hesitation between the two derivations proposed. There ought to be no need to refute the latter.

this was, is suggested by a line fortunately preserved by Aulus Gellius,

"Religenter esse oportet, religiosum nefas,"

a line of which those who adopt Cicero's theory would find it difficult to make sense. We may be sure the line was indited by some ancient predecessor of a large modern school, who admire a tendency to religion or veneration as a mental quality or cerebral element, but dislike its definite objective manifestations. The requisite meaning of "religens" may be traced thus:—

The fundamental notion of the word λέγω, lego, is "to lay." (Buttmann unnecessarily supposes two distinct significations, based on a double root.) From this primary meaning flow "to lay in order," "to count," "to tell." *Relego* or *relego* will be "to go over in the mind," "to review," and *religens* will be a "thoughtful"² or "reflective" person generally. *Religio* therefore primarily will signify the corresponding habit of mind, "thoughtfulness." Compare ἐύλαβής, which has the same primary and derived meanings, both found in extant literature.

Another family of similar words is represented by *revereor*, *revereor*. These seem traceable either to ἐρέω or ὀράω. But these two words are themselves, in all probability, nearly allied. The same connection is seen in φημί, identical with the Sanscrit bhāmi, "to shine," (Donaldson's *New Cratylus*), in ὄψ-επος, vox oculus, see say, &c. The family of ἐρέω, ὀράω, is very large. In Latin, we have "reor," "res," "ratio," "verbum," &c.: in Greek, ἐράω is perhaps akin to them, signifying the elective preference, which either results from, or is implied in, placing an object distinctly before the mind's eye. The cognate words in German and English are numerous. It appears then that the conception of *veneration* is derived historically from that of *communing with oneself*.

Similarly I would derive δσιος from ὄθω, (found in ὄθομαι,) probably meaning "to speak," akin to ὄσσα, os, &c.; and ἀγοι, ἀγοις, ἀγνός, from ἄζω, to which I would in like manner give from ἄζομαι, the sense "to speak," connecting it with "aio" and with "say," *sagen*, "saga," "sacer," "sancus," "sanctus." We are authorized, I think, to give the above sense to ἄθω and ἄζω, from the known meaning of ὄθομαι and ἄζομαι (to heed), by the parallel cases of φράζομαι, ἀλέγω, and ἐμπάζομαι, which last word I derive from ἐμπάζω, ἐμπω, the form of ἐπω ingeniously detected by Buttmann in ἐνέπω ὁμφή.³

² Till a better derivation is proposed, I would suggest that *superstitio* comes from "superstes," in the sense of "dwelling upon," "brooding over;" "religens," become morbid.

³ The principle involved in these in-

terpretations is enunciated scientifically by Plato: ἵγως τὸ δεῖν λέγειν λίγιν καλῶ καὶ τὴν δεῖαν λόγον εἰρημίνου, οὐ μίνου πρὸς ἄλλου οὐδὲ φωνῇ, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ πρὸς αὐτόν.—*Theæt.* p. 189.

Some may prefer perhaps to connect the words, whose derivation I have just given, with their roots, in a rather different manner, that, namely, in which *fas*, *fastus*, *festus*, (*fesiæ*), seem traceable to *fari*, *fas* being "a thing spoken," a dictum, (as *θέμις* is "a thing laid down,") and then a law, and all law being naturally sacred.

We thus trace a considerable number of the words which are used in both languages as expressive of a religious act or quality to the notion of "reflection" or "rational consciousness," to *ratio et oratio*.

The second class was to contain those which involve the fundamental idea of *Emotion*.

These are *σέβω* (with its numerous compounds) identical with *σέωω*, and *θύω*, which retains the same form in both its senses, and gave birth to *θυμός* apparently in passing from the one to the other; *ἔργια*, connected with *ἐργή*,⁴ and *ἱερός*, if I mistake not, from *ἱεσθαί*. It is interesting to compare with these "crefydd" (Welsh) and "kravadh" (Erse) = religion, derived from *creu*, *crefu* = *to crave*.

Fides and *Pietas*, which appropriately conclude our list of words, as expressive of the ascending convergence of the reflective and emotional parts of human nature,⁵ are both akin to *πίθω*, (*πιθ-*). Compare *πίθος*, *fidelia*.

The relations which I have briefly pointed out may be farther verified, by deducing acknowledged facts from them. For example (1.) we find, as we should expect, that human nature testifies in its integrity to the truth of natural religion. (2.) We find, what we well know, that in the Roman character, the "emotional" element was singularly undeveloped. (3.) We observe the working of an evident law in the formation of language, which fetches roots from the world of sense to express what is purely subjective, and then conducts them back again into the region of the objective.

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⁴ It is strange to find so learned and acute a scholar as Mr. Donaldson writing thus: "The meaning of *θύω* and *ἔργια* appears to be derived from the custom of holding out the hands and parts of the offerings to heaven, just as "adoro" derives its meaning from the custom of turning the face to the sky."—(*N. Crat.*) Cicero's derivation of *religio* is far less objectionable on philosophical grounds, than this triple mistake.

⁵ It will be seen that this quite independent arrangement coincides exactly with that of Mr. Morell, (*Philosophy of Religion*, p. 5.) Compare also Coleridge:

"The doctrine of the spirit . . . is the ground of theopathy, religious feeling, or devoutness; while the reason . . . is the ground of theology, or religious belief. Both are good in themselves, as far as they go, and productive,—the former, of a sensibility to the beautiful in art and nature, of imaginativeness and moral enthusiasm; the latter, of insight, comprehension, and a philosophic mind." (Note to App. B. to the *Statesman's Manual*.) Does the failure of the Romans in these latter qualities indicate that either tendency must be impregnated by the other, in order to efficient production?

3. A.—ON THE NUMBER OF THE SIRENS.

THE writer of the article *Sirenes* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, states that "Homer says nothing of their number." He appears to have overlooked the fact, that in the passage of the *Odyssey* to which he refers, *dual* forms occur thrice, which tell us plainly enough how many Sirens Homer supposed there were :—

ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ πείρατ' ἀνήφθω,
 ὄφρα κε τερπόμενον ὄπ' ἀκούης Σειρήνοιν.—*Odys.* XII. 51.
 τόφρα δὲ καρπαλίμῳ ἐξίκετο νηὶς ἐνεργῆς
 νήσον Σειρήνοιν.—*Id.* 166.
 νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα νωϊτέρην ὄπ' ἀκούσης.—*Id.* 185.

B.—A NEW METHOD OF ILLUSTRATING THUCYDIDES.

How difficult it is to detect irony employed with skill, is well known ; and the difficulty is of course greatly increased when the medium of expression is a language foreign to the hearer or reader. Some works, however, are so universally celebrated for their irony, that it appears wonderful how any person possessing a moderate acquaintance with literature, could fall into the error of understanding them literally and seriously. Among these, every Englishman would unhesitatingly place Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker*. When, then, in the elaborate notes of a German edition of Thucydides, we meet with a grave reference to the pages of that master-piece of quiet and subdued sarcasm, for an historical and authentic illustration of the profound remarks of the great historian, the absurdity seems almost inconceivable, and the inclination to laughter uncontrollable.

The instance to which I allude, occurs in Goeller's Thucydides, in a note on the 82d chapter of the 3d book. In that passage, the historian gives a graphic description of the evils arising from the prevalence of factions and intestine commotions throughout Greece ; and he traces the origin of these calamities to avarice and ambition, and the eagerness for contention thence resulting : πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονεικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρόθυμον. A somewhat lengthy portion of our commentator's note on these words must be quoted, to shew the strange juxtaposition of "grave" and "gay" which it presents.

"Quod primum studium factionum fuerat rei certæ et definitæ assequendæ causa, id postea degeneravit in meræ studium simultatis et in libidinem adversariis nocendi. Hæc Arn. illustrat exemplis ex memoria temporum recentiorum repetitis : 'sic factum est, ait, factionibus circi Constantinopoli, et eruentis illis certaminibus quibus subinde plebs Hiberniæ distrahebatur. In facinoribus paucis ab-

hinc annis per factiones commissis, quæ dicebantur Caravats et Shanavasts neither the persons who were executed for these outrages, nor any one else, could tell what was the dispute. It was notorious who were Caravats and who were Shanavasts, and this was all.'—*Edinburgh Annual Register*, 1811. Vol. i. p. 134. Addo locum Washingtonis Irvingii *Hist. Novi Eboraci*, lib. vii. cap. 5 : 'The old factions of Long Pipes and Short Pipes, which has been almost strangled by the Herculean grasp of Peter Stayvesant, now sprung up with ten-fold violence. Not that the original cause of difference still existed, . . . but it has ever been the fate of party names and party rancour, to remain long after the principles that gave rise to them have been forgotten.' Notissimum ejus rei exemplum est Guelforum et Ghibellinorum in Italia."

Laughable as this undoubtedly is, it is probable that a more flattering testimony was never borne to the inimitable skill displayed in every page of *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. It is highly amusing, however, to think of the utter mystification and bewilderment in which Goeller must have been, while laboriously perusing the *soi-disant* history, and endeavouring to treasure up in his memory the well-authenticated and instructive facts with which it abounds!

C.—A STRANGE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MISTAKE.

In the general Preface to Moore's *Irish Melodies*, we read, that the famous Robert Emmet, on one occasion, while discussing a political question, referred "to the circumstance told of Caesar, that, in swimming across the Rubicon, he contrived to carry with him his *Commentaries* and his sword." That the orator, in the midst of his heated declamation, should fall into such an error, however preposterous, is not very wonderful perhaps; but that it should be repeated in print, year after year, in edition after edition, does not say much for Mr. Moore's classical knowledge, or, at least, for his carefulness.

I may take this opportunity to mention, that the evidence in support of the story about the preservation of the *Commentaries* is very slight; it may even be doubted whether it was not a pure invention of later times; and it is curious to notice the amplification and colouring gradually introduced into the tale by successive writers. The only contemporary historian of the Alexandrine war is Hirtius, whose account of the matter is contained in the 21st chapter of his work on that subject: "Quo multitudo hominum insecuta quum irrumperet, neque administrandi neque repellendi a terra facultas daretur; fore, quod accidit, suspicatus, sese ex navigio eiecit, atque ad eas, quæ longius constiterant, naves adnavavit. Hinc suis laborantibus subsidio scaphas mittens, nonnullos conservavit. Navigium quidem ejus multitudo depressum militum, una cum hominibus interiiit." Here no mention is made of any papers, but that circumstance is added by Plutarch: "In the battle near the Pharos, he leaped down from the mound into a small boat, and went to aid the combatants; but as the

Egyptians were coming against him from all quarters, he threw himself into the sea, and swam away with great difficulty. On this occasion, it is said that he had many papers in his hands, and that he did not let them go, though the enemy were throwing missiles at him, and he had to dive under the water; but holding the papers above the water with one hand, he swam with the other; but the boat was sunk immediately."—*Long's Translation*. Suetonius improves upon this, although he does not enter into quite so much detail: "Alexandriæ, circa oppugnationem pontis, eruptione hostium subita compulsus in scapham, pluribus eodem præcipitantibus, cum desilisset in mare, nando per ducentos passus, evasit ad proximam navem, elata læva, ne libelli quos tenebat madefierent: paludamentum mordicus trahens, ne spolio potiretur hostis."—*Vita J. Caesaris*, cap. LXIV. Dion and Appian both mention the fact of the immersion in the sea, and the former speaks of the papers; but nothing about them is found in Appian, who being a native of Alexandria, would be more likely than others to hear a correct version of the incident. Finally, to come to a comparatively modern authority, Vossius, in his learned work, *De Historicis Latinis*, makes no allusion whatever to the circumstance, which may therefore be regarded as a mere rhetorical fiction.

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4. ON THE SO-CALLED LACRYMATORIES.

In reviewing the second part of the *Museum Disneianum*, in the *Classical Museum* for April last, we had occasion to congratulate Mr. Disney on the successful attack made by him against the common notion respecting those small phials found in ancient tombs, and usually designated by the name of lacrymatories or tear-bottles. We endeavoured ourselves, as best we could, to expose the ridiculous absurdity of the received opinion, and to establish the only true theory respecting these bottles, scil. that they were used for containing balms or unguents for the corpse of the deceased. We have subsequently met with a memoir in that valuable *Recueil of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Tom. VII.) written by Mr. Mongez, which throws some further light on the subject, and helps very strongly to confirm the view we espoused in the article above referred to. Mr. Mongez, after quoting Tibullus (III. 2), to shew the use of unguents in funeral rites, proceeds to observe, that in the phrase "lacrymis et opobalsamo redum condere," found, he says, on many tombs, the word "lacrymis" must not be taken as literally as the word "opobalsamo." This, he adds, was a very expensive balm. Theophrastus informs us,

that it was sold for its own weight in silver, and Pliny gives it a yet higher value. Such precious unguents, if to be used by all the mourners, would naturally have been put into small phials.

A bas-relief was found at Clermont in Auvergne, on a wall of the Church of the Charitains, which represented a funeral procession, and one of the figures is made to hold a bottle to each eye. (We recommend our friend *Punch* to procure a copy of this relief; it would have a good effect in his comical pages.) Now, if this monument were a genuine work of ancient art, there can be no doubt that it would be sufficient to establish the vulgar notion. But Mr. Mongez has no hesitation in saying that this monument does not reach further back than the 15th century, which agrees, we should observe, with the earliest mention that has been found of the common explanation of these bottles. It should be borne in mind, that Mr. Mongez, in coming to this conclusion, has been aided by a study of 30 years, on his own part, of archaeological remains, and by the unanimous opinion of all the antiquarians whom he had consulted; among these was Visconti.

We now come to the other side of the question.

In a bas-relief of the Barberini Palace, supposed to represent the funeral of Meleager, a woman is found pouring unguents from two of these bottles on the funeral pile. Bellori, *Admir. Rom. Antiq.*, Tav. 70, 71. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, pl. 11.

Again, some phials were found near Verona in 1754. In shape, they resembled these so-called lacrymatories. Musellius, who saw them dug out, affirms that they retained traces of unguentous matter at the time he wrote. *Museum*, cap. iv. Tab. 40. *Antiq. Rel. Verona*, 1756, Tom. v. Tav. 78, 79.

We trust that what has here been advanced, will be sufficient to remove any doubts respecting the use of these bottles. Not the least remarkable and convincing part of Mongez's testimony, is the coincidence of the Clermont monument with the origin of the vulgar fallacy: the latter seems to have inspired (!) the chisel which disfigured the former.

C. K. W.

August 9, 1849.

5. ON *ÆSCHYLUS*, *Suppl.* 4, AND 244-251.

Ἀπὸ προστομίῳν λεπτοβαθῶν.

The word λεπτοβαθῶν is evidently corrupt, and has not yet been satisfactorily corrected. Aldus, Robortellus, and Turnebus, read λεπτομαθῶν. Canter has λεπτοβαθῶν, and so Porson, Schutz, and others.

Both of these readings, however, seem absurd, and the verse is imperfect. Stanley inserted the article τῶν after προστομίαν for the sake of the metre, and is followed by Bothe, and a few others. Pauw ingeniously conjectured λεπτοψαμάθων; but none of these words are mentioned by any of the ancient grammarians, and the first two seem to have been inserted in the text by some ignorant transcriber. The third approaches a little nearer to the sense; but if we are to alter the reading of all the old editions and MSS., why should we not read λωτοβαθῶν, instead of words so plainly corrupt and devoid of sense? The letters πτ and τ are frequently confounded (*vide Bast. Comment. Palaeograph.* p. 731, ed. Schœffer.), as also ε and ω (*vide Æschyl., Pers.* 266), and we know that λωτόν grew abundantly by the river Nile, as Herodotus informs us, *ii.* 92, 'επεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμός, καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῇ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν. ταῦτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι, ἀναίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκῃ ἐόν ἐμφερές, πτίσαντες, ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. And so Diodorus Siculus, *i.* p. 21, ed. H. Stephan. λωτός τε φύεται πολὺς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ἄρτους οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐναμένοντες ἐκπληροῦν τὴν φυσικὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐνδείαν. If λωτοβαθῶν does not seem satisfactory, we might read λωτοφυῶν, as we have ἀνθοφυῆς and ἐλαιοφυῆς πάρος in Euripides; or λωτοφόρων, which is found in *Athen. lib. xv., c. 32*; but these are more violent alterations, and, therefore, less probable. The adjective βαθύς is often applied to land, with reference to the richness and fertility of the soil. *Vide Schol. in Iliad, κ'. 353, Eustath., p. 811, 19, ed. Rom. and Blomf. Gloss. Prom. 673, and Pers. 471.*

I would, therefore, insert the article, and restore the whole verse thus:—

Ἀπὸ προστομίαν τῶν λωτοβαθῶν.

I have inserted the article, as I do not know any thing better, but it is not very satisfactory to me.

Ibid. 244-251, ed. Dindorf.

Καὶ τὰλλα πόλλ' ἐπεικάσαι δίκαιον ἦν,

Εἰ μὴ παρόντι φθόγγος ἦν ὁ σημανῶν.

XO. Εἰρηκας ἀμφὶ κόσμον ἀψευδῇ λόγον,

Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σε πότερον ὥς ἔτην λέγω,

Ἢ τηρὸν ἱροῦ ράβδον, ἢ πόλεως ἀγόν;

BA. Πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀμείβου καὶ λέγ' εὐθαρσῆς ἐμοί.

Τοῦ γηγενοῦς γάρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ κ. τ. λ.

All Edd. and MSS. have these lines in this order, which violates both sense and grammar; and it is strange that no one has perceived the error.

For when the Chorus asked the king under what title they were to

address him, it is not at all probable that, instead of giving a direct answer, he would order them to relate their origin, and at the same time prevent them from doing so by proceeding to relate his own descent, and the extent of his dominion. The proper way would have been to state his name and origin, and then demand the same thing from the Chorus in return; and so indeed he does, if we omit this line, for he says to them at the end of his speech,

Ἐχουσ' ἂν ἤδη τὰπ' ἐμοῦ τεκμήρια
Γένον τ' ἂν ἐξέυχαιο καὶ λέγοις πρόσω.

Next, if we consider the passage grammatically, we find that the sixth line cannot stand in its present place, for *πρὸς ταῦτα*, in this sense, is never found at the beginning of a sentence, but in the middle of a speech, and most commonly near the end of it, with some reference to what has preceded, and it is followed generally by an imperative, as in Sophocl. *Oed. Tyr.* 426.

Πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Κρέοντα καὶ τοῦμὸν στόμα
Προπηλάκιζε.

Cf. *Antig.* 658; *Aj.* 971, 1115, 1313; *Electr.* 383, 820; *Hippon.* 1; *Æsch., Suppl.* 515; *Pers.* 175, 834; *Prom.* 951, 1028, 1066, 1079; *Theb.* 57; Eurip. *Hec.* 849; *Phæn.* 531; Aristoph. *Eccles.* 851; *Pac.* 305. And seldom by a subjunctive with *μή*, as in Eurip. *Iphig. Aul.* 1568.

πρὸς ταῦτα μή ψαίῃσι τις Ἀργείων ἐμοῦ.

If then we place this verse at the end of Pelasgus' first speech, and put *μὲν* instead of *γὰρ* (Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 418) after *γηγενοῦν*, we shall restore both sense and grammar without much alteration of the words.

J. N. ABBOTT, Jun.

6. CONJECTURAL EMENDATION OF A PASSAGE IN CICERO.

In the *Tusculan Disputations*, we recently stumbled upon the following extraordinary passage:

"Quam qui leviores faciant (scil. mortem), somni simillimam volunt esse: quasi vero quisquam ita nonaginta annos velit vivere, ut, cum sexaginta confecerit, reliquos dormiat. Ne *sues* quidem id velint non modo ipse."—I. § 92.

Now, it may by some be considered a valuable acquisition to natural history, to be informed that even a pig would beg to be excused playing the part of the Sleeping Beauty! This is a matter of taste;

all we would here suggest is, that Cicero never wrote what is here assigned to him: so that, although we must certainly allow, to use Orelli's favourite phrase, that "*nos scribenti non adfuimus*," we have little doubt that the correct reading is, "*Ne sui quidem id velint, non modo ipse*." This obviously agrees better with "*ipse*."

C. K. W.

August 15, 1849.

7. THE DIDASCALIA TO *ÆSCHYLUS' SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS*.

THE didascalia to the *Septem contra Thebas*, which has been recently published by Professor J. Franz of Berlin, from the Medicean MS., together with the short hypothesis, runs as follows: *ὑπόθεσις τῶν Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας. Ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ἐπὶ Θήβαις ὑπόκειται · ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἐκ Θηβαίων ἐστὶ παρθένων · ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις στρατεία Ἀργείων πολιορκούσα Θηβαίους τοὺς καὶ νικήσαντας · καὶ θάνατος Ἑτεοκλέους καὶ Πολυνείκους · ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Θεαγέρονος* (leg. Θεαγενίδου, Fr.), Ὀλυμπιάδῃ σὴ ἑνίκα Λαίῳ, Οἰδίποδι, Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφίγγι σατυρικῇ · δεῦτερος Ἀριστίων (leg. Ἀριστίας) Περσεῖ, Ταντάλῳ, Παλαισταῖς σατυρικοῖς τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρὸς · τρίτος Πολυφράδμων (leg. Πολυφράδμων) Λυκούργῳ τετραλογία.

Scholars would hail this discovery with greater joy and satisfaction, did it not with one blow destroy the fruits of the labours of so many trustworthy inquirers into the obscure portions of the literary history of Greece. This didascalia, if we except a single conjecture of G. Hermann, does not only not confirm the results hitherto arrived at by combination, but rather strikes a powerful and irresistible blow at the doctrine which until now has been generally established respecting the composition of trilogies; and moreover it contains facts connected with the history of literature, of which hitherto absolutely nothing has been known. We will not quarrel with all those predecessors of Franz, who have examined and read the Medicean MS. so imperfectly and so carelessly as to overlook such introductions and remarks, which cannot but force themselves upon the notice of a reader by the very place they occupy in the MS.; we may much rather express our surprise that M. Franz, who five years ago collated the MS. for the purpose of a new recension of *Æschylus*, and three years ago published the *Oresteia*, mainly based upon that most ancient and excellent MS., has made us wait so long for his new discovery, although in the minute description which he has elsewhere given of the Medicean MS., he had the best opportunity of making his discovery known before. We do not mean here to suggest even the shadow of a doubt as to the fact, that the learned editor of the *Oresteia* actually did find and read the

above hypothesis with the didascalía in the *Cod. Med.*; but we may be permitted to express our surprise at the didascalía itself, for it presents itself to us in a somewhat unusual form; though it may be said in its defence, that the few remnants of ancient didascalíæ are found sporadically, sometimes in their proper place, and sometimes in a scholion, or in some accidental observation of a scholiast. How are we to account for the fact that the Codex Guelpherbytanus, which, according to Franz, (see his *Oresteia*, p. 308,) is the child of the Medicean, contains a long hypothesis, and the didascalía to the Agamemnon; while in the Medicean, after the title 'Αγωμέμωνων, we read only the following words, "θεράπων Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁ προλόγιζομενος, οὐχὶ ὁ ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου ταχθεὶς? The statements on p. 321, at least, cannot well mean any thing else. We can more easily account for the fact that the Medicean contains that didascalía to the Seven against Thebes, and that the copyists to whom we are indebted for the Guelpherbytanus and other codices, were just as careless, and overlooked passages, with the same heedlessness which our modern collators seem to have shown in overlooking whole pages, and all that was contained in them.

When we speak of the unusual form of this didascalía, we allude in the first place to its completeness, which we do not find in other instances, and which at least no longer exists for us. It is well known that the number of tragedies which have come down to us is thrice that of the extant comedies, and yet we possess more and more complete didascalíæ to the comedies of Aristophanes, for the Thesmophoriazussæ (in which case the Scholia supply the information of the didascalía,) and the Ecclesiazussæ are the only ones to which we have no didascalía; that of the Lysistrata is incomplete. The singular point in our didascalía, however, is the circumstance that it mentions not only the competitors of Æschylus, but also the dramas with which they competed. But little stress can be laid on this point, because of the incompleteness of all the didascalíæ which have come down to us, something being invariably wanting, even though it should be nothing more than the name of the choragus. The verb ἐνίκα, being used without its grammatical subject, is likewise unusual, though this too is not of much weight; for in other cases, as in the didascalía to Aristophanes' *Wasps*, we likewise find the careless expression δεύτερος ἦν, εἰς Λήναια, after which there follows καὶ ἐνίκα πρῶτος Φιλωνίδης, &c.; and in the didascalía to the Knights we read: ἐδιδάχθη—εἰς Λήναια δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους· πρῶτος ἐνίκα, &c. The greater number of the extant didascalíæ, however, is more correctly expressed. The present discovery, moreover, acquaints us with the names of several dramas, of which until now nothing has been known: two pieces, which are not mentioned elsewhere, are ascribed to Ἀριστίων, who, according to Franz's

emendation, can be no other than Ἀριστίων, the son of Pratinas, the celebrated contemporary of Æschylus, who was excelled in the satyric drama by none but Æschylus. The titles of these pieces are the names of well-known and favourite subjects of the Greek tragedians; as Franz endeavours to show in his Programme, p. 7. We become acquainted even with the name of a new satyric drama by Pratinas, whereas hitherto we knew the title of only one of his pieces, though, according to Suidas, he composed 50 dramas, and among them 32 satyric dramas.¹ The one hitherto known is mentioned by Athenæus, x. p. 392: Πρατίναν ἐν Δυμαῖναι ἢ Καρνάτιαιν ἀδύφωνον εἶως καλεῖ τὸν ὄρνυγα; and this one was considered by Schweighäuser not to be a drama, but a dithyramb.² The second competitor, Polyphradmon (an emendation of Franz for the unknown and un-Greek Πολυφράδμων,) was hitherto known only from a statement of Suidas (s. v. Φρύνιχος,) to have been a son of Phrynichus, and an author of tragedies: καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε τραγικὸν Πολυφράδμονα. We now know that he came forward with a tetralogy, the Λυκούργια, as a competitor against the *Œdipodia* of Æschylus, but was not very successful. M. Franz conjectures that the subject of this *Lycurgia* was the same as of that of Æschylus, the parts of which are mentioned by a scholiast on Aristoph. *Thesm.* 141, and have been satisfactorily explained by Welcker, Bernhardt, Bode, Müller, G. Hermann, and others; and from this he infers that Æschylus' *Lycurgia* must have been composed and acted previously to Ol. 78, 1. Considering the total absence of all convincing facts, we must be content with stating the interesting conjecture of Franz, who, mainly from a want of time after Ol. 78, 1, endeavours to show the probability of its having been composed previously. But, granting all the premises, why should not Polyphradmon nevertheless have composed his drama independently of Æschylus?

There now follows the statement of the time when the piece was acted. Welcker, without any direct authority, had assigned it to Ol. 77; Bernhardt, in his *History of Greek Literature*, believes that it was acted at the latest in Ol. 79; Droysen places it in Ol. 77, 1; and thus the opinions vary between Ol. 77 and 79. M. Franz, by his conjecture, also fixes the year of the trilogy of the Persæ, which, according to the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Ran.* 1053, is said to have been composed at Syracuse, by the request of Hiero, and accordingly was acted five years earlier, i. e. Ol. 76, 4; he further fixes Æschylus' voyage to Sicily, which, for this reason, must have been undertaken, not immediately after the victory of Sophocles, Ol. 77, 4, but at the

¹ Franz says: "quorum nomina non innotuerunt."

² Comp. Welcker, *Die Griech. Trag.*

p. 18. (*Rhein. Mus.*, 2d supplementary volume.)

end of OL 78, 1, or at the beginning of OL 78, 2, that is, shortly before the death of Hiero in OL 78, 2.

The new names which from this didascaleia we have to add to the nomenclature of Greek literature, however, is not the most important point we learn from the new discovery; nor need we greatly lament the fact, that in the didascaleia, the name of one of Aristias' pieces, is wanting. Franz conjectures that it has dropped out immediately after the name of the poet, and that it is concealed in the wrong termination of that name: "nisi forte putes, quum in tetralogia Aristiæ una tragœdia exciderit, decurtatum nomen poetæ fuisse atque in syllaba *uv* partem latere nominis fabulæ quæ desideratur ad complendam Aristiæ trilogiam." Two other facts which we learn from, not to say owe to, this didascaleia, appear to us far more important. The first is the placing the Seven against Thebes at the end of a trilogy; and the second, the construction of the tetralogy of Aristias from unconnected pieces not belonging to the same mythus. This is not the place to give a detailed account of the theory which Welcker and his followers (for even his opponents are his disciples and followers,) have built up and established respecting the composition of the Æschylean trilogies. Every one who takes an interest in Æschylus, knows that Welcker set out from the principle, 1. That Æschylus composed only trilogies or respectively tetralogies; and, 2. That each trilogy formed one complete whole in itself. In putting together the separate pieces into trilogies, however, Welcker has often found himself in great perplexity, both in his first great work on the subject—*Die Æschylische Trilogie Prometheus*, and in his last—*Die Griechischen Tragœdien*, and this perplexity he concealed neither from himself nor from others. How could this have been otherwise, if we bear in mind the great want of means of information? His successors and opponents naturally fared no better, and thus, to pass on to the Thebais, we have the most different hypotheses respecting it. Welcker assumes three Theban trilogies: the Œdipodia, consisting of Laius, Sphinx, and Œdipus; the Thebais, consisting of the Nemea, the Seven against Thebes, and the Eleusinians; the Epigonea, consisting of the Epigoni, the Argives, and Phœnisæ. G. Hermann at first joined together the Laius, Œdipus, and the Seven against Thebes, but afterwards he was warned by the nature of the extant tragedy not to put it at the end of a trilogy, and then introduced this piece into the middle of the trilogy, (which was intended to celebrate the first contest against Thebes,) putting it together with the Argives and Eleusinians, and assigning to it the middle place between them. In a similar manner others also have either entirely adopted the views and doctrines of Welcker, or have thought it necessary to modify them; but all have started from the above-mentioned principle, that a trilogy must form one complete

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drama in itself. Fortunately, one entire trilogy has come down to us, and this one must serve us as a standard in all cases. All the other extant pieces, according to the unanimous opinion of all critics, formed middle pieces in trilogies; respecting the Supplices alone doubts are entertained. In regard to this last piece, Welcker has changed his opinion in his last work, (*Die Griech. Trag.*) and placed it at the head of the trilogy of the Danaïdes. This opinion does not appear very probable to us, if we consider the beginning of the piece, independent of the fact that the mythus itself demands a previous drama. But as regards the Seven against Thebes, it is only necessary to read the last scene, the lamentation of the two sisters and their separation, each carrying a dead body with her, in order to be convinced that the play must be followed by a new piece, having for its subject the sufferings of Antigone for her brother Polynices. Welcker and Hermann consider the Eleusinians as the closing piece, and its subject, as we know from Plutarch (*Theb.* 29), was the burial at Eleusis of those who had fallen at Thebes; and the burial of Polynices by Antigone may be easily connected with it, by taking the burial either of one individual or that of all the slain as an episode. All further particulars must of course be left to poetical feeling, and to happy combination. But of what use is all this? for, after all our new didascalica upsets the whole edifice. In order to avoid touching upon the Seven against Thebes, Franz supposes that there were two Theban trilogies connected with each other; the one he thinks to be that named by the didascalica, and the other to have consisted of the Argives, the Eleusinians, and the Epigoni. The statement that the Seven against Thebes were the concluding piece, is passed over lightly by Franz, who says: "nimirum veritate obfuit, ut assolet, eruditio luxuriantis ingenii, favente exitu fabulæ Septem contra Thebas, qui ejusmodi videbatur esse, ut, quod etiam Schlegelius monuit, indicium esse fabulæ subsequentis putari posset. In quo viri docti fere omnes consenserunt, excepto Boeckhio, qui cautius judicavit."—(*Gr. Trag. Princ.* p. 269.) Boeckh only says, that it is not absolutely necessary that the Epigoni should follow after the Seven, but that they might have been reserved for another and later performance.

Thus we now have in direct opposition to each other, on the one hand, the testimony of a didascalica, (and in reference to didascalice, Boeckh, in his treatise on the Dionysia, says, that they are the most authentic of all documents that have come down to us), and on the other, the philological and æsthetic feeling of a Schlegel, Welcker, and so many others. The doctrine about the Æschylean trilogies which has hitherto been regarded as firmly established, is opposed by this brief statement of a didascalica, which involves a new doctrine, and casts, as it were, a destructive spark into the old edifice. Finally, we

know, although all are not of the same opinion, that Sophocles first came forward with four unconnected dramas against the connected compositions of the earlier poets. We must, therefore, suppose that Sophocles at his very first victory, in Ol. 77, 4, came forward with his innovation, and that in the year after Aristias followed his example, for the pieces mentioned in the didascalía belong to different mythical spheres. M. Franz is not of this opinion, for he says: "Nam Sophocles—videri non potest innovasse quidquam in dicendis tragœdiis, quod anno insequente fecisse Aristiam videmus. Ac proinde patere videtur, vel ante Sophoclem fuisse, qui trilogias argumento non nexas componerent." Here then, for the purpose of supporting the didascalía, another fact of the history of Greek literature is denied; a fact which is not indeed established beyond a doubt, but yet one which is exceedingly probable, though it is disputed by Boeckh, we mean the fact that Sophocles was the first who came forward with separate dramas, and that by this very innovation he at once gained the victory. The historical trilogy of the Persæ is not appealed to even by Franz, and it possesses indeed sufficient unity in its idea to be regarded as a perfect trilogy.

This didascalía then destroys a great deal which the most laborious industry of many years and of the ablest men had built up. The result is painful; it shows us in what a labyrinth we philologists are wandering, and how one little word may upset our theories. If, however, we consider all that has been done for ancient tragedy by the investigations which have been carried on hitherto, it would not be matter of complaint if this didascalía had not been found. But may it not be spurious? Is not the whole Oresteia a mighty counterpoise against the new doctrine, which is merely alluded to and accredited only by a copyist?

J. RICHTER.

BERLIN.

8. ON THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES.—(Continued from No. XXIV. p. 200.)

IN the last Number, I endeavoured to impress upon my readers, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους, that, in studying a language, the grand object should be, not so much learning to talk, write, or read, as learning to *think*: and I suggested a plan for translating, which should render a little thinking *absolutely inevitable*, and thus help to cure that pernicious habit of vague rendering which is too often not merely permitted, but even encouraged, and that too in places "pollicitis meliora." The essentials of this plan are, that the author's meaning should first be secured in *plain* English, and that, wherever the said

plain English deviates from the author's *idiom*, there, *and there only*, the closest possible English imitation of that idiom (whether in phrase, mood, tense, or *any thing else whatever*,) should be also given above the line, and in blue ink, taking care to underline, by way of vinculum, the corresponding part in the lower line. To the five rules for notation already given, (p. 198) I would add, as an appendage to rule 2, that the hyphens may be made to *converge* when words unavoidably intrude, as 'Non ibo = I-will not go;' and, 6thly, That *untranslatable* words, as the Greek *ἀν*, must just be written above, *au naturel*. With regard to the merits of the system, some one may say, "Est istuc quidem aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia." To this I so entirely assent, that, though the method is a pet of mine, yet I would not have it supersede *any one* of the various kinds of exercise already in use. All I would contend for is, that neither should any of *them* supersede it; and, for pupils who have much inaccuracy to unlearn, it ought for a time to form the "staple." It is not a few dips of blue ink that will suffice to counteract *years* of slovenly construing; and I have seen lads for whom, on our first interview, I should order a quart bottle at once. I subjoin samples of such translation; I cannot say done to my mind, for *that* is, "qualem nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum;" but perhaps calculated to illustrate the method more effectually than the scraps given in the last number.

CICERO, *De Oratore*, I. 1.

^{-in-number} Oftentimes ^{to-me} when I am ^{cogitating} in deep thought and ^{re-seeking-in-memory} recollecting ^{old}
^{to-have-been} (affairs), those ^{through-blessed} (men), Brother Q., are-wont ^{to-appear} very-happy
^{best} who, in (a) first rate [?] republic (like ours), ^{when} have-been-able, whilst
^{they-might-flourish} flourishing both ^{in-(civic)-honours} in-(civic)-honours, and in (the) ^{re-nown} renown of (their)
^{things-carried-on} exploits, ^{-hold} to-maintain ^{that} such a course of-life, that they-could ^{might-be-able}
^{-to-} live either ^{or} in ^{un-leisure} business without danger, or at ⁱⁿ leisure with dignity.
^{has-been*} And (there) was ^{-was-deeming} a time when I-used to think ^{to-me} (that) to myself also
^{-ing-again} (a) beginning of-rest, and ^{-bearing-again} of-recalling (my) ^{mind} attention to my own
^{of-us} and your noble ^{clear studies} pursuits, ^{to-be-about-to-be just} would be due, and conceded by ^{nigh} almost all,

* That the Latin preterites, as *fui*, *amavi*, *cecidī*, &c. are true perfects, and not aorists (though compelled to *serve*

as the latter also), is inferred from the occasional reduplication.

if unended
 whenever (the) endless labor of-forensic affairs, and (the)⁺ occupation
 -going-about -have-stood-together running-down
 of-canvassing, might-cease, from (the) ,completion of (my) ,(civic)-
 also bend age
 -honors, as well as (the) decline of-life.

THUCYDIDES I. 1.

Thucydides (an) Athenian wrote^{-with = together} an-account-of the war ^{of-} between
 -the Peloponnesians and Athenians (describing) how they-warred
 other-others having-begun as
 against each other, beginning (the narrative) as-soon-as (it) was-set-
 -down having-hoped to-be-about-to-be and most-word-
 on-foot, and expecting that it would be both great, and more worthy
 -worthy of-the before-having-become both
 of mention than-all preceding (wars); conjecturing (thus) because
 both (parties) were at-their-height for this war in-their whole
 preparation other Grecian set-together to
 equipment, and seeing the rest-of Greece siding with one-or-other,
 the straight the and
 some indeed immediately, but others also intending (to do so). For
 became greatest
 this movement proved (a) very-serious (one) indeed to-the Greeks,
 but as to-say and on
 and to-some part of-the barbarians, and one may say also to (the)
 -men
 most (part) of-mankind. For the (events) (immediately) preceding
 the yet was impossible to-have-found
 them, and those still more-ancient, were not to be discovered clearly
 indeed multitude
 at least through length of-time.

The pupils, when once initiated, should by all means practise occasional versions from Greek and Latin into French, German, &c., on the same principle, with retranslations from these again, as well as from English. By such means modern languages may become valuable auxiliaries, instead of being a trivial interruption to the graver studies, as is too often the case, *solely* from an irrational method of studying them.

On *vivâ voce* construing, a highly important subject, I hope to be permitted to give some hints in a future number.

J. PRICE.

BIRKENHEAD, Sept. 11, 1849.

+ Or perhaps "the absorbing-pursuit of-ambition."

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NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. CASSII DIONIS COCCETIANI RERUM ROMANARUM Libri Octoginta, ab Immanuele Bekkero Recogniti. Tomus Prior. Lipsiæ, apud Weidmannos. 1849. 8vo.

THE celebrated editor of Dion Cassius, in the commencement of his comparatively long preface, says: "Dionem Cassium constat nondum ita esse editum, ut facile legi possit a multis illis, quorum interest nosse scriptorem." Most certainly those who wish to acquire a familiarity with Dion Cassius, are not yet possessed of such an edition as would facilitate the perusal of the historian. Generally speaking, we have only two editions of any considerable note. That of Reimaruss is too inconvenient for general use; folios besides have become obsolete: that of Sturz is too voluminous, and on too diffuse a plan. The "ut facile legi possit" of the editor, however, does not relate to the external inconvenience, but to a pure and well-constituted text. Now, it is well known, that the "multi illi" can only mean philologists and historians, who read Dion, not for the sake of his language as such, but for his account of the historical facts, for the benefit of history itself. A text, corroded and corrupted by the rust of ages, spoils of course the contents along with it; and the account of an historical fact may, by the loss of the smallest word, have acquired an opposite meaning or become nonsense; and in this respect, Dion Cassius wants a healing and restoring hand, like every relic of antiquity. For Dion, however, we want, in a far higher degree, historical criticism and exegesis,—a perpetual investigation and critical illustration of the facts stated,—a continual reference to the sources and parallel passages from Latin authors still existing, such as Cicero, Sallust, and the poets belonging to that period of his history which has been preserved,—also to Greek writers, such as Appian and other second-rate authorities. With such an apparatus, an historian would read Dion with much greater facility, and the editor might be sure of gaining gratitude for having saved his reader a good deal of time and trouble. The present edition of Dion gives merely a critical text, and an exegetical commentary is not to be expected. The conjectures of the editor, with very few exceptions, are introduced into the text without any account of the reasons. The preface gives the reason for the necessity of correcting according to one's own judgment without critical resources; but the reasons for introducing the emendations into the text are passed over in silence.

"Tanta igitur auxiliorum meorum fuit infirmitas." The Vatican manuscript 1288, which has been compared anew, contains only the 78th and 79th books, and even these are not complete. "Qua depresso magis quam sublevato," he goes on, "licebat, opinor proprias vires periclitari et conjecturæ indulgere, id, ubi acciderit, annotatio indicat: habet enim lectionem codicum antiquatam (formerly it was customary in such a case to say "antiquorum"): quæ si meo cessit commento, stellam gerit, sin alieno, nuda læponitur." Now, by far the greatest part of these conjectures refer to the language; and, in order briefly to indicate their character, the editor, partly after the example of Sturz and the earlier commentators, has been anxious to Grecize Dion Cassius. This may seem strange, but it is indeed so. It is well known that the proverb, "this is to be learned as easily as Greek," is an untruth; and that men, who followed almost immediately, or were, by several centuries, nearer the golden age of Attic Greek than Dion Cassius, had no longer any idea of that, it seems, inimitable conciseness and precision of a Xenophon, Lysias, Isocrates, or Demosthenes. Can it then be a task of ours, who, collectively and individually, are not even capable of writing like Dion Cassius, after so many centuries, to attempt daubing him with a "color græcus," of which he himself had no idea? Nay, even in Xenophon, we ought to pause before we interpolate a particle lost or omitted from a sentence, according to the rules which we have learned from himself. That which has been lost in the lapse of centuries, is above all others the skillful and exact construction,—the fine discernment in the use of tenses and moods,—the harmonious order and flow of words. The latter is not to be restored by any transposition. The former perhaps may be introduced here and there; but then is it necessary? Have we in Dion Cassius a writer whom a scholar is to admire as a model of Greek diction? or does the sense become clearer to the historian by the interpolation of a *μὲν*, by the repetition of an article, by adding *ἂν* to the optative, or by putting a pluperfect instead of another tense? Emendations of this kind indeed appear to us perfectly unimportant and superfluous in so late a writer; but they are also violent and unjust; and if Dion Cassius is a "scriptor plusquamperfecti amantissimus," we have no right to substitute a pluperfect for an aorist, perfect or imperfect, for the simple reason that, as we have already mentioned, the use of moods and tenses with him no longer follows such precise rules. Thus we find conjunctions of time with the perfect, pluperfect, aorist, where the main proposition has, in every case, the aorist. Thus, in xxxviii. 39, the reading was *μήτε καταισχύνοιτε—μήτε πρόσθε*; in our edition, *μήτε καταισχύνητε—μήτε προῆσθε*; instead of which, after the Attic dialect, it might have been *πρόσθε*. The vulgate is intelligible, at least expresses the thought more vigorously.

Besides an extremely large number of Grecizing conjectures, we find many, for which it is to be regretted that no reasons are alleged, *e. g.* XXXVIII. 2, 2, 4: μήτε τινα instead of μηδένα, which is perfectly sufficient to be understood, and appears to us better Greek; XXXVIII. 37, 5, 5: πάσαν ἐνὶ λόγῳ τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων γῆν κατεστρέψαντο, instead of ἐν ὀλίγῳ; the Vulgate is at least intelligible and good Greek. XXXIX. 19, 3, 2: ὁ γὰρ Κλώδιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείον ἀποροίῃ, οὐκ εἶα; the old reading is ποιοίῃ, and Sturz translates accordingly: "quo magis propositum suum exsequi posset." According to the conjecture of Bekker, we must, at any rate, supply another subject (Μίλων) from the foregoing proposition. XL. 31, 4, 2: χρῆναί τε σφας ἔλεγε—ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐσήμενέ τε εὐθὺς συσκευάσασθαι, instead of the old reading σημήναί τε: we will not determine in Dion Cassius, whether it is more suitable to say σημαίνω of Labienus, or of the trumpeter, immediately sounding the march; still σημῆναι appears to us unobjectionable; and here again, as usual, we ask in vain for the why and the wherefore? XLI. 8, 2, 1: τῷ τε πολέμῳ ἐκδιδόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ—τοῦ κρατήσαντος ἐσόμενοι, instead of πολέμῳ. The conjecture πολέμῳ appears to me to be a tautology. XLI. 35, 4, 3: παύσεσθε μὲν δὴ—ᾧ, τί ἂν ὑμᾶν ὀνομάσαιμι, instead of the old παύσασθε, which is justified at least by the vocative. XXXVI. 8, 2, 5: ἀπετέθειτο, instead of ἀπετίθετο, in a description, and of an occurrence which certainly happened repeatedly; for the author is speaking of the town of Nisibis as a depot of various materials of war.

In many cases, the editor, by the help of his predecessor's conjectures, has arrived at something new; and then, in the notes, nothing is mentioned but the "*lectio antiquata*," and furnished with an asterisk; *e. g.* XXXVII. 34, 1, 2: κατασκευαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ Λεντούλου καταπρήσαι τε τὸ ἄστυ καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι, instead of τινας. The observation of Sturz runs thus: "forte τινὰ. Sic et Od. (Oddey) nisi τινὰς pro οἰκίας τινῶν. [συνοικίας ante τινὰς inserit R. (Reiske)]. Vir doctus N. substituit τὴν πόλιν. Palmerius: καταπρήσει τέ τιναν. Sed requiro auctoritatem vocabuli. Re. (Reimarus)." As it was easy, after such an example, to conjecture τὸ ἄστυ, so it was still easier and less violent, to adopt the much more brilliant conjecture of Palmerius, καταπρήσεις. Τὸ ἄστυ might perhaps be supported by the Ciceroan *Urbe*; but Cicero, as is well known, swells out into a somewhat magniloquent strain in his speeches against Catiline. There is another passage, XXXVIII. 23, 5, 1: αὐτίκα τὴν ἀτιμίαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς παντελῶς ἄνθρωποι νομίζουσιν ἐπιτιμίαν, which the editor has tried to correct by effacing ἐπιτιμίαν. His predecessors have made various proposals: οὔτε ἐπιτιμίαν, ἢ ἐπιτιμίαν, τῇ ἐπιτιμίᾳ, and the like, as they are enumerated in the commentary of Sturz. All of them have taken ἐπιτιμίαν as the opposite to ἀτιμίαν, in the sense of honour, honorary

possession, or reward. But if we take ἐπιτιμίαν in the signification of *punishment*, the sense seems simple and suitable. Men do not think dishonour to be a punishment in the same things, but that which appears to one to be culpable, is praised by another, or that which some reward with honour, is punished with death by others. At all events, the sense does not become clear by the omission of ἐπιτιμίαν. Likewise, in xxxix. 39, 4, 4, Sturz and the earlier editors have already rightly conjectured, although our editor changes the corrupt τα στι-βερία more correctly into τὰς τ' ἰβερίας. The same, xl. 12, 1, 5: αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἡσυχάζον, καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν προσπολεμήσαντές φισιν οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἀδυνασίας παρακίνουν, where the old reading is ὑπὸ δυναστείας, and where Reiske has already conjectured ὑπ' ἀδυναμίας vel ἀσθενείας; and similarly, xl. 36, 2, 2: καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν (ὁ Καῖσαρ) οὔτι προερίγ-νωσκειν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι—κατεθεῶντο, &c. where Leunclavius has already conjectured οὔτε τι instead of the old reading οὔτε.

We have no right, of course, to blame the editor for this, for he only followed his principle stated in the preface, as mentioned above; he always quotes only the "lectio antiquata" under the text, and his conjectures are in the text, no matter whether they are of an original or of a derived secondary nature, which is not to be perceived from the asterisk. The work being still unfinished, and the nature of this notice not permitting any farther digressions, we must, in conclusion, ask once more: Cui bono? The present *recognitio* does not enable us to dispense with any of the former editions, because it nowhere gives any account. We believe, however, that a critical and exegetical edition, and adapted for a great circle of readers, would be extremely welcome, and would find ready purchasers. In the present case, Dion Cassius appears to us to have been treated in an arbitrary manner, and game to have been made of him; though not without serious criticism. Should it be actually required to Greecize Dion Cassius, we could not wish for a more profound, acute, and successful emendator than the celebrated editor and patron of so many Greek authors. Now, however, time pressing and hurrying onward may perhaps be to the taste of some enviable disciples of philology, who are allowed by a happy "otium" to angle about quietly and coolly, to their hearts' content, in the wonderful ocean of antiquity; but there are also many respectable men who would like to tarry among the aerial heights of our science, but who cannot find leisure to unriddle such a Sibylline book, and who, by making the attempt on the more important parts, would lose sight of the whole. There is but a small and rapid transition from such a manner of treating an ancient author to the worst of all, i. e. to send forth into the world a reconstructed text without rendering any account, and to expect that others will

give themselves the trouble of furnishing the vindication and elucidation. And, lastly, is there any easier or more comfortable manner of philological activity, than uncereemoniously to exhibit a new text by the help of collated manuscripts? In a word, the work itself answers by no means the first words of the preface; on the contrary, new riddles being added to the old ones, we have now a better right than before the appearance of this *recognitio*, to say: "Dionem Cassium constat nondum ita esse editum, ut facile legi possit a multis illis, quorum interest nosse scriptorem."

The external appearance of the book is pleasing, barring the numbers in the notes, which are too small and often illegible.

J. R.

BERLIN.

2. THE ILLUSTRATED COMPANION TO THE LATIN DICTIONARY AND GREEK DICTIONARY. By Anthony Rich, Jun., B. A. London: Longman & Co. 1849.

It is ordained by a law of honourable criticism, that a book shall be read before it is reviewed. This rule, however, is rarely or never insisted on in the case of dictionaries, and for this very good and obvious reason, that no one possessed of but ordinary patience and moral courage could comply with it. We have indeed heard of a gentleman who read through Johnson's great work, and afterwards informed his friends that it was very clever and very entertaining, though in his opinion rather unconnected; but in our degenerate days such heroism is unknown. We blush for ourselves and our contemporaries, while we tell that we poor weaklings shrink at the very idea of reading through a Facciolati or a Scapula, or even an Ainsworth or a Liddell and Scott. We shall be excused, then, when we acknowledge that we have only dipped into the dictionary, for dictionary in fact it is, which is named at the head of our article. We think that we have read enough of it, in different places, to enable us to pronounce a just judgment on its merits.

A few words will suffice to acquaint our readers with the origin and plan of this work. Mr. Rich, as he informs us in his preface, resided for seven years in the Central and Southern parts of Italy. He directed his attention, as was naturally to be expected of a youth fresh from the studies of school and college, to those collections of antiquities to which he had access; and being possessed of considerable skill as a draughtsman, he took a sketch of every thing which seemed to throw light upon any obscure word in the classical writers, or upon any ill-understood allusion to manners, dress, and the like. He read over his

Greek and Latin books on the spot, and carefully studied the principal works devoted to the illustration of antiquities. The number of his drawings and notes imperceptibly increased, and they now form the substance of the present volume.

Mr. Rich's design in writing this book, was to produce a dictionary of all the Latin and Greek terms denoting visible objects in arts, sciences, manufactures, and every-day life, giving a distinct explanation of their various meanings; and adding, wherever it was practicable, a representation taken from some ancient original. This latter idea, though by no means new, has never to our knowledge been so fully carried out as here. It is certainly a very happy one: for a picture enables us at a glance to form a much more complete and accurate notion of what a thing really is, than any mere description possibly can. The design of Mr. Rich's work, it will be at once seen, is not nearly so comprehensive as that of Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, since institutions, customs, and everything which cannot be submitted to ocular inspection, are excluded.

We rejoice to say that we have rarely seen a good plan so well executed. The definitions and descriptions are generally terse and correct; and the engravings, nearly two thousand in number, are very neat, though in most cases exceedingly small. By means of them we are enabled to realize to ourselves a Greek or Roman ship, dwelling-house, temple, work-shop, lady or gentleman. Indeed, after studying the "Companion," we feel as if, modern and Briton though we be, we could have gone in and out in the great capital of the ancient world, and have felt pretty much at home.

It would be worse than puerile, in reviewing a book so admirably executed as a whole, to carp at any little slips which we may find. We merely notice, for correction in another edition, a tendency to rather loose and careless language, which sometimes leads even to the use of slang expressions. To cite but one instance, in p. 15, the word *æruscator* is stated to mean "a charlatan, begging impostor, or one who raises the wind by imposing on the credulity of others." Such a phrase as "raising the wind" is suitable enough for spicing an ephemeral paragraph in a newspaper, but unworthy of a work which is intended to endure.

But, not to say more of such slight blemishes, we cordially welcome Mr. Rich's volume, as an interesting and useful contribution to antiquarian science.

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3. *ECLOGÆ HORATIANÆ*; containing nearly all the Writings of Horace; with an Enquiry into the First Principles of Latin Prosody.

By Edward Woodford, LL.D., Classical Master in the Madras College, St. Andrews. Edinburgh, 1849.

Dr. Woodford's name is favourably known to the pædagogic world by the publication of several elementary works, all of which indicate a practical application of some important educational principle. The present edition of Horace is a reprint of the text of Dillenburger; and we cordially approve, with reference to scholastic uses, of the omission of certain productions of the Epicurean bard, and the *Bowdlerizing* of others. In the instruction of Christian youth, we hold it to be a sacred rule, to withdraw every thing from the eye and the ear that ought not to find an entrance into the heart of the scholar.

In the short prefatory remarks on Latin Prosody, Dr. Woodford has made an attempt to reduce to principle and rule some things that have hitherto been considered as belonging to the category of mere authority. There is a danger of attempting to theorize on matters of this kind; but that something may be done to introduce organization into what to the general eye appears a chaos, we have no doubt; and Dr. Woodford has certainly succeeded in stating some rules which regulate the quantity of Latin syllables not final, that are true, and, we think also, new. Important, however, as this reduction of prosody to scientific rules may be, not only as a part of the philosophy of language, but as expediting the teacher's work, there is one thing in this latter regard of infinitely greater importance, viz., *that teachers should make a conscience of never pronouncing a long syllable short, or a short syllable long.* If this were attended to, the inculcation of prosody, now so difficult and disagreeable, would become one of the easiest branches of linguistical study; and the ear, restored to its natural right, could exercise an instinctive jurisdiction over words, which the mere understanding and the memory can maintain only by the unintermitted repetition of a series of most forced and painful acts.

XXVII.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Arnold, J. K., First Classical Atlas, intended as a Companion to the *Historiæ Antiquæ Epitome*. 8vo., cloth.
- Becker, W. A., Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus; with Notes and Exercises illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Romans. Translated from the German by Rev. F. Metcalfe. New Edition. Post 8vo., cloth.
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- Schmitz, Dr. L., *History of Rome, from the Earliest Times to the Death of Commodus.* Second Edition. 12mo, cloth. Taylor, Walton, & Maberly.
- Selections from Catullus*; with English Notes by G. G. Cookesley. Revised, with additional Notes, by C. A. Bristed. New York. 8vo.
- Thirlwall, Bishop, *History of Greece.* Library Edition. Vol. V. 8vo., cloth.
- Thucydides. A new and literal Translation from the Text of Arnold. By Rev. Henry Dale. Vol. II. Bohn's Classical Library.
- Xenophon's *Anabasis.* Translated by Spelman. A new Edition. 12mo, cloth.

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THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

XXVII.

ON THE DATE OF THE LAOCOON.¹

AMONG the extant remains of ancient art, which not only by their own splendour and the grandeur with which they greet the eye are unceasing sources of delight, but are also calculated to afford a characteristic glimpse into the workshops of Grecian Sculpture, into the development of its technical department, and the culture of its taste, the Laocoon group occupies one of the first places. And even supposing that, for the deeper understanding of its internal worth, there were no need to be acquainted with the external facts and circumstances which bear upon its origin, still it would fall to the lot of the history of art, to investigate as accurately as possible its historical position, and the period of its creation. Unfortunately it is on this very point that unanimity among the masters of Archæology has, up to the present day, been entirely wanting; accordingly, as, on the very threshold of our enquiry, we find Winkelmann putting the artist of the Laocoon as far back as the time of Alexander the Great,² while Lessing³ takes the celebrated description in Virgil to have suggested the work, so, as we proceed, we find opinions halting between the Macedonian period, the side on which O. Müller seems to have won over the majority of the modern Archæologists,⁴ and the time

¹ Translated from the German of K. F. Hermann (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur Classischen Litter. und Alterthumskunde*, p. 329,) by C. Knight Watson, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

² Winkelmann's *Werke*, Dresden edition, B. vi. 1, p. 101; B. vii. p. 189.

³ *Laocoon, oder über die Gränzen der Malerei und Poesie.*

⁴ See *Wiener Jahrb. d. Lit.* vol. xxxix. p. 153, or Müller's *Kl. Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 393, and *Handb. der Archæol.* § 156; also Welcker, *Rh. Mus.* ii. p. 493.

of the Roman Emperors, a date in behalf of which Thiersch⁵ is one of the foremost advocates, and to which belongs the earliest and only evidence we have of the existence of the group, in the Natural History of the elder Pliny.⁶ On the other hand, it must be admitted, that the data on which any conclusion upon this question must be founded, are on the whole so meagre and ready of access,⁷ that no one is compelled to be bound by all these authorities more than he himself chooses. Little therefore as I pretend to force my opinion on others, I have, on the other hand, no hesitation in recording as the result of my repeated investigations—however much my views may be opposed to those of the majority—that the Laocoon group was made by Greek artists, as stated, *in* and *for* Rome, about the middle of the first century of the Imperial form of government.

The grounds on which I have been led to this conclusion, are mainly three in number:

1. The text and the context of the passage in Pliny.
2. The connection existing between our group, and the poetical treatment of the same subject.
3. The entire view which I have formed to myself, of the development of ancient art.

How these severally explain and complete one another, the following pages are intended to show.

And first, as regards Pliny's evidence, there can be no doubt, that in the preceding paragraph he is speaking of artists, whose works have been conveyed from Greece to Rome, many of them on direct orders, while the following paragraphs refer to those artists who had worked in Rome itself, to embellish that city:⁸ the question thus becomes a very simple one. To which of these two categories does the author assign the Lao-

⁵ *Ueber die Epochen der Bildenden Kunst unter den Griechen*, München, 1829, p. 322-330; Comp. Sillig, *Catalog. Artific.* p. 21.

⁶ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 5. § 37.

⁷ They have been collected with the greatest completeness by Heyne, *Antiqu. Aufg.* ii. p. 1-52; and more recently by L. J. F. Janssen, *Oer de Vaticaanische Groep van Laocoon*, Leyden, 1840.

⁸ Comp. § 38, "Agrippæ Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis." § 40,

"Pasiteles natus in Græciâ Italiæ ora et civitate Romanâ donatus cum iis oppidis Jovem fecit eboreum in Metelli sede . . ." § 41, "Arcesilaum quoque magnificat Varro, cujus se marmoream habuisse leonam . . . idem et a Coponio quatuordecim nationes, quæ sunt circa Pompeii theatrum, factas auctor est." And lastly, § 42, "Nec Sauram atque Batrachum obliterari convenit, qui fecere templa Octaviæ portibus inclusa, natione ipsi Lacones," who, if Pliny's statement be correct, (see Stu-

coon, which he mentions just in the transition from one to the other? Now many, from the word *similiter*, which heads the next succeeding list of artists whose works adorned the palace of the Cæsars, have drawn the conclusion, that, in the same way that "*Cratinus cum Pythodoro, Polydectes cum Hermolao, Pythodorus alius cum Artemone, et singularis Aphrodisius Trallianus*," unquestionably lived and worked in the time of the first Cæsars, so also the sculptors of the Laocoon, the Rhodians Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, must themselves have lived under Titus, in whose palace this work was standing in Pliny's day, as it was likewise there discovered in the 16th century;⁹ others,¹⁰ on the contrary, are of opinion that the resemblance between the two groups of artists, as implied by the word *similiter*, refers merely to the joint character of the work, on which Pliny, in the case of the Laocoon, certainly lays particular stress, by the addition *de consilii sententiâ*; and indeed, if the question were to be decided by this *similiter*, I am quite of Zumpt's opinion, that in a grammatical point of view, one interpretation is as admissible as the other.¹¹ Again, the startling theory which Lachmann has recently broached, with respect to the "*de consilii sententiâ*," explaining it as a council appointed by the Emperor, an artistic commission, at whose dictation this work was achieved by the artist,¹² I have so much the more hesitation in espousing, as a commission

art, *Antiq. of Athens*, III. p. 97; Becker, *Handb. der Röm. Alterth.* I. p. 608; Raoul Rochette, *Questions de l'Histoire de l'Art*, p. 15), must have flourished about the middle of the second century B.C., a fact which shews how Pliny goes gradually back from his own time to the older artists.

⁹ At least in the precincts of the palace, in the back-building of the baths of Titus. Comp. Heyne, I. l. p. 7; Visconti *Œuvres*, II. p. 280; Bunsen, *Besch. d. Stadt Rom*, II. 2, 149.

¹⁰ To Müller and Welcker (see note 4,) must here be added Bergk. *Marburg. Sommerkatalog*, 1846, p. IV.

¹¹ Comp. *Berlin. Jahrb. f. Wiss. Kritik*, 1833, II. p. 86.

¹² Comp. Gerhard's *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1845, p. 192; 1848, p. 237; and on the other side, Bergk. I. l. and Welcker, *Ar-*

chäol. Zeitung, 1848, p. 83*, with whose opinion I so entirely agree, that I do not even recognise any of that jocular ambiguity in Pliny's expression, by which Welcker endeavours to give a plausible character to Lachmann's suggestion that the phrase was one of official language. *Consilium* is any collection of men, called together for the purpose of consultation: if, then, Agesander began by consulting with his brother-artists, as to how they were to execute the group, the result of such consultation might very well be called "*consilii sententiâ*." And I do not even see the necessity of supposing that the advice of yet other friends was taken, (like the "*amicorum consilium*" of Corn. Nep. *Epam.* 3.) an hypothesis this, which, at any rate, would be more tenable than that of an Imperial commission.

such as he describes, is a thing just as unheard of in the history of ancient art, as the combination of several artists for one work is of repeated and well-established occurrence;¹³ and while, on the one hand, as regards the phrase itself, I see no reason why *consilium* should not be taken to mean the common planning of those who executed the work, so on the other, no conclusion can in my judgment be drawn from thence as to the date of the Laocoon.

A closer examination, however, of Pliny's own words, will enable us to gather yet further grounds for giving a decided balance in favour of the first interpretation.

We may begin by observing, that the comparison instituted, if confined to the combination of labour, would in this be defective, that to the three sets of artists compared with the executors of the Laocoon, is annexed one single artist, Aphrodisius of Tralles, to whom the word *similiter* could not in this sense apply; and to look upon his name as an after-thought of the author's,¹⁴ is a supposition which the structure of the period would scarcely render admissible. Again, the whole connection of ideas in this passage with the preceding paragraphs, compels us to place the Laocoon at the head of a new category, forming, on the one hand, as complete a contrast with the instances already enumerated, as, on the other hand, it *thereby* bears an analogy to those which follow. We find that, after Pliny has mentioned a considerable number of artists whose works were among the ornaments of Rome, he continues as follows: "*Nec multo plurium fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiis obstante numero artificum, quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam, nec plures pariter nuncupari possunt;*" i. e. I ought, properly speaking, to mention yet many more besides—for there are a vast number of other works extant—but the executors of those works are unknown, from the fact of several having combined to achieve one and the same work.—And if he now goes on to speak not only of the Laocoon, but also of the artists by name, and in terms of praise, surely it is impossible that this can be intended to illustrate the fact, that the plurality of artists was an impediment to fame! On the contrary, with the executors of this work he is acquainted, and calls them "*summos arti-*

¹³ Instances of such combinations are given by Letronne, *Mem. de l'Acad. d'Inscr.* 1845, xv. P. 2, p. 141; and by Raoul-Rochette, *Questions*, p. 53, sqq.

¹⁴ Welcker, *Rhein. Mus.* Vol. II. p. 493; and Bergk, in the *Darmstädter Verh.* p. 56.

fices." Unless then we are to suppose that he gives himself the most direct contradiction, the Laocoon, in spite of its resemblance in other particulars to the works of forgotten artists, must present some feature, from which it may be explained how its executors were known and famous, notwithstanding their combined action; this can only be found in the fact of their being contemporary with the author, as contrasted with the bygone date of the earlier artists, "*Sicut in Laocoon*," says he, "*qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturæ et statuariæ artis anteponendum*;" thus putting a case hypothetically before his contemporaries, to show how it was that the executors of works, even of a first-rate class, might come to be forgotten solely from their plurality; even the Laocoon, that glorious creation, might have had no name attached to it, because it too is the work of several, had we not seen it come to light with our own eyes, and been personally acquainted with the artists. Thiersch has already pointed out with great acumen,¹⁵ that the unusually exalted tone of praise in which Pliny speaks of these artists, is in itself an argument for presuming that he must have felt more than a purely historical interest in them; if we add to this, that in two other places in the palaces of Roman emperors, of the first century, inscriptions have been discovered which speak of a Rhodian Athenodorus, son of Agesander, as the executor of works of art now no longer extant, to the pedestals of which these inscriptions belong,¹⁶ we must allow, that, to go no further than these external arguments, all the probability of which an historical enquiry is capable is in favour of the theory, that the executors of the Laocoon lived in Italy about the middle of the first century of our reckoning, and that they wrought this work in compliance with the desire

¹⁵ *Epochen*, p. 333, and more recently Feuerbach *Kunstblatt*, 1846, p. 229.

"It is just as if we were listening to a piece of gossip from the mouth of one of the 'intelligentes' and 'otiosi' of Rome, how that three Rhodian artists had combined to execute some work; how they had consulted together, and arranged all the details, and what a choice production it was intended to be."

¹⁶ One of them was known to Winkelmann, and is engraved in Marini, *Iscr. Albane*, p. 172. It was found at

the Porto d'Anzo, in the vicinity of Nero's palace, among whose ruins have also been discovered the Vatican Apollo, the Borghese Gladiator, (Feuerbach, *Vatic. Apoll.* p. 424,) and other important works of art, (Böttiger, *Amalth.* III. p. 5.) The other was recently found in the ruins of the Tiberian buildings at Capri. *Comp. Bullet. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1832, p. 155; and Bergk, *I. I.* p. VII. It is possible that a third in a mutilated condition (Caylus, *Rec. d'Ant.* i. 56,) may have belonged to the same artist . . . *δωρος Πάριος ἑσθινός.*

of the emperor. The only point which admits of hesitation, is whether it was not a yet earlier emperor than Vespasian or Titus for whom the work was originally designed; for Bergk has observed with great justice, that if the pedestals above named, found as they were at Capri, warrant the presumption that Athenodorus had already executed some work for Tiberius, his father Agesander could scarcely have been an artist in the time of Vespasian; but even here, we have various ways of escaping from the dilemma, either by supposing that the Athenodorus of Capri was the grandfather of the one with whom we have to do, or that our Agesander was the son of him of Capri,¹⁷ or again, by bearing in mind the possibility of the stone bearing these names having found its way to Capri, even after the death of Tiberius; at any rate it is a far more tenable hypothesis, to place the date of the Laocoon under Claudius or Nero, than if we were to fix it at Rhodes two or more centuries earlier, in which case it would be a most curious freak of fortune, if, as Bergk supposes, three works of one and the same, otherwise unknown, artist, should have found their way, *independently*, into the palaces of three emperors, and that of all the three documentary evidence should have been preserved, which in the case of so many other monumental remains we so sorely miss. That the terms of the Rhodian inscription in memory of an Ἀθανόδωρος Ἀγησάνδρου καθ' ὁμοσίαν δὲ Διονυσίου,¹⁸ ought not as a general rule to be referred to the artist, is evident from the purport of the inscription itself; on the other hand, we are not to overlook, in the case of the pedestals, a

¹⁷ How the same names were often repeated in an artist's family, has been shewn by Ross in his *Abh. über das Monument des Eubulides*, Athens, 1837, (Comp. *Corpus Inscr.* i. p. 916,) and by Bergk, as regards the name of Polyctes, *Zeitschr. f. d. Alterth.* 1845, p. 788. The consequences of not attending to these homonyms, is shewn in the case of Maffei, who has placed the Laocoon at Ol. 88, because about that time an artist Athenodorus is found among the pupils of Polyctetas. See Winkelmann, vol. vi. 2, p. 206; vii. p. 188.

¹⁸ In Ross, *Rhein. Mus.* iv. p. 190. (Λίνδιον ἱερῶν) Ἀθανόδωρον

Ἀγησάνδρου, καθ' ὁμοσίαν δὲ Διονυσίου ἰσχυρὰ χροσὶν σφισάνη καὶ ἐκείνη χαλκίῃ· διδάσκοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναγόμενοι σῶντι τῶν τιμῶν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ σφισάνην ἐν ταῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ στίχων ἐν ἱεροδωμῶν καὶ σφισανόρεϊον ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσσιν καθ' ἑκάστην ἑορτήν αἱς ἀγῶσι Λίνδιον ὑπεβίβας ἱκανὰ τῶν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ ὑποσῶν καὶ φιλοδωρίας αἱς ἔχον διατελεῖν ἐν πλῆθος ἐν Λίνδιον καὶ εἰς τὸν σύμναστον δῆμον. But the merits here detailed are anything but artistic; much less can they warrant the conjecture that a work of Agesander and Athenodorus was placed as an offering in the temple of the Lindian Athene.

circumstance to which Lessing has already called attention, that the name Ἀθανόδωρος, Ῥόδιος, has ἐποίησε annexed to it, in lieu of which the Macedonian period, and even the artists of the latter days of the Republic, such as Stephanus,¹⁹ the pupil of Pasiteles, and Menelaus,²⁰ of Stephanus, use the imperfect ἐποίησιν;²¹ and if the Doric form of the names renders it at any rate probable that these pedestals were executed under the artist's own eye, the introduction of his native town after his name, which at home could not be necessary, seems to imply a sojourn in foreign lands.

But, secondly, we have yet to mention the grounds on which we are led to infer that our group manifestly owes its rise to the impressions which Virgil's masterly description of the same scene²² must doubtless have made, as on our minds, so also on those of his contemporaries and countrymen. Not entire indeed is the harmony which exists between our group and the narrative of the poet, as Lessing, and more recently Mollevant,²³ have already pointed out; in Virgil it is not till the snakes have entwined themselves round, and eaten into the bodies of the sons, that they fall in like manner upon the father, "*auxilio subeuntem et tela ferentem*;" twice do they encircle his body, twice his neck, their heads the while towering above his own:—

"Bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum,
Terga dati superant capite et cervicibus altis."

Besides, the Laocoon of Virgil is in full sacerdotal apparel, and gives vent to his agony in piercing shrieks:—

¹⁹ Marini, *Iscr. Albane*, p. 174.

²⁰ Sillig, *Catalog. Artij.* p. 479.

²¹ The well-known statement made by Pliny, *N.H.* Pref. § 27, that only three ancient works of art use the aorist instead of the more modest form of the imperfect, has long been refuted by a large number of monumental remains. Lessing's *Canon*, however, "that all artists who used *ισμους* flourished long after the time of Alexander the Great, just previous to or under the emperors" (*Laocoon*, p. 386), has only been so far modified by the more recent researches of Letronne and Raoul Rochette (in the *Memoirs* referred to in note 13), that

the imperfect does not certainly seem to have been in general use till the Macedonian period; while, as regards the Roman, Raoul Rochette, p. 109, has himself shewn, in reply to Letronne, that there are numerous instances of the aorist. Now, as no one would again think of placing the artists of the Laocoon still further back than the Macedonian period, we have here still further inducements for adopting the Roman.

²² *Æneid*, II. 201-277.

²³ Sur la statue de Laocoon, mise en parallèle avec le Laocoon de Virgile in *Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.*, 1843, xv. 1. p. 215-223.

"Clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit."

But as regards all these deviations, Lessing has already shewn in his immortal work, that from the æsthetical character of the plastic art, they were such as the sculptor could not avoid, whereas it would have been perfectly optional to the poet to adhere closely to the marble, if, at the time, he had been acquainted with the work, and had wished to convey in graphic terms the impression which it had made upon his mind. And so little does Lessing's French successor consider these deviations incompatible with the assumed relation between the two productions, that he has actually thrown out the conjecture that the group might have been executed at the instance of Augustus, as a memorial of his friend Virgil.

It is only on the hypothesis that the conceptions of the poet and the sculptor may possibly have been formed altogether independently of each other, or borrowed from one common and older source, that Lessing's reasoning can be said to present a weak side. And, accordingly, it is here that his opponents, at the head of whom we find Herder and Heyne,²⁴ are most vigorous in their assaults. For my own part, however great may be the acumen and learning with which Welcker, among others, has brought his arguments to bear upon the same quarter, I cannot go along with them to the same extent as has been done, for instance, by my friend Walz.²⁵ Admitting that the story of Laocoon is ancient, and that it has been borrowed by Virgil from Greek sources,²⁶ it does not appear to have made much way in its own country, or to have attracted particular attention either from the poet or the sculptor. In fact, as regards the latter, there is no trace of its having been represented by any artist previous to our group, or that this group was ever imitated in Greece at a subsequent period;²⁷

²⁴ Herder, *Crit. Wälder*. i. p. 8; Heyne, *ad Virg.* t. ii. p. 414, edit. Wagner: "Inanis erat disputatio omnis, utrum artifex poetam, an hic artificem ante oculos habuerit; restat enim tertium, quod verum est, habuisse utrumque diversos auctores quos sequeretur; fuisse quoque utriusque consilium plane diversum; alter enim hoc efficere voluit, ut miserationem moveret, alter autem, Maro noster, ut terrorem."

²⁵ *Zeitschr. f. d. Alterth.*, 1841, p. 1009.

²⁶ Comp. Heyne's *Exc. v.* on the *Aeneid*, t. ii. p. 410, ed. Wagner; Fuchs, *de caritate fabularum troicarum*. Col. 1830, p. 147.

²⁷ The remains and traces of antique treatment of the story of Laocoon in works of art, are enumerated by Jansen, i. l. p. 60; and Dubois in the *Revue Archeologique*, 1846, p. 430. The gems

and even supposing that more ancient representations did really exist, this does not prove what the whole question turns upon, namely, that the deviations which our group presents, when compared with Virgil, must be attributed to its having been wrought after some other model. The most we could do would be to urge that, in an extract given us by Proclus from the cyclic poet Arctinus, who, in his continuation of the Iliad, touched upon this episode, only one of the two sons shares his father's death,²⁸ and that it is from thence that the artists of the Laocoon, as well, make only the boy on the right a prey to the serpent's fang. But as the serpents were two in number, as all agree in recording, it would have been impossible for the sculptor, in his more palpable and simultaneous handling of the subject, to represent three individuals at once in the reptile's grasp.

And again, Welcker and Feuerbach, in supposing that our group was taken from the Laocoon of Sophocles,²⁹ would seem to have forgotten, that the tragedies of Sophocles far more rarely furnished subjects to subsequent artists, than those of Euripides or even of Æschylus. Besides, the remark which I made above respecting the fate of the Laocoon fable in Greece, seems to apply equally to this tragedy, namely, that it was not much known even among the ancients: all that we find of it, consists of three or four fragments, not one of which throws the least light upon the composition of the piece. And even supposing that the chapter in the *Mythologicon* of Hyginus, which treats on this subject, furnishes us with a sketch of the Sophoclean drama,³⁰ this sketch, as far as regards the catastrophe, which is all with which we are now concerned, differs

and bronzes are decidedly not genuine; the same may probably be said of the celebrated Arenberg head, on which see note 33. Other vague statements of Italian archaeologists have already been reduced by Heyne (*Ant. Aufs.* p. 39) to their proper worth: the only undoubted remains, then, are another head in the possession of the Marchese Litta in the Villa Lainata at Milan, (which Schorn, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1837, ix. p. 160, takes to be an antique copy of the head in the Vatican group,) and the colossal fragments in the Farnese

Collection at Naples, mentioned by Winkelmann, vi. 107, and described by Abeken, *Bullet. dell' Inst.*, 1837, p. 218; these, however, Welcker, in the third edition of Müller's *Handbuch der Arch.* p. 160, connects with Capaneus.

²⁸ Proclus, *Chrest.* Bekker ad Isetz, xi., τραπίντις δὲ εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἐωχούσται ὡς ἀπὸ λαλαγμάτων τοῦ παλίου. ἰς αὐτῇ δὲ δύο δράκοντες τὸν τι Λαοκῶντα καὶ τὸν ἱστῶν τῶν παίδων διαφθείρουσι.

²⁹ Welcker, *Griech. Trag.* p. 154; Feuerbach, *Vatic. Apoll.* p. 390.

³⁰ *Mythol.* c. 153.

as little from the description in Virgil, as Euphorion's narrative, given by Servius, which Heyne very properly looks upon as the pattern more immediately followed by Virgil. It is only the cause assigned, namely, some earlier "*piaculum quod commiserat ante simulacrum numinis cum Antiopâ uxore suâ coeundo*," (Euphorion), or his disobedience as a priest, "*Contra voluntatem Apollinis, quum uxorem duxisset atque liberos procreasset*," (Hyginus,) which we find omitted by the poet: in other respects the scene is precisely the same: "*Apollo occasione datâ a Tenedo, per fluctus maris misit dracones duos, qui filios ejus Antiphontem et Thymbraeum necarent, quibus Laocoon quum auxilium ferre vellet, ipsum quoque nexum necaverunt*." What feature is there here, with which our group is more in keeping than with the description given by Virgil? Or does the work really bear indications of having been framed on a different model from that given in the *Æneid*? Such, it must be confessed, is the opinion of Feuerbach, in whose acute observations on ancient art we read as follows:³¹ "If the Laocoon of Sophocles had come down to us, no one would ever have thought of instituting a comparison between the Vatican group and the description in Virgil. To whatever period the work may belong, it has nothing in common with the Roman Epic, while on the other hand it is in perfect unison with the palmiest days of Grecian Tragedy. Grand and terrible, but awakening pity as well as horror, and amid all the sternness of battling passions, keeping up the solemn and staid composure of rhythmic movement, while it soars immeasurably above the freezing pomp of the Roman character, this marble monument is the most faithful reflex of the Dramatic Humanity of Sophocles. Inevitable is the doom to which we see the unhappy priest a victim. Bravely does he put forth his might: but the death-wound is dealt him; and, like *Œdipus*, Laocoon seems to be ensnared all the deeper in the net of destruction, the more he struggles to shake off his toils. It is in the same spirit that, in the Greek tragedy, the wretched child of misfortune, fast-bound in misery, rivets himself by idle lamentations to a doom which has been long since beyond recall."

Ingenuously as all this is conceived and expressed, it must not be allowed to keep its ground before a sober examination

³¹ *Vatic. Apoll.* p. 390.

of the facts of the case. In all that has been quoted above, the author entirely confounds the artistic treatment of the subject with the external suggesting of the scene represented. It is the latter alone for which the artist is indebted to the poet; the former he must derive entirely from his own resources. The fact of an artist having borrowed his subject from a drama, does not warrant the conclusion that he must treat it in a dramatic spirit; and as little have we any right to infer *a priori* from the dramatic character of a work of art, that the artist adopted a drama as a model. Indeed, all that a really good sculptor can make out of an Epos, is that he dramatises as it were, and gives a *mimic* reality to, the action which the poem only narrates. And on the other hand, every one must allow, as a matter of course, that even supposing our group were really borrowed from a drama, the scene which it represents could there have only been introduced as a narrative, that is, in an Epic form, and consequently, that it would still have become the artist's province to impart to it that speaking vitality, which is so much its own. Feuerbach indeed is of opinion, that the artist has given, as it were, body and substance to the groans of the unhappy being, which issued forth from behind the stage; he goes so far as to assert, "it is no pent-up groan, as Winkelmann imagined, it is the loud and full-sounding cry of anguish, which was wont to ring in the ears of the Greek spectator from the lips of an agonized Philoctetes, of a raving Hercules, of a dying Agamemnon." This, however, has already been set aside by Welcker, in his work on the Greek tragedies; and even supposing that, as far as the statue is concerned, it were anatomically correct, the immediate result would only be a still closer analogy to Virgil, whereas the assumed agreement with Sophocles would be but a vague possibility. A far more subtle argument, however, has been gathered by Welcker himself in another work,³² from an expression of the head, which all the soundest judges agree in recognising. It was at one time supposed that no traces were to be seen of anything but physical pain, or at the furthest, of vindictive bitterness against the gods, like that of a second Prometheus; but of the latter, the head shews no token whatever, and as regards the former, the features are too noble, the feelings they indicate too in-

³² Acad. Kunstmuseum zu Bonn., p. 27.

ternally deep. Schorn³³ has ably observed, that in the well-known Aremberg head, physical pain is the only dominant feature, whereas in the work before us, Goethe did not fail to recognise the workings of *Soul*.³⁴ Among these again, as Winkelmann³⁵ and Visconti³⁶ have observed, the most prominent is that of exceeding sorrowfulness, which, by the softness of its expression, does but enhance the pity of the beholder: influenced by all these considerations, Welcker maintains, that the tragedy must have been the source from whence the work was taken, because in it Laocoon was represented as smitten with the consciousness of guilt, and thus, in his sufferings, is brought to recognise his guilt's reward. But what of this? Must we go as far back as Sophocles, in order to explain how this feeling comes to be portrayed in the face of our Laocoon? Cannot the same psychological inferences be drawn from the plain and simple statement of the Virgilian Epos? It is true that here Laocoon is conscious of no other charge than that he drove his spear against the wooden horse; but even assuming that this was consecrated to the gods, the act was assuredly an outrage, which would leave open to discussion the adequacy of the punishment inflicted, and the wish to know why he is called upon to make such bitter expiations, can be recognised on the lips of our Laocoon. As for the rest, those who think that Virgil's description suggested the work, have this plain alternative before them: either Laocoon is now persuaded that his former misgivings were unjust and sinful in the eye of heaven—in which case the sorrowfulness of his remorse is as well accounted for as it could possibly be, if the narrative of Hyginus were taken as a guide,—or on the other hand Laocoon adheres to his misgivings, and thus the punishment, with which he is notwithstanding visited by the gods, cannot but force on him the conviction that his city's doom is sealed; a conviction which would perfectly explain the resigned sadness of his countenance, without our having recourse to Sophocles.³⁷ In a word, it is to some

³³ *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1837, ix. 2, p. 159; Comp. Ulrichs, *Darmstädter Verh.* p. 57.

³⁴ Goethe's Works, vol. xxxviii. p. 30.

³⁵ Vol. vi. 1, p. 105.

³⁶ *Œuvres* II. p. 269, "Mais sur ce front sillonné, dans ces yeux comprimés

par le chagrin, on voit triompher, bien plus que les douleurs, la compassion que lui inspire la mort de ces fils sous ces yeux et la destruction prochaine de la patrie."

³⁷ It has indeed been inquired (*Darmst. Verh.* p. 56,) how we can explain, without recurrence to the accounts

epic narrative at any rate, that the Laocoon owes its creation; why this should not be the narrative given by Virgil, but rather one of older date, there is no conceivable reason for supposing; the scene which the artist has portrayed, bears no closer affinity to any known description in Greek authors, than it does to that of Virgil; and if any one should even contend that it is not the *Æneid* which has made the myth so known and so popular, we can only say, that before Virgil's time there is no token of its having enjoyed that degree of celebrity, which a work of art of such merit as the Laocoon would infallibly have conferred.

But, to come to the last division of our subject, I am firmly convinced, that a work, possessing all the beauties of the Laocoon, could have been wrought with as great, nay with greater perfection, at the time of the early emperors, than under the successors of Alexander. This conviction is grounded upon the view which I entertain of the successive development of ancient art; though I am quite aware that I am herein differing, not only from the notions generally prevalent on this point, but in particular, that I stand opposed to that one of my predecessors with whom, as regards the immediate subject now under discussion, I should be most inclined to agree. Thiersch, it is known,³⁸ contends, that in the long period reaching from Praxiteles to the end of the first century after Christ, no essential change, no rising or sinking, took place in the condition of art: with this view, opposed as it is to all the laws of things human, I cannot bring myself to agree. But far from adopting, in the opposite extreme, the common notion, that a gradual sinking went on from the culminating point of the Attic period down to the irruption of the barbarians, I look upon the commencement of the imperial government as ranking far higher than the period immediately preceding, which I maintain was infinitely less capable of producing a work, possessing all the extreme harmony

in Hyginus or Euphorion, why it is that the innocent children are involved in the dreadful doom. In reply, it may be sufficient to refer generally to the greater prominence assigned by the ancients to the entire sphere in which a man lived, than to the individual himself; and also to the manner in which the visitations of Heaven's wrath were ordinarily ex-

tended over the whole house. Comp. *Æschyl.* in *Plat. Rep.* II. p. 380, *οἱ δὲ μὲν αἰτίαν φέβει βροτοῖς, ὅταν κακῶσαι δῶκεν σαρπηδὸν θίγγῃ.* Besides, Virgil at any rate makes the children share the father's fate; and there is no reason why the idea may not have been taken from him.

³⁸ *Epochen.* p. 271.

and fineness of conception, which are to be observed in the Laocoon. The Macedonian period bears the same relation to its predecessor the Attic, as the silver age of Latin literature does to the golden: there is the same progress in technical details, the same increase of productiveness. But the undue preponderance assigned to these details often begets rash attempts, which easily overstep the bounds of what is really beautiful, while the productiveness attaches itself more to what is novel, than to that truth which contains within itself its own safeguards against running into extremes. And thus it comes to pass, that what appears to be progress, is in reality a step backwards, a departure from that true mean, which is but too easily lost sight of in the extreme of a straining after effect, and of eccentric mannerism. Even the direct imitation of nature, with which Lysippus seems to have imparted to this period a peculiar character, and given to its energies a new direction; even this might, under the circumstances, as I have elsewhere shewn at greater length,³⁹ only serve to degrade and deteriorate art. Anatomical and other similar details came to rivet all the attention of the artist, while, on the other hand, the wholesome counterpoise of a grand and comprehensive view of the whole was not to be found; and if, in spite of these obstacles, art, in obedience to her inherent vocation, endeavoured to soar above the vulgar representation of actual appearances, the only make-weight by which she could replace the now abandoned efforts after ideal beauty, was by adopting either colossal expansion or the illusions of the limner's art. As regards the increase in productiveness, there are points beyond which even extremes can no farther go; and thus it is, that those great models, which at one time were looked upon as behind the day, now began to vindicate their claims to undying worth. People returned to the old paths, as Quintilian to Cicero; and just as, in consequence of this return, the authors of Trajan's time,—a Tacitus, a Pliny, or a Juvenal,—far surpass a Seneca and other celebrities who flourished under Nero, so likewise as regards the connection between Roman and Hellenistic art; the former, in endeavouring to follow a way of its own, found itself compelled, as of necessity, to depart more and more from the true way of her predecessor. To originality, the Ro-

³⁹ *Ueber die Studien der griechischen Künstler*, p. 16.

mans could lay as little claim in art as in literature; but in its stead, they possessed that pure and cultivated taste,⁴⁰ which the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ had altogether lost in their intercourse with the East. In lieu of attempting to rival the great masters of antiquity, they were content to bow themselves before their matchless talent. And if, notwithstanding this, Rome, in her palmiest days, was not lacking in highly gifted spirits, who put their hand to independent and substantive creations, they must necessarily be considered as having been placed, at an earlier period, by the impulse given to the age, in that path which led those men of fore-time to their summit. My meaning will be more clearly seen by a comparison of another celebrated group, the Farnese Bull, (which notoriously owes its origin to the Macedonian period,) with the one we have here been discussing. Müller has placed them together on the same page of his *Denkmäler*; but how widely are the two separated as regards taste and measured composure, which the Farnese Bull as often offends, as the Laocoon obeys the very finest and most delicate of their laws! That the studied detail of the anatomy of the Laocoon does not correspond with the plastic simplicity of the Phidian period, I readily admit; but this can as little prevent our assigning the work to the time of the emperors, as in the case of the Torso of Hercules in the Belvidere, (the origin of which in Roman times seems well ascertained,⁴¹) which shares this excellence with the Laocoon,—or even if excellence it cannot be called if we take the genuine antique as our point of view, but rather the refinement of mannerism, still the contrast presented with the analogous extravagancies of the Macedonian period remains the same, as in literature, between the Panegyricus of Pliny and a piece of rhetoric of the Augustan dynasty. The refined and showy oratory of a contemporary of Trajan cannot, in spite of the most assiduous imitation, be put on a par with a speech of Cicero; but were we to set it down, as well as the Laocoon, as a show piece, implying by that designation that it was the growth of a later age, perpetually

⁴⁰ See the able though youthful work of H. Hettner, *Vorschule zur bildenden Kunst der Alten*, Oldenburg, 1848, p. 263, in which I am delighted to see the ideas which I have thrown out on this subject so admirably taken up and developed.

⁴¹ Winkelmann, vii. p. 202; Visconti, ii. p. 82; Thiersch, *Epochen*. p. 332; Hettner, p. 270. The reasons adduced by O. Jahn (*Arch. Aufs.* p. 164) in favour of its Pergamenic origin, do not counterbalance the palæographic argument in support of my opinion.

straining after effect,—still, in spite of all these drawbacks, it would be a more perfect, a more correct work, than extant remains warrant us in considering the speeches of a Porcius Latro, a Cestius,⁴² and a Seneca: and in the same way that it was posterior to these, so likewise would I claim for the Laocoon a date subsequent to the Rhodian school of the Macedonian period. At any rate, I, for my part, cannot bring myself to recognize in the harmony which fuses all the rich details of the Laocoon into one organic whole, in the rigorous method of the grouping, in the concentration with which all the parts converge to one combined effect, and lastly, in the moral grandeur and calm depth of feeling which it displays, contributing more towards its enchanting beauty than all the subtlety of muscle or of feature: I cannot, I say, bring myself to recognize in all this, the same school which produced the group of Dirce and her tormentors, bold indeed in invention, but in its conception repulsive, and in its treatment utterly disproportioned, and in every particular open to animadversion to a greater or less degree.⁴² And yet the executors of both these groups were Rhodian sculptors, and those of the Bull, we may gather from Pliny,⁴³ were men of as great eminence as those of the Laocoon; so that if there is to be found between them, notwithstanding, that strong contrast which, in my opinion, cannot escape the eye of any unbiassed observer, how is this to be accounted for, unless by attributing it to the different character and tastes of the times to which they respectively owe their origin? Now, as to which of the two is the older work, we may, I think, form a conclusion from Pliny's own words: the bull is brought to Rome, *Rhodo advecta opera Apollonii et Taurisci*, and is therefore a work of some antiquity, with which Augustus' friend,

⁴² This is no novel view: Caylus, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* xxv. 325, had already called attention to the defects of the work; Lalande (*Voy.* iv. 164) uses still stronger terms: "Ce groupe a de la réputation; cependant la composition en est très mauvaise, les figures ne groupent pas; il y a peu de chose à louer dans l'attitude des deux hommes, et l'exécution du détail ne vaut rien." And when Winkelmann, vi. 108; Heyne, *Antiq. Aufg.* ii. p. 108; and Müller, *Annali dell' Inst. Archeol.*

xi. p. 287, endeavour to justify the antique part of the work, by an enumeration of the restorations, as numerous as they are unsuccessful, which have been attempted, it is not easy to understand how, from such a nucleus, anything better could have been made.

⁴³ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 5, § 34; "Parentum il certamen de se fecere, Menececratem videri professi, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum;" probably *καὶ ἰσχυρίαι Μενεκέκρου*, as above in note 18.

Asinius Pollio, in the absence of contemporary artists, adorned his buildings. The Laocoon, in respect to which Pliny says nothing as to its having come from abroad, nothing as to the source from whence he must, under that supposition, have gathered his accurate acquaintance with the history of its origin,⁴⁴ is indeed the work of Rhodian sculptors, and possesses the technical details of that school, but was executed in Rome itself under the influences of all those works of the golden days of art, which the cultivated taste of the Romans had collected together, and which could not fail to infuse even into the late productions of imperial art the hallowing spirit of that *σωφοσύνη*, which we, down to this our day, reverence as the really plastic element in the works of the antique. Had we no motives but these for giving to the Laocoon the date here assigned, I admit that I should be reasoning in a circle, were I first to infer its age from the character of the art of the Roman period, and then proceed to bring forward the work itself as one of the best illustrations of that character; but I think that, when coupled with the considerations which have already been adduced, this mode of viewing the case does but assist us in arriving at some conclusion, and amply justifies us in placing our group among such masterpieces as the Vatican Apollo and the Dioscuri on the Monte Cavallo, which modern criticism, with undiminished admiration of their artistic worth, has found itself compelled to assign to the same period.⁴⁵

K. F. HERMANN.

⁴⁴ Feuerbach, *Kunstblatt*, 1846, p. 230; Hettner, p. 277.

⁴⁵ Comp. Janssen, l. l. p. 71, and especially Gerhard's excellent remarks on

the state of art under the Roman Emperors, in his *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, i. p. 291.

XXIX.

RITSCHL'S PLAUTUS.

T. MACCI PLAUTI COMŒDIE. Ex recens. et cum apparatu critico Fr. Ritschelii. Tom. I. Trinummum, Militem Gloriosum, Bacchides, Mostellariam, Stichum complectens; Fasc. I. Trinummus. 8vo. Bonn and London, 1848.

WE hail with delight the appearance of the first part of a work, which has been long wanted among scholars, viz. a good and sterling edition of Plautus, in which should be combined, a critical recension of the text, with a proper attention to the metres. This, we believe we may say we have at last obtained, through the industry and perseverance of Professor Ritschl, though, if we have to wait for the other parts as long as we have waited for this, we are still a long way off having an entire edition of Plautus, based on the above views; for we believe that the present work was spoken of as being in preparation by Godfrey Hermann some years ago, in the preface or dedication, (for such it was,) to his edition of the *Bacchides*. We must hope, however, that the publication and rapid sale, among men of learning, of the first part, may spur on the Bonn Professor to send forth the remainder with greater expedition.

Of all the celebrated authors of antiquity, none stands out more pre-eminently in his particular style than Plautus does in Comedy. One reason for this is, without doubt, that of all the Roman comic writers, the works of two only have escaped the ravages and inroads of time. Livius, Nævius, Ennius, Trabea, Atilius, Afranius, Cæcilius, all, all have for ever perished to posterity, and have only left behind them a few fragments of their works, scattered for the most part among the voluminous treatises of grammarians, and which are just sufficient to create a longing and craving to have a better acquaintance with them, without in any way tending to console us for their loss. Two only of the great number of Roman comedians remain to us from the general wreck, and these are Plautus and Terence.

We are indebted to Livy¹ for a history of the earliest stages of

¹ vii. 2.

the Roman drama. From him we learn, that in the years 391 and 392 A. U. C. a pestilence desolated the country, and that, to appease the wrath of the gods, theatrical amusements were introduced. But the beginning was small and insignificant, and made by foreigners, for the *ludiones*, as they were called, were fetched from Etruria for the purpose, and their performances went no further than the exhibition of Tuscan dances, without any singing, and unattended by any attempt at acting, but which were pleasing and graceful. Müller² inclines to the belief that this dance was quick and violent; and Dr. Streuber adopts the conjecture, that the Tuscan *ludiones* only omitted the dialogue because it would be unintelligible in Rome, "especially as, in the further development of these scenic games by Roman youths, words were actually added."³ For we are told that the youth of Rome were induced to give imitations of these performances, in which they introduced jocose dialogue, with suitable mimetic gestures to increase the effect."⁴ These verses were called *Fescennini versus*, a term which has been explained in various ways. The origin of these verses was, without doubt, in the harvest and vintage festivals, when, in a similar manner to their Grecian neighbours, the Roman villagers celebrated the praises of their tutelary deities, and offered up their thanksgivings for the abundant crops vouchsafed to them.⁵ As to the derivation of the word *Fescennine*, Dr. Streuber⁶ inclines to connect it with *fascinum*, but he admits that the derivation of *Atellanæ* from the town of Atella in Etruria, is in favour of the views of the old grammarians, who derive *Fescennine* from the town Fescennia or Fescennium, also in Etruria; and to this last derivation Mr. Dennis, in his interesting work on the *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, leans.⁷

The next step in the development of Roman comedy, viz. that of shaping the dialogue beforehand, and from improvisatory verses spoken on the moment, instituting a set dialogue to be learnt by the performer, was easy and natural, and consequently was soon made. At the same time, a stricter form of musical measure was added, and the performance was then entitled a

² *Etruscans*, ii. p. 214.

³ "Welcker, *Die Griechisch-Römische Tragödie*, p. 1341, not. 16. Comp. p. 1329, sqq."

⁴ *Classical Museum*, Vol. VII. No. 24, pp. 148-9.

⁵ See Horace, *Ep.* ii. 1. 139, seqq.

⁶ *Class. Mus.*, *ibid.*, p. 149.

⁷ Vol. i. pp. 151, 152, and notes 7, 8.

Satura, a name concerning the derivation of which there has been more controversy than about that of *Fescennine*.⁸ These *saturæ* were acted by men trained to the business, called *histriones*, because *hister* in the Etruscan tongue was equivalent to *ludio* in Latin.⁹

Still, for the completion of the improvements, there was wanting the crowning step, viz. the introduction of a regular plot, in which the interest should be concentrated, and which should by its nature engage the sympathies and rivet the attention of the hearer. This step was taken by Livius Andronicus, and was brought about in the following manner:—Livius, who in accordance with the usages of the time, was at once his own poet and performer, found that, when re-called to repeat any *morceau*, in his performance, he not unfrequently exhausted his voice (*vocem obtudisset*); to obviate which, he sought and gained permission to place a boy near the flute-player, who should relieve him of the singing part of the performance, and so allow him to devote himself entirely to the acting; and this led to the exclusion of the *histriones* from all share in the performance, with the exception of the dialogue, (*diverbia*).¹⁰ His next step was to introduce a plot, in imitation of the Greek dramas of the new comedy; the old it was impossible to remove from the scene of its nativity, in consequence of the manners and customs satirised being local, and the institutions and incidents on which it was founded being essentially Greek. The class entitled the Middle Comedy was similarly incapable of removal from Greece, though from different causes. This step in Livius' improvements was taken in the year 512 or 514 A. U. C., about 160 years after the deaths of Sophocles and Euripides, and 52 after that of Menander.

The drama, as now instituted by Livius Andronicus, was so rapidly improved upon and enlarged by succeeding writers, such as Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, Cæcilius, Terence, that the originator of the improvements was almost overlooked in the crowd of authors who followed in his track; and Horace, though a warm admirer of Nævius, bestows only a lukewarm praise on poor Livius;¹¹ and even in Cicero's age, he was esteemed rather obsolete, and his dramas as not worthy of being re-read.¹²

⁸ See Streuber, *ut sup.* p. 150; and Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* art. *Satura*.

⁹ Livy, vii. 2; Val. Max. ii. 4. 4.

¹⁰ Livy, *ut supra*.

¹¹ *Epist.* 2, l. 53, 4; and 69, sqq.

¹² Cic. *Brut.* c. 18, 71.

Of the talents of all these authors, however, posterity is denied the power of judging, in consequence of only scraps being preserved from their works, with the exception of Plautus and Terence; of whom we still possess whole comedies.

M. Accius Plautus, or as Ritschl has shown it to be, T. Maccius Plautus,¹³ was born at Sarsina, an ancient town of Umbria, and began to flourish as a comic writer, just before the outbreak of the second Punic war, about the year 224 B. C. He died about the year 185 B. C. as nearly as can be 80 years before the birth of Cicero. He is supposed by some to have left us a description of his person, in a passage of the *Pseudulus*, iv. 7, 120, seqq, where Pseudulus is described as—

Rífus quidam, véntriosus, crássis suris, súbigner,
Máгно capite, acútis oculis, óre rubicundo, ádmodum
Magnis pedibus;

¹³ In old times the name used to be M. Accius Plautus, as we find it written in all the old editions, and even in Lindemann's edition of the *Amphitruo* (1834); but in his second edition of the three plays, the *Captivi*, *Miles*, and *Trinummus*, (1844,) he writes it T. Maccius Plautus, as does also Ritschl in the work at the head of this article. We believe the latter name is correct; but there is a passage in the *Mercator*, which gives rise to difficulty, whichever name we take: it is *Prolog.* 10,—

Eadém Latine Mércator Marci 'Accii.

Now it is contrary to a fundamental law of the Latin language, that the genitive singular of a substantive or proper name of the second declension should not contract the *ii* into *i*. (See Key's *Latin Grammar*, § 112, p. 13.) Hence it follows that *Accii* cannot stand, and if we correct it into *Acci*, the Iambic line is spoiled. Lindemann, in p. xiv. of the second of the works we have mentioned above, after Ritschl (*Parerg. Plaut. Terent.* vol. i. p. 21), corrects the line thus:—

Eadém Latine Mércator Maeci Titi.

This certainly obeys the law we have spoken of above; but did the Romans ever write the gentile name first? Might Cicero ever write himself Tullius

Marcus instead of M. Tullius? We think not. Ritschl, p. 15, quotes two examples in justification of it; Ennius, ap. Cic. *Brut.* c. 15,—

Ore Cethegus Marci, Tuditano collega,
and Pacuvius, ap. Gell. i. 24,—

Hic súnť poetæ Pácvii Marci síťa
Ossa.

The first of these quotations is not so much to our purpose, because Ennius is not speaking of himself; in the second, there is no reason, as far as regards the metre, why we should not read it with the transposition of the words *Marci Pacuvi*.—Still there is not the slightest doubt that T. Maccius is the true name, and some deeper corruption seems to lie in the line from the *Mercator*. Still granting that *Maccius* is to take the place of *Accius*, there is another passage in Plautus to be corrected before we can substitute *Titus* for *Marcus*; it is *Asin. Prolog.* 11, which we may correct by a comparison of *Casin. Prolog.* 34; *Trinum. Prolog.* 8, 19; *Truculent. Prolog.* 1, thus:—

Demóphilus scripsit, *Plautus* vortit bárbare.

Ritschl, p. 23, corrects it,—

Demóphilus scripsit, Mácciu' vortit bárbare,
which similarly avoids the difficulty, and approaches nearer to the old reading.

but this is rather a doubtful point, and may have been suggested by an expression in Festus, where we are told that T. Maccius was his original name, the surname of Plautus, being given him from the fact of his having splay feet; Festus adding, that in Umbria all persons with splay or flat feet were called Ploti. Aulus Gellius¹⁴ has preserved to us his epitaph, written by himself, which we quote here for two reasons; first, because it is curious, as being the only specimen we have of his hexameter verse; and secondly, because, when quoted, the metre is generally spoiled by the absurd arrangement of the lines. It should be read as follows;

Postquam morte datust Plautus, comœdia luget
Scena deserta. Dein risus, ludu' jocusque
Et numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrumarunt.

The first line of this epitaph has given rise to innumerable literary disputes. Ritschl¹⁵ quotes it,

Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, comœdia luget,

which is exceedingly stiff and unnatural. The reading of the old editions used to be,

Postquam morte captust Plautus, comœdia luget,

which is no metre; and it is to a correction of Carrio's that we are indebted for the line as we have quoted it above, a reading which Prof. Key has shown to be correct, by adducing parallel examples.¹⁶

Aulus Gellius has one chapter on Plautus, which gives us a great deal of information.¹⁷ In it he tells us that about 130 comedies went under the name of Plautus, out of which number the grammarian L. Ælius considered 25 as genuine; that Varro, who wrote a work on the comedies of Plautus, set aside 21, which were thenceforward known as the *Fabule Varronianæ*, of the genuineness of which there could be no doubt; but that besides these, he considered others as the productions of Plautus, which were ascribed even to other authors, but which in style, (*filo atque facietia sermonis Plauto congruentis*) seemed to him

¹⁴ i. 24.

¹⁵ *Parerg.* vol. i. p. 41.

¹⁶ *Lat. Gramm.* § 1019, p. 197, in the

note on which section, read "Gell. i. 24," for "Gell. iv. 24."

¹⁷ Lib. iii. c. 3.

to point out Plautus as indubitably their author. Of this latter class, Gellius instances the *Bæotia*, which was attributed to Aquilius. Ritschl then very ingeniously asks;¹⁸—"Liegt zwischen *consensu omnium*, (*Plauti esse censebantur*) und *nullius* oder *prope nullius testimonio*, (denn darauf kommt ja das *iam nominibus aliorum occupatas* hinaus,) nichts in der Mitte?" This is a question which a little thought will teach us to answer almost decidedly in the affirmative. This being settled, then, Ritschl supposes that Varro separated the comedies of Plautus into three divisions; "die von Varro aus einer Masse von 130 als muthmasslich acht Plautinisch ausgeschiedenen Stücke zerfallen in verschiedene Klassen, welche sich nach dem Grade von Gewissheit oder Wahrscheinlichkeit, den das eingeschlagene Verfahren gewährte, dreifach abstufen." The first class contained the plays ascribed to Plautus in every authority, viz. the *Amphitruo*—*Vidularia*, this being the last of the *Fabulae Varronianæ*, its name appearing in the *Cod. Vet. Camerarii*, and a few lines remaining in the Milan Palimpsest; the second class contained those which, ascribed to Plautus in some of the authorities, seemed to possess internal evidence of being genuine; the third was made up of the small number of plays, which, ascribed absolutely to other authors, seemed to possess intrinsic evidence of being genuine productions of Plautus. In this latter class came the *Bæotia*, as Gellius tells us.

Ritschl however does not stop here. Servius, in the Introduction to his Commentary on the *Æneid*, makes the remark, "Nam Plautum alii dicunt viginti et unam fabulas scripsisse, alii XL, alii C." The number 21 agrees with what Gellius says, and the 100 is merely a rough guess at the same number, which he makes out to be 130. Then the question arises, who is meant by the alii XL? "Worauf aber sollen wir die Zahl 40 beziehen?" Ritschl conjectures most ingeniously that it refers to Varro himself, and was the sum total of all the plays set aside by that great critic as Plautus'. The titles of 21 of these we know, viz. the *Amphitruo*—*Vidularia*; there remain 19 to make up the 40; and with great learning and research Ritschl has thus made them out;—

¹⁸ In his most ingenious and excellent essay on "Die *Fabulae Varronianæ* des Plautus," *Parerg.* vol. i. pp. 71-245. In point of critical acumen

and extensive literary acquirements, we have rarely, if ever, seen this essay surpassed, and we cordially recommend its perusal to our readers.

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| XXII. Satorio. | XXXII. Condaliū. |
| XXIII. Addictus. | XXXIII. Gemini lenones. |
| XXIV. Bœotia. | XXXIV. Fœneratrix. |
| XXV. Nervolaria. | XXXV. Frivolaria. |
| XXVI. Fretum. | XXXVI. Sitellitergus. |
| XXVII. Trigemini. | XXXVII. Fugitivi. |
| XXVIII. Astraba. | XXXVIII. Cacistio. |
| XXIX. Parasitus piger. | XXXIX. Hortulus. |
| XXX. Parasitus medicus. | XL. Artemo. |
| XXXI. Conmorientes. | |

Besides these the following plays are attributed to Plautus by the grammarians :

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| I. Colax. | VIII. Phagon (?) |
| II. Carbonaria. | IX. Cornicula or Cornicularia. |
| III. Acharistio. | X. Calceolus. |
| IV. Bis compressa. | XI. Baccaria. |
| V. Anus. | XII. Lipargus (?) |
| VI. Agræcus. | XIII. Cæcus aut Prædones. |
| VII. Dyseolus. | |

What then with 21 comedies of the first class, 19 of the second and third, and 13 ascribed to Plautus, we have a sum total of 53 comedies. Therefore 77 plays, according to Gellius' account, or 47 according to that of Servius, of the class entitled the '*comœdia palliata*' are lost, even to their very names.

Plautus, like the rest of the Latin comic writers, gave little play to his own ingenuity and originality of conception, as far as the rough outlines of his plots went, but copied and translated from the Greek authors of the new comedy. It may be advantageous for this reason, as we proceed to couple Plautus and Terence together; not that there is much resemblance between them, but because they each wrote comedies of the class styled *Palliata*. The ground-work remains the same in both; each copied from the Greek writers, and each adopted his characters from the Greek drama. It will be well, first, to examine the characters of the new comedy, as seen in Plautus and Terence; and these characters consisted of "*currens servos, bona matrona, meretrix mala, parasitus edax, glo-*

riosus miles,"¹⁹ while the usual incidents were, the love of the young man for some young woman, whom he could not marry, because she was not a free-born citizen, and her final recognition as the daughter of an Athenian citizen, and marriage with her admirer. To the characters mentioned above after Terence, we must add, however, the "paterfamilias;" the "erus minor," his son: the "leno," the proprietor of the young man's mistress, or in place of him, the sordid mother of the girl.

The "currens servus" and his young master we put together, because they "hunt in couples;" one always plays into the other's hands; perhaps we should rather say, generally does so, for in the *Bacchides* and *Epidicus* of Plautus, the young men render the ingenious devices of their slaves of no avail, in one instance by reason of sudden pique, in the other by fickleness in his affections. The son is always head over ears in love with a girl, whom he cannot marry because she is not a citizen of Athens; and to put her in such a position that he *can* marry her, he always has recourse to the slave for help; now to wheedle his father out of money to free her from her proprietor,²⁰ now to provide some further accomplice in a deep-laid scheme.²¹ In fact the slave is the factotum of the piece, and the words of Figaro in the *Barbiere di Siviglia* may be put into his mouth, and will suit him not amiss:—"Tutti mi chiedono, tutti mi vogliono, donne, ragazzi, vecchie, fanciulle; quà la parrucca, presto la barba, quà la sanguigna, presto il biglietto. 'Figaro! Figaro! Figaro!' aimè che furia! aimè che folla! una alla volta per carità. 'Figaro,' son quà. 'Figaro,' son là. Figaro quà, Figaro là, Figaro giù, Figaro sù; presto prestissimo son come un fulmine, sono il factotum della città."

To make these words apply more exactly, we must remember that Figaro was a surgeon barber, and hence arise his references to his *mestiere* or business. The slave has his object in assisting his young master in all his lawless proceedings, because he

¹⁹ Terence, *Eunuch. Prolog.* 35-41,—

Quod si personis sedem huic uti non licet:
Qui magis licet currentem servum scribere,
Bonas matronas facere, meretricis malas,
Parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem,
Puerum supponi, falli per servum senem,
Amare, odiasse, suspicari? denique
Nullumst iam dictum, quod non dictum sit
prius.

Compare also Ovid, *Amor.* i. 15; 17, 18:—

Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lena
Vivent, dum meretrix blanda, Menandros erit.

²⁰ Compare Terence, *Phorm.* 4, 4, 1;
Horace, *Art. Poet.* 238.

²¹ As Geta has to provide the parasite to make a false affidavit, in Terence's *Phormio*.

knows well, that though now only his "erus minor" as he calls him, he will at the death of his father become his "erus major;" hence it is nothing but a piece of policy to assist him in his minority, in order to curry favour with him on the attainment of his majority; and to such an extent had the custom of the young men receiving assistance from their slaves grown, and so great was the confidence reposed in their talents and ingenuity, that we find the poor slaves threatened with most severe punishments in case of failure,²² which however are rarely inflicted if the dramatist can avoid it, and which are made light of by the principal sufferers. When the slave has attained his object he is extravagantly elated, and, vice versa, when his trickeries are exposed, he is prostrated for the moment by fear, which passing off, he generally contrives to put a plausible appearance on his doings, and so get off for a time. The young lovers themselves are quite different beings, in Plautus and Terence. In the latter they are libertines, but still are warmly attached to their parents; in the former they are what we call "mauvais sujets," who run into extravagance and folly with their eyes open. In the *Trinummus*, however, Lysitiles is a young man of sterling worth, and more in the line of Terence.

The "erus major" or "paterfamilias" is sometimes very stern, sometimes overindulgent towards his son; sometimes he is of a mean and avaricious turn, and the character of Chremes in the *Θησαυρός* of Menander was such an exemplification of this, as to pass into a proverb;²³ one of Terence's characters describes the stern fathers thus:—

Quam iniqui sunt patrés in omnis ádulescentis júdices!
 Qui æquom ésse censent, nós jam a pueris flico nascí senes;
 Neque illárum adfines ésse rerum quas fert adulescéntia,
 Ex suá lubidiné moderantur, núnc quæ eat, non quæ olím fuit.²⁴

In Plautus, however, we sometimes find him entering into his son's rascalities, as in the *Asinaria* and *Casina*.

The "bona matrona," or mother of the family, is not an important rôle; she is jealous, haughty, overbearing, or cringing in different plays, ready enough to defend herself if she considers herself insulted by her husband, and generally prides herself on the accession of property she brought to her husband's store on

²² See Plaut. *Asinar.* 3, 2, 1-11.

²³ See Horace, *Epod.* 1. 33.

²⁴ *Haut. Tim.* 1. 3, 1, sqq.

her marriage; moreover, she now sides with her husband, now with her son.

The "meretrix mala" or mistress of the young man, is generally a cunning, thrifty, and sneakish person, who is quite ready to gain any good from her admirer, and then turn him over for any one who she thinks will do more for her. As every rule has its exceptions, so here, these young women are sometimes cast in a better mould; they have their good qualities, and are really virtuous, amiable, well-educated, and sincerely attached to their lovers; and it not unfrequently happens that they are discovered to be daughters of Athenian citizens, who were lost, stolen, or exposed when infants. When this is the denouement, all obstacles to their marriage vanish at once. The difference between the two classes is well described by Terence:—

Nam híc Clinia, etsi is quóque suarum rerum sat agitát, tamen
Habét bene et pudíce eductam, ignáram artis meretrícis;
Meást potens, procáx, magnífica, sumpuosa, nobilis.²⁵

And again he describes the domestic habits of the less refined class thus:—

Quae dúm foris sunt, níl videtur mún dius,
Nec mágis compositum quicquam, nec magis élegans;
[Quæ cum amatore suo quom cenant, ligurriunt.]
Harúm videre inlúviem, sordes, inopiam;
Quam inhonéstæ solæ sint domi atque avidæ cibi;
Quo pácto ex jure hestérno panem atrúm vorent:
Nosse ómnia hæc salútist adulescéntulis.²⁶

And Plautus, in a fragment of his *Nervolaria*, calls them,

Scrattaé, scrupipedæ, strittivillæ, sórdidæ.²⁷

The proprietor of these young women, for they were nearly always well educated and accomplished slaves, is generally made to pay for his stinginess and avarice by becoming the butt for every one's humour, even when he does not deserve it. Thus, when we hear the doings of Æschinus, as detailed by poor Sannio, in the *Adelphi* of Terence, we feel inclined to pity him even though he is a disreputable character.²⁸ He says: (2. 1. 42-47);

²⁵ *Haut. Tim.* 1. 3, 13-15.

²⁶ *Eunuch.* 5, 4, 12-18.

²⁷ *Apud Aul. Gell.* III. 3. On this verse, which is quoted by Gellius from the *Nervolaria*, by Nonius from the *Atulularia*, and by Varro, apparently,

from the *Cistellaria*, Ritschl has an excursus, *Parerg.* vol. I. pp. 174, sqq.

²⁸ He confesses of himself in the same scene,—

Lenó sum, fateor, pérniciés commúnis adulescéntium

Perjúrus pestis.

Pró supreme Júppiter!

Mínime miror, qui insanire oecipiunt ex injúria.

Dómo me eripuit, vérberavit; mé invito abduxít meam:

Hómini misero plús quingentos cólaphos infregít mihi.

'Ob malifacta hæc tántidem emptam póstulat sibi trádier.

He, however, has a great deal of cunning, ingenuity, and knavery; and though always made to pay substantially for every one's humour, he ever keeps his eye on the main chance: and Ballio, in the *Pseudulus* of Plautus, sums up every thing when he says: (1. 3. 31-33);

Réspicio istoc prétió; nam si sácrificem summó Jovi,

'Atque in manubús éxta teneam, ut pórriciam, intereá loci

Sí lucrí quid détúr, potíus rém divinam déseram.

With this class of people must be ranked the sordid, mean, avaricious, and frequently sottish old mother of the girl, who rates her daughter if she chance to have any feelings of honour, and bids her angle for the greatest and richest simpleton she can bait.

Of the "gloriosus miles," or braggart soldier, a character which frequently occurred in the Greek New Comedy, we have only two examples in Latin Comedy, Pyrgopolinices in the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, and Thraso in the *Eunuchus* of Terence; to these we may perhaps add three others, Therapontigonus in the *Curculio* of Plautus; Anthemonides in the *Penulus*; ²⁹ and the soldier in the *Epidicus*. He is a vain, empty-headed man, who is always boasting of himself, of his friendship with kings and people of rank, of his success in ingratiating himself with the fair sex, of his great deeds: with all this he is an inordinate liar, and at heart an arrant coward and blusterer, professing to do everything and doing nothing; a stupid fellow, who is laughed at and joked by everybody, and who is humoured, if at all, solely for his money, for he is generally opulent and in prosperous circumstances, in this particular essentially differing from his modern representatives, Captain Bobadil, and his numerous race.

There yet remains one character, that of the "parasitus edax," or hungry parasite, who is second in importance only to the rascally slave. This personage, as his name implies, is a needy friend, who will do any thing to gain a supper: consequently he

²⁹ See Act II. vv. 24-27.

humours all parties in turn; now the father, as in the *Captivi* of Plautus; now the mother, as in the *Asinaria* of the same author; now the son, as in the *Phormio* of Terence: to gain his supper, he is ready to do any little service that may be required, to flatter a vain man's absurdities, as does Artotrogus those of the braggart soldier, Pyrgopolinices, in the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus; or to bestow praises on a son to his father's face, as does Ergasilus in the *Captivi*. In the pursuit of all these multifarious methods of eating his way, he has to undergo many hard knocks, both figuratively and physically, and, as one of the most indefatigable of the tribe remarks:

Et hīc quidem, hercle, nīsi qui colaphos pēpeti
Potīs parasitus, frāngique aulas īn caput,
Vel ētra portam trīgeminam ad saccum sīlicet.³⁰

In fact, to such an extent are these hard knocks carried, that Curculio, in the play bearing his name,³¹ and Peniculus, in the *Menæchmi*,³² are represented as having only one eye each, the inference being that the other has been lost in the pursuit of their vocations.

Both Plautus and Terence have left us soliloquies of parasites, in which they explain their arts and manner of getting on in the world, the former in the *Captivi*,³³ the *Menæchmi*,³⁴ and the *Stichus*;³⁵ the latter in the *Eunuchus*.³⁶ but besides these there exists a fragment of Eupolis,³⁷ in which the chorus of parasites (or flatterers, as they were called in those days,) touch upon the same subject, and which, as being more unattainable and rare, we venture to quote here:

Ἄλλὰ διαταὶν ἦν ἔχουσ' οἱ κύλακες πρὸς ὑμᾶς
λέξομεν· ἀλλ' ἀκούσαθ' ὥς ἐσμὲν ἅπαντα κομψοί
ἄνδρες· ὅττοις πρῶτα μὲν παῖς ἀκόλουθός ἐστιν
ἀλλότριος τὰ πολλὰ, μικρὸν δὲ τι κᾶμὸς αὐτοῦ.
5. ἱματίῳ δὲ μοι δού' ἐστὼν χαρίεντε τούτῳ,
ὅν μεταλαμβάνουν ἀεὶ θάτερον ἐξελαύνου
εἰς ἀγοράν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπειδὴν κατῴω τιν' ἄνδρα
ἡλίθιον, πλουτοῦντα δ', εὐθὺς περὶ τοῦτον εἰμί.
κἂν τι τύχῃ λέγων ὁ πλούταξ, πάνυ τοῦτ' ἐπαίνω,

³⁰ Plaut. *Capt.* i. 1, 20-22.

³¹ See Act III. vv. 22, sqq.

³² See Act I. sc. 2, vv. 46, 47.

³³ Act I. sc. 1.; III. sc. 1.

³⁴ Act I. sc. 1.

³⁵ Act I. sc. 3.

³⁶ Act II. sc. 2.

³⁷ Κίλ. 1.; Meineke's *Comicorum Græcorum Fragmenta*, vol. II. pp. 484, 485; see *Comici ap. Athen.* vi. p. 236-239.

10. καὶ καταπλήττομαι θαυῶν τοῖσι λόγοις χαίρειν.
εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐρχόμεσθ' ἄλλουδ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν
μᾶζαν ἐπ' ἀλλόφυλον, οὗ δεὶ χαρίεντα πολλὰ
τὸν κόλακ' εὐθέως λέγειν, ἣ φέρεται θύραζε.
οἶδα δ' Ἀκέστορ' αὐτὸ τὸν σιγματίαν παθόντα ·
15. σκῶμμα γὰρ εἶπ' ἀσελγές, εἴτ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς θύραζε
ἐξαγαγὼν ἔχοντα κλαῖον παρέδωκεν Οἰνεῖ.

The following fragment, also, from the *Bœotia* of Plautus, is the soliloquy of a parasite, though not quite of the same sort as this :

Ut illūm dī perdant, primus qui horas répperit,
Quique ádeo primus státuit hic solárium,
Qui mī conminuit mísero articulátūm diem ;
Nam mé puero uterus híc erat solárium

5. Multo ómnium istorum óptimum et veríssimum ;
Ubi iste monebat, ésse, nisi quom níhil erat ;
Nunc étiam quod est, non éstur, nisi Solí lubet.
Itaque ádeo oppletum est óppidum soláriis
Ut májor pars populi áridi reptént fame.³⁸

The parasite's sole object being the attainment of his dinner gratis, he is very learned in the culinary art, for when he gets a dinner, he naturally enough prefers a good one at the same time. Hence we find him, in Plautus, exercising his talents to the utmost on his patron's kitchen, and going through a list of viands in a manner that is quite delightful, he seems so completely at his ease, and in his own department. In the *Captivi* we have Ergasilus revelling in the idea of the mischief he is about to commit on the whole of the contents of the larder, which he names singly ; and in the next scene we have one of

³⁸ This is quoted by Aulus Gellius, III. 3, who says, " qui (versus) quoniam sunt, ut de illius more dicam, Plautinissimi, propterea et meminimus eos et adscripsimus." In the text we have made several corrections, as follows : in v. 4, we have inserted *hic* ; in v. 7, we have adopted Gronovius' conjecture *estur* in place of *est*, which spoils the metre ; in v. 8, we have omitted *jam* after *itaque*, and have corrected the old reading,

Major pars populi aridi reptant fame,
which is not very good metre, and which does not hang together well with the

rest of the sentence, as above, by the introduction of *ut* at the commencement of the line, and the alteration of *reptant* into *repent*. The *ut* might easily have got omitted from its resemblance to the two first letters of *itaque* in the preceding line, and then of course, there being no reason why the verb should be in the subjunctive mood, it was changed into the indicative, as we find it. These corrections were made before we had seen those of Ritschl, *Parery*, vol. i. pp. 83, 84.

Hegio's servants complaining of his mad actions in the kitchen, and of his intimidating manner to the cook and other servants.³⁹ Terence, in his *Adelphi*,⁴⁰ does not display so much knowledge of the kitchen; but there the speaker is a slave, who had no particular interest in the directions he is giving, and not a parasite, who is to partake of the feast he is ordering, as in Plautus.

We have now gone through the various characters, who make their appearance more or less in every one of the dramas of Plautus and Terence, and must therefore turn for a moment to examine the state of society in Athens, which could create and give meaning to several of these characters; we say Athens, because, as we remarked above, the characters are all transplanted from Athens to Rome; and though adapted by the poets, and especially by Plautus, to actions and places, manners and customs, thoroughly Roman, as we see by sundry allusions in the various plays, such as the mention of the Porta Trigemina at Rome in the passage we quoted from the *Captivi* of Plautus in p. 357, yet at times we have their Greek origin strongly hinted at. Thus, in the *Miles Gloriosus*,⁴¹ we have one of the characters speaking of Nævius as *Poeta barbarus*, which is simply a translation of the expression a Greek would have used in speaking of a poet of another nation. We need, however, go no deeper into the examination of the state of society than is sufficient to explain the absence of one character from the drama, we mean that of the daughter of the family.

The Greek theatres were, as every one knows, open to the sky; the consequence of which was, that the comic poets were obliged to suppose that the action of their pieces was carried on in the street, in front of the houses of the principal personages, and that the personages themselves lived in the same neighbourhood, otherwise they could not come across one another with such ease. It was from this simple circumstance that the absence of the daughters was unavoidable; for it was a rule in Greek society that married women and maidens should not appear at all in public, but should pass their lives within the walls of their houses.⁴² Hence it arises that, in the New Comedy,

³⁹ Act iv. sec. 3 and 4.

⁴⁰ III. 3, 22-25; 26-27.

⁴¹ II. 2, 58.

⁴² It is evidently in reference to this

custom of excluding the females from society, even from the banquets in their own houses, that Æschylus, after having mentioned that Iphigenia used to sing

which was a dramatic representation of the customs and institutions of Greece, no females appear but matrons, female slaves, and women of easy morality; and hence also it happens, that even in those comedies where the young man is in love with the daughter of an Athenian citizen, the young woman herself is never seen. By a law which was enacted for the purpose of preserving the Athenian blood pure in the whole race of Athenians, no marriage contracted with a woman who was not an Athenian citizen was valid; and as the Athenian ladies were excluded from society, and were never seen by their husbands before their marriage, it was not to be expected that the marriages were accompanied with any love or affection; on the contrary, it was more a matter of duty; hence we find that an unmarried man was not supposed to have performed his duty: and the well-known story of the Lacedæmonian youth and Dercyllidas will show in what respect such individuals were held.⁴³ The society of a wife so chosen could not be a source of much pleasure to a husband; the consequence of which was, that this pleasure and amusement which was denied him at home was sought abroad among women of lax morals, who, however, were nearly always highly educated and intellectual persons, the very opposite of the stupid and vapid Athenian ladies. The society of this class of people was, by the accommodating philosophy of the Greeks, permitted very freely to young unmarried men, and so we find it painted in the New Comedy.

This short examination of Athenian society will account at once for the absence of the sister, and the presence of the mistress, of the young man.

It has been remarked of Sophocles, as a matter of great praise, that instead of opening his dramas with long prologues, intended to place the reader *au courant* with the action of the piece, as Euripides does, he so arranges his plays, that without any prologue the interest gradually developes itself.⁴⁴ The re-

at her father's banquets before his male guests, immediately adds, to exculpate her from any slander, (*Agam.* 244-246),

ἀγνὰ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐτῇ πατρὶς
φίλον τετιόνειπον υἱοῖσιν
αἰῶνα φίλος ἔτιμα.

⁴³ Plutarch, *Vit. Lycourgi*, vol. i. p. 48, c. d.

⁴⁴ In modern times Lope de Vega is

entitled to the same praise, for instead of commencing his plays with long and tedious introductions or prologues, he usually opens them with a smart and bustling scene, which sufficiently explains the relative position of the personages. See, for instance, the opening scenes of *La discreta Vengança* and *El valiente Cespedes*.

verse is true of Plautus and Terence. Each opens his comedies with prologues, it is true, but the aim of each is different. Terence, with an intention to impart instruction, makes use of his to repel the attacks of his enemies and the malicious reports circulated by his ill-wishers, or to complain of the bitter animosity of a rival poet (Luscius Lavinius.) Plautus, on the contrary, in *his* prologues, generally lays before his audience the state of affairs prior to the opening of the play. In three of his comedies these prologues are spoken by deities, Mercury,⁴⁵ the Lar Familiaris,⁴⁶ and Arcturus,⁴⁷ respectively, but with great good taste, in the *Trinummus*, which is a piece belonging to sentimental comedy, in the style of Terence, he makes the prologue a dialogue between the allegorical personages, Luxuria and Inopia. It is no doubt in reference to the prologues of Plautus being connected with the plot of the play, while those of Terence are not, that Andronicus, writing on comedy, says:

Πλαῦτος περιόχῃ ποιεῖ τῆς αὐτοῦ κωμῳδίας, Τερέντιος δ' οὐ.⁴⁸

The comedies of Plautus were ranked excessively high by his countrymen. One of them, L. Ælius Stilo, says that, "if the Muses were to speak in Latin, they would do so in the language of Plautus (*Plautino sermone*)."⁴⁹ Cicero remarks, "duplex omnino est jocandi genus, unum —, alterum elegans urbanum ingeniosum facetum; quo genere non modo Plautus noster, et Atticorum antiqua comædia, sed etiam Philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt;"⁵⁰ and in later times Aulus Gellius applies to him the epithet "homo linguæ atque elegantiae in verbis Latinae princeps;"⁵¹ and St Jerome says that, "after frequent nocturnal watchings, after his tears which the remembrance of his past sins drew from the depths of his bowels, he took Plautus in his hand."⁵² That this judgment of Plautus' talents has been considered just in modern times, may be inferred from the numerous translations and imitations of his works which have appeared since the revival of learning: Boiardo, in his *Timone*, adopted the allegorical personage *Auxilio*

⁴⁵ In the *Amphitruo*.

⁴⁶ In the *Aulularia*.

⁴⁷ In the *Rudens*.

⁴⁸ Dindorf's *Aristoph.* vol. iv. part 1. p. 33, 23, (ed. Oxon.); Meineke's *Comic. Græc. Fragm.* vol. 1. p. 561.

⁴⁹ Apud Quintilian. *Inst. Orat.* x. 1, 39.

⁵⁰ *De Officiis*, i. 29, 104.

⁵¹ *Lib. vii. c. 18.*

⁵² *Ep.* 22; vol. i. p. 88, b; ed. Manut. Rom. 1565.

from his *Cistellaria*, and borrowed the principal event in the episode in his *Orlando Innamorato*⁵³ of the young lady and her two suitors the aged Folderico and the young Ordauro, from the *Miles Gloriosus*; Shakspeare, in his *Comedy of Errors*, and Trissino, in his *Simillimi*, imitated the *Menæchmi*; Molière, in his *Amphitryon*, and Dryden, in his *Two Sosas*, the *Amphitruo*; Macchiavelli, in his *Clizia*, the *Casina*; Molière, in his *Avare*, the *Aulularia*; Lessing, in his *Schatz*, the *Trinummus*; Firenzuola, in his *Lucidi*, the *Menæchmi*; Molière took the leading incidents of his '*Etourdi* from the *Bacchides* and the *Pseudulus*; Beaumarchais, in his *Mariage de Figaro*, copied the *Casina*; and many others. Some, however, of the Romans who preferred the sentimental to the broad comedy, ranked Plautus as inferior to Terence. Thus we find Afranius, in his *Compitalia*, making the assertion,—

Terentio non similem dices quempiam;⁵⁴

while, on the contrary, Volcatius Sedigitus, in his verses on the Latin comic writers,⁵⁵ places Plautus in the second and Terence in the sixth place,—a disposition which has given great umbrage to many modern scholars.

There is more bustle and intrigue in the comedies of Plautus than in those of Terence, which are of a more sentimental turn, abounding in instructive passages and tender and affecting situations, and not seeking to please by witticisms, puns, and practical jokes, after the manner of his predecessor. This want of humour and drollery in Terence, was acknowledged by the Romans themselves, and we find Julius Cæsar lamenting it in an epigram which has been preserved to us,⁵⁶ and declaring that it was the only thing wanting to render his plays the very essence of perfection, while on the other hand, he praises him for his purity of diction and smoothly flowing verses.⁵⁷ Terence wrote his plays for the more elevated and better informed portion of his audience, Plautus for the lower orders; the former works the moral into his plays, the latter contents himself with sometimes leaving his readers to extract it for themselves,

⁵³ Cantos XXI. 52-72; XXII. 16-49, in Berni's *Rifacimento*.

⁵⁴ Ap. Sueton. (1) *Vit. Terent.*; Reinhardt's Terence, p. 185.

⁵⁵ Ap. Aul. Gell. xv. c. 24.

⁵⁶ By Suetonius (1) *ut sup.* p. 185.

⁵⁷ As does also Cicero in his *Limo*, quoted by Suetonius (1) *ib.*—

Quicquid come loquens, ac omnia dulcia dicens.

sometimes with pointing it out as a finale to his comedy, as in the cases of the *Asinaria*, the *Captivi*, the *Epidicus*, and others. The comedies of Plautus are the production of a less refined mind than those of Terence, and hence abound in farcical drollery, jokes, and buffoonery, to an extent not found in those of the latter, who, with his aim to instruct as well as please, is, as Julius Cæsar truly said, nearly destitute of *vis comica*.⁵⁸ The difference between the two poets may be summed up in these few words, viz.,—that Plautus may be considered as the father of broad comedy and farce, and Terence of sentimental comedy, or of what is called *La Comédie Larmoyante*. Hence it is not exactly fair to institute a comparison between the two *in toto*; we should rather, if we would compare them at all, either compare the sentimental comedies of Plautus, the *Captivi* and the *Trinummus*, with the plays of Terence, or strip off the broadly comic vesture from Plautus, and so make our comparison, which in either of these methods we shall find more feasible. While Plautus is to be associated with dramatic poets like Shakspeare, whose works remain in the mouths and memories of men, exerting a salutary influence on their passions, and consequently on the national stage, Terence is rather to be ranked with those poets whose predominant characteristic is sweetness, but whose inventive genius is not of the highest order.

We said above that Plautus copied the Greek authors of the New Comedy: this is a statement which requires a slight modification. St. Jerome, indeed, says that he imitated the Old Comedy;⁵⁹ but this is probably to be referred to the boldness and coarseness of his jokes; hence his statement comes pretty nearly to the same thing as that of Cicero quoted above. But the modification required is simply this, that though generally an imitator of the New Comedy, he at times also imitated the Middle Comedy, as in the case of the *Amphitruo*. Schlegel⁶⁰ conjectures this play to have been borrowed from Epicharmus, alleging in confirmation the well-known line of Horace, (*Dicitur*)

Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,⁶¹

⁵⁸ We do not attempt to deny, that in the *Eunuchus* there are many touches of genuine humour, but as "one swallow does not make a summer," so the comicality in this play does not constitute Terence, an author naturally endued with *vis comica*.

⁵⁹ *Ep.* 101; vol. II. p. 287, b: *ed* Manitius. Rom. 1564.

⁶⁰ *Dram. Lect.* 14; pp. 190, 1, *ed* Lond. 1846.

⁶¹ *Ep.* 2, 1, 58.

which he renders, "It is said that Plautus took for his model the Sicilian Epicharmus." This version is probably not correct; it is far more probable that Horace, in using the verb *properare*, to hurry on, meant to say that the bustle in the plays of Plautus resembled that in the plays of Epicharmus. As to Schlegel's conclusion, it may or may not be correct; that it may be correct, is seen from the fact that Epicharmus took as the subjects of his plays stories from the mythology, and though among the titles of his plays we do not find Ἀμφοτέρων, it is just possible that Plautus may in the composition of his drama have gathered materials from some one of his plays. Some commentators have supposed that the *Menæchmi* was taken from Epicharmus; this we do not believe, and it seems that the assertion has arisen from a false interpretation of the lines in the prologue,

Atque adeo hoc argumentum Græcissat, tamen
Non 'Atticissat, verum Siciliéissat.⁶²

The characters who make their appearance in the comedies of Plautus, and to whom no addition was made by Terence, again make their appearance after the revival of learning in Europe, in the Italian comedies of the age of Ariosto, Aretino, &c. Thus we find in the comedies of that age, the father, the son, the mother, the mistress, the nurse, the slave-dealer, and the parasite; the "miles gloriosus," softened down into the *Capitano Italiano*, (who afterwards gave way to the *Capitano Spagnuolo*, who, in his turn, yielded his place to *Scaramuccio*,) and the "servos currens" into the *pedante*, a character who at times appears in Shakspeare's comedies.

Whatever may be the distinguishing characteristics between Plautus and Terence, as regards their subject matter and method of handling it, there is one point on which they, in common with all the other Roman comic writers, agree, viz., the species of metre employed in their works; and it is in this respect that all the common and early editions are found wanting. We have not space here to go fully into this subject, which, though daily gaining ground among scholars of Germany and this country, is not even yet so well and so universally understood as its importance demands. Bentley, whose deep researches and vast knowledge helped him to the discovery of the metres of Terence,

⁶² Vv. 11, 12.

did not give to the world an edition of Plautus similar to that of his favourite author: that task was left to others, and, with shame be it said, his own countrymen left foreigners to follow up and apply his brilliant discoveries, instead of reserving the glorious work to themselves. Germany was the country which gave birth to the scholars destined for the task, in the persons of Hermann, Bothe, Lindemann, Weise, and Ritschl.

Ritschl opens the work before us with a dedication to Godofred Hermann "ad emendandum Plautum post magnum Bentleium duci unico." Then follow the prolegomena, which occupy 330 pages, and are divided into 20 Chapters, of which the following is a brief summary:—Chap. I. contains a description of the Ambrosian MS., the Milan Palimpsest. Chap. II. discusses those parts of the *Trinummus*, which are wanting in the Ambrosian *membranæ*. Chap. III. gives general descriptions of the other MSS. of Plautus, the first of which, the Vetus codex Camerarii, (B) contains the name of the *Vidularia* after the *Truculentus*; and the *Querolus*, a supposititious play ascribed to Plautus, before the *Amphitruo*; ⁶³ and the third, Vaticanus 3870, (D) was that brought from Germany to Rome by Nicholas of Trèves, at the instance of Poggio, and handed over to the Cardinal Giordano Orsini ⁶⁴ in 1428. Chap. IV. is a comparison of the relative value of all the MSS. Chap. V. an enumeration of the various editions of Plautus, accompanied by remarks. Chap. VI. is an investigation of the relative value of the Milan and Palatine MSS. Chap. VII. is a review of the means at disposal for properly editing Plautus. Chap. VIII. contains sundry grammatical remarks. Chap. IX. treats of the orthography of Plautus. Chaps. X. to XIV. are taken up by remarks, on the force of position, on ecthipsis, on synæresis, on the shortening of long vowels, and on hiatus. Chap. XV. is on the agreement between the metrical and grammatical accents. Chap. XVI. on what he calls the *logical* accent in the composition of verses. Chap. XVII. on metrical feet and cæsuras. Chap. XVIII. is a disquisition on the *cantica* in the *Trinummus*. Chap. XIX. contains some miscellaneous remarks; and Chap. XX. concludes the *Prolegomena* by a brief recapitulation of the subjects treated of. Then follow three indices to these *Prolegomena*; and lastly, the play itself, which takes up 148 pages, one third

⁶³ Pp. XXVIII., XXIX.

⁶⁴ P. XXXII. See Roscoe's *Life of* | Lorenzo de' Medici, pp. 60, 61, ed. Lond. 1846.

of each of which is filled with the various readings of the MSS. and critical remarks. Thus the play takes up less than half as much space as the commentaries on it, which is the general fault of all German editors.

The text is uniformly excellent, and the orthography in accordance with what is believed to have been the method of spelling in Plautus' days; but in both departments there are passages in which we feel obliged to dissent from him. Thus, in the orthography, while we agree in the spellings, *aduortitis*, (7,⁶⁵) *auris*, (accusative plural, 11,) *Thensauro*, (18,) *immæne*, (24,) *nuntias*, (56,) *haut*, (62,) and *hau*, (233, 462,) *uotes*, (457,) *ecfodiam*, (463,) *nactus* for *nactus*, (63,) *corruptum*, (114, 116,) *conrigis*, (118,) *adulescenti*, (126,) *aput*, (196,) *set*, (193,) *illut*, (211,) and others of the same sort, we are hardly prepared to acquiesce in *beneuolentis* for *beniuolentis*, (46,) which is found in one of the Vatican MSS.; *myropole* for *miropole*, (408, where the Palatine and the Leipsic MSS. so spell it, and three others have *miropole*, which is meant for the same thing); *Philto* for *Filto*, as it is found spelt in the best MSS. with a variation in some of the final vowel, (thus the Ambrosian and other good MSS. at times give us *Filta*); *Lysiteles* for *Lisiteles*, as some good MSS. have it; *Periphanes* (*Epid.* II. 2, 62,) for the *Perifanes* of the Ambrosian MS.;⁶⁶ *sycophanta* for *sicophanta* (842,) as the Palatine MS. has it. In v. 132,—

Qui exaédificaret suam inchoatam ignauiam,—

one of the Vatican MSS. has, in place of *inchoatam*, the word *incoactam*, which seems to point to what we believe to have been the correct spelling, *incohatam*, a form which we know obtained in the time of the emperor Trajan, from the inscription in Orelli's collection, (vol. I. p. 188, no. 783,) which concludes with the words,—

INCOHATAM A DIVO NERVA
PATRE SVO PERFICIENDAM
CVRAVIT.

That this was the true spelling of the verb in classical times,

⁶⁵ We may here remark that Ritschl discards the usual division into Acts and Scenes, and numbers the verses on from the beginning of the play; and that this is correct, may be inferred from

the analogy of the Greek tragedies and comedies.

⁶⁶ See *Prolegom. ad Trinumm.* pp. LXXXVI. LXXXVII.

we believe to be almost universally admitted among modern scholars.

As to the text, in many places of which the true readings have been restored by a better and larger collation of the MSS. than was made in earlier editions, we have only one or two remarks to make.

V. 10,—

Set éa quid huc introferit impulsú meo,—

is a correction of Bothe's, which Ritschl has adopted, for the reading of *all* the MSS.—

Set ea húc quid⁶⁷ introferit impulsú meo,—

which is evidently the right reading, as is proved by the fact, that the emphasis of the sentence falls on *huc* and not on *ea*. Lindemann has had the sense to see this, and keeps the reading of the MSS.

V. 80. Read with Bothe,—

C. Non pótis utrumque fieri. M. Quapropter? C. Rogas?

The books have *potest* for *potis* without exception, and so Ritschl:—but this cannot be correct, for it is impossible to pronounce *nōn pōtēst* as an iambus.

V. 96.—

Si id nōn me accusas, tūte obiurgandú's. M. Scio.

So Ritschl after Bothe. The books have *tute ipse obiurgandus es*, whence Lindemann has correctly edited—

Si id nōn me accusas, tu ipse obiurgandú's. M. Scio.⁶⁸

V. 209. Ritschl reads—

Quæ néque sunt neque futura sunt, illí sciunt,

in place of the old reading, which was devoid of metre. Bentley proposed by conjecture—

Quæ néque futura, néque sunt, tamen illí sciunt;

and that this is the true reading is evident, because the Ambrosian MS. has it exactly, **QUAENEQUEFUTURANEQUE-SUNT-TAMENILLI**; the other MSS. all interpose *facta* between *neque* and *sunt*, which is a mere gloss.

⁶⁷ One of the Vatican MSS. has *huc cur* for *huc quid*, which, however, proves the order to be correct, for it is not *cur huc*, as might have been expected, had *quid huc* been the right reading.

⁶⁸ Ritschl has not reported the spelling of *accusas* in the MSS. which should, according to analogy and the best MSS. of Cicero's *Pro Plancio*, be *adccusas*. See Wunder's edition, *passim*.

V. 236. Ritschl and Lindemann read—

'Omnium primum amoris arteis, quemádmódum expediant, eloquar, in which, how they manage to pronounce the syllables *quemadmodum expediant* in the rhythm of a ditrochæus, we cannot conceive. The Ambrosian MS. has **ELOQUARQUEMADMODUMSEEXPEDIAN**T, and all the others *eloquar quemadmodum expediant*, omitting the *se*. If we are to change the order, as it seems we must for the sake of the metre, we must also make a slight correction, and read—

'Omnium primum amoris arteis, quemádmódum expediánt, loquar.

V. 245,—

'Atque ibi ille cucúlus : 'o ocellé mi, fiat :'

So Ritschl. The Ambrosian MS. has at the commencement of the line merely **ABI**, while the other MSS. have *ibi*, which Ritschl by conjecture has made into *Atque ibi*; Hermann inserted *tum* after *ibi*; but both these corrections make the first cretic very difficult to pronounce as such, and we rather incline to Lindemann's reading,—

'Tbi ille cucúlus : 'o ocellé mi, fiat.'

Ritschl in his notes suggests *At ibi*, which is less open to objection; but it seems to us that the reading of the Ambrosian MS., on which it is evident he founds his conjectures, is simply a mistake of the copyist, occasioned by the frequent use of *abi* in Plautus, otherwise it is difficult to account for the fact that none of the other MSS. have it.

V. 272, 3. The books all omit the *et* between *fidem* and *honorem*, and have it between *gloriam* and *gratiam*. This renders the construction faulty, and to correct it Ritschl has inserted the *et* between *fidem* and *honorem*; but by this the metre is rather damaged, and it seems better to correct the passage by the omission of the second *et*, thus:—

Bóni sibi hæc éxpetunt, rém, fidem, honórem,
Glóriam, grátiam : hóc probis prétiumst.

V. 529, 530,—

Post id, frumenti quam álibi messis máxumast,
Tribus tántis illi mínus redit quam obséueris.

All the books without exception have *reddit*, which is excellent sense, and should not have been altered by conjecture. Compare *Bacch.* iv. 9, 111,—

Sescénta tanta réddam uiuó tibi.

In our instance, *reddit* means "repays;" and we have the

ablative with it instead of the accusative as in the example from the *Bacchides*, in accordance with a well known principle of the Latin language. See Key's *Latin Gram.* § 1005, p. 193.

V. 545,—

— set *Campás* genus

Multó Surorum iam ántidit patíentiam.

Four MSS. have *Campas*; a fifth, "the MSS." of Lambinus and Nonius, p. 486, have *Campans*; the Ambrosian MS. has CAMPAN⁶⁹ which Ritschl interprets in two ways, either as CAMPANS or CAMPANU, i. e. Campanum. The latter is wholly inadmissible on account of the metre; consequently the word seems to have the best claim to be spelled *Campans*.

In the next line, *patientiam* is a correction of Ritschl's for the reading of the books *patientia* (for the word *patlentia*, which appears in four of them, is meant for the same thing,) which does not seem absolutely to need correction; perhaps, however, he is right.

V. 601,—

Postquam éxturbauit hic nos ex nostris ædibus,

is the reading of the books, which Ritschl after Guyet corrects by the omission of *ex*: might we correct it thus,—

Postquam éxturbat hic nós ex nostris ædibus?

The lengthening of the *a* in *exturbat* may be defended by a comparison of Lucretius, II. 27,—

Nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet.

For other examples see Ritschl's *Prolegom.* p. clxxxiv.

But these and other such errors are as nothing in proportion to the many excellent readings which he has got from the various MSS. he has collated, and which are so numerous, that in pointing out some of them, we have by no means exhausted the stock. We will however name vv. 9, 17, 20, 23, 31, 62, 85, 91, 92, 103, 129, 185, 186, 200, 207, 212, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 264, 265, 266, 278, 292, 388, 413, 440, 495, 496, 596, 644, 722, 977, 1058, 1059, as passages in all of which, either by the conjectures of others, or his own, founded usually on the Ambrosian (A) and Palatine (B) MSS., he has done much to restore the true readings. In the last line of the play, he supposes the word *plaudite* to be spoken by a personage whom he calls *Cantor*,⁷⁰ after the precept of Bentley, ad Ter. *Andr.* 5, 6, 17; see his *Prolegom.* p. xxx.

⁶⁹ The dot signifying that space is left for one letter. ⁷⁰ Cf. Horace, *Art. Poet.* 155.

On the whole, Ritschl's edition of the *Trinummus*, is the best that has ever appeared, and if the remaining plays of Plautus be edited in the same masterly manner, we may indeed congratulate ourselves on the attainment of an edition of Plautus, unlike the common editions, in which the metre goes for nothing, and the restitution of the text for little more. That the subject of versification was not considered unimportant in the middle ages on the revival of learning, may be inferred from the fact, that Ariosto, who in his comedies imitated Plautus and Terence, was not content until he had turned his two earliest (*La Cassaria* and *I Suppositi*, which were originally written in prose,) into the *versi sdruccioli*, an imitation of the iambic trimeter of the ancients; and that Alessandro Vellutello, in a preface written to *I Tre Tiranni*, an unrhymed comedy by Agostino Ricchi of Lucca, says:—

"Ha (Ricchi) schifatto la rima, perchè essendo la comedia certa appresentatione delle cose vere, non richiede in alcun modo quel suono de le rime, perchè nel parlar naturale simile accadentia non intraviene, e introducendola è in tutto contro al naturale ed al vero. Et (per fuggire un simile inconveniente) gli antichi si sono *affaticati in trovare* un verso, che quanto è possibile a la prosa si assmigli, perchè familiarmente a niuno odiamo parlare, come saria un verso heroico, o altro simile."

How much more important the consideration of this subject ought to be, in the present advanced age of civilization, we need not say, for others have already perceived its necessity, and have applied themselves to the task. Amongst these, Ritschl bids fair to stand pre-eminent, and when he has brought to a conclusion his edition of Plautus, of which the work at the head of this article is only the first part of the first volume, we shall then have, what has long been a desideratum among men of letters, an edition of Plautus, in which, joined with a critical revision of the text, is a due attention to the metres in which that text is written.

October 27th, 1849.

P.S.—Since we sent the above paper to the press, we have received the second part of this admirable work, which contains the *Miles Gloriosus*. It has, however, come so late, that we have only time to say, that as a whole, it fully equals its predecessor

the *Trinummus*, and to make one or two remarks on certain passages which we have particularly noticed.

Ritschl has made two alterations in the *personæ* of the play; for *Periplectomenes* he gives us *Periplecomenus*,⁷¹ and for *Pleusides*, *Pleusicles*. This last is warranted by the MSS., which, as we said above, he should have followed further still, and retained their orthography, *Pirgopolinices* for *Pyrgopolinices*, &c.

In v. 49, by reading,

Pyrg. Edepól memoria's óptuma. *Arto.* Offaé monent,

he retains the same false pronunciation of *memoria*, of which we spoke in the last number of the *Classical Museum*, pp. 279, 280.

V. 62. The common reading is

'Immo eius frater, inquam · innuit illarum altera,

which is no metre. Lindemann, following Pareus, corrects it by omitting the word *illarum*. The Ambrosian MS. is unfortunately illegible just here; but Ritschl, from what traces of letters there are in it still visible, and from the other MSS., edits,

'Immo ejus frater,' inquam, 'est' · ibi illarum altera.

See his *Parergon*, vol. I. p. 409, note.

Some time since, we conjectured

'Immo eius frater,' inquam 'est' · tum illarum altera,

and we think it a doubtful question which of the two conjectures *ibi* and *tum* is right, for they are both equally near the confused mass of letters which appear in the MSS., and especially to the original reading of the *Cod. Vet. Cam.*, which was *inuit illarum*, which was altered into *innuit illarum* by a second hand.

V. 100. Ritschl has corrected this line by a very probable conjecture, thus:

Is amábat meretricem áltam Athenis 'Atticis.

Comparing *Rud.* 3, 4, 36:

'Immo Athenis nátus altusque éducatuque 'Atticis.

V. 115. This verse, too, he has probably restored in this manner:

Ego tántum quantum pótis sum, mihi nauém paro,

⁷¹ See his *Prolegom. ad Trinum.*, p. LXXXVIII. One of the MSS. in the British Museum (Burney, 228) has *Periplectomenus* throughout.

defending the insertion of *tantum* by *Aul.* 1, 2, 41; *Most.* 2, 2, 94; *Pseud.* 4, 7, 138.

V. 169. Following the authority of the MSS., Ritschl here gives us a line very different from what we have been accustomed to. It is this:

'Adgrediar hominem. *Peripl.* Itne aduorsum huc qui áduenit?
quasi ád me adit.

Pal. Quid agis, Periplecómene? &c.

In this we have several corrections, one of which is the alteration of the speakers.

V. 293. Gronovius edited *si te di amant*, as Ritschl remarks, *vitiose*. The MSS. have the proper reading, *si te di ament*, which is necessary to render the Latin correct.

V. 390. It is worthy of notice, that here and in some other passages in this play, the Ambrosian Palimpsest spells the word *osculare*, with the diphthong *au* at the beginning, as here, AUS-CULATAM.

V. 456.—

Sc. Ecce omitto. *Ph.* At ego ábeo missa. *Sc.* Múliebri fecit fide.

This reading corrects the metre of the common reading, the error of which we pointed out in the last number of the *Classical Museum*, p. 281. The alteration which we there suggested of the word *fecisti*, has occurred to Ritschl also, but he has made it in a different way, founded on the original reading of the *Cod. Vet. Cam.*:

— *Sc.* Muliebri feci fide.

V. 631.—

Si álbicapillus hfc uidetur, neútiquam ab ingenióst senex.

If the compound *albicapillus*, which is the probable correction of Bothe, seems untenable, we might read *albu' capillis*; but when we see that the MSS. have *albi* or *albis*, or *albus capillus*, there seems no doubt that Bothe has rightly restored the reading.

V. 663.—

'Opusne erit tibi áduocato trísti, iracundo? écce me.

'Opusne leni?

Ritschl here doubles the error which we corrected in the last number of the *Classical Museum*, p. 281. He says in his note on the first line, "*Opus* Bentleius in *Adelph.* 5, 9, 37, imprudens puto." The epithet he applies to Bentley should be rather

applied to himself, for Bentley's reading is tenable, while his own is not.

V. 727-729. Ritschl from the MSS. here gives us the two following lines, in place of the one of the editions :

Sicut merci pretium statuit, quist probus agoranomus :
Quae probast [aut lúculenta], pro uirtute ut ueneat, &c.

V. 737. Ritschl omits the words *quique eos uituperet* as a gloss, as we ourselves have long considered them. We are glad to see, moreover, that he decidedly agrees with the opinion which we expressed about *iam* after *nunc* in the last number of the *Classical Museum*, pp. 481, 2; "nunc iam istis (*sic enim pronuntiandum*) FZ," says he.

V. 884.—

Tibi dixi miles quemádmódum potéssset deasciári.

We cannot conceive how Ritschl, and other editors who adopt this reading, can pronounce the syllables *ēssēt dēāscī* in the rhythm of a ditrochæus. The *Codex Vetus* has, instead of *deasciári*, which is a conjectural emendation of Palmer's, *assecla rei*; this almost tempts us to propose the simple verb *asciári* in place of *deasciári*, for which, however, we do not remember any authority earlier than Vitruvius.

V. 917. Ritschl rightly omits the words *fundata et constituta est* as an interpolation from the next line.

V. 1094. Ritschl, in correcting this line thus,

Quid núnc mī's auctor, út faciam, Palaéstrio,

has hit upon the very same emendation that we proposed in the last number of the *Classical Museum*. Porson's remark is not inapplicable here: "cum duo scriptores," says he, "idem tradunt, mihi non alteruter ab altero ideo sumpsisse, sed uterque rem recte reputantes, veritatis vi coacti, in eandem sententiam devenisse videntur."⁷¹

V. 1216.—

Mi. Era, éccum præsto mīlitem. Acr. Ubist? Mi. Ad læuam nīdedum.

See the last number of the *Classical Museum*, p. 282.

V. 1316. Read,

Tibi salutem mé iusserunt dīcere. Ph. Ut salvæ sient.

⁷¹ In Toup's *Emendationes*, vol. iv. p. 434.

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V. 1319.—

Tbo. quamquam inuīta facio, pīetas consuadēt. Sapis.

This is a very good emendation of a very corrupt line.

V. 1334. sqq.—

Pyr. Capita intēr se nīmīs nexa hīcē habent.

Nōn placet : labra īn labris ferrūminat . quid agīs malum ?

Pl. Tēptabam, spirāret an non.

This excellent correction of Ritschl's greatly improves the spirit of the passage.

V. 1376.—Ritschl,

Stūlte feci qui hūnc amisi . ībo hinc intro nūc iam.

The *Codex Vetus* (B), the *Decurtatus* (C), and the Vatican MS. 3870 (D),⁷² have *amisit* for *amisi*, which evidently is a corruption of the true reading, *amisi set*, which ought to be restored in this line.

V. 1437. As in the *Trinummus*, Ritschl attributes the *plaudite* to the cantor.

R. H. S.

November 21, 1849.

XXX.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE AFTER PARTICIPLES AND ADJECTIVES.

THESE remarks are written with special reference to Art. XI. of the *Classical Museum* for July 1849.

It is undeniable that elliptical forms of expression are to be found thick in all languages : they are the consequence of the necessity of expeditious expression. But we must be careful to confine the ellipsis within its proper bounds, and not suppose that, because a verb has two constructions, one shorter and the other longer, the shorter is *therefore* reduced from the longer. Take the instance given in Art. XI. : the verb *meet*, in English, has two constructions ; 1. to meet a person, where it is transitive ; and 2. *to meet with a person*, where it is intransitive, and

⁷² This is the MS. brought to Rome by Nicholas of Trèves, at Poggio's in- stance ; of which we have briefly spoken above.

takes after it the preposition *with*. Now, would it be correct to say that, in the phrase *to meet a person*, a *person* is in the objective case, governed by the preposition *with* omitted? I suppose every one would prefer to say that in the second idiom, the character of the verb *meet* has changed from being transitive to being intransitive, not at all an uncommon phenomenon in language; and is so followed by the preposition *with*. Nor do I believe that these two expressions, though undoubtedly confused in our present English, convey the same meaning, any more than they are the same expression. So in Greek, the expression βέβληται κατὰ μῆρόν may very probably have conveyed a different shade of meaning to the understanding of a Greek, from that which βέβληται μῆρόν conveyed: and yet not so different as to prevent one being used for the other if the metre required. Compare in English *to strike the door*, and *to strike at the door*, both which convey the idea of *hitting* the door; but yet *to strike at a person's head*, implies *aiming at*, but not *hitting*. So really distinct are phrases sometimes, which would appear to a foreigner to be coincident.

Our next inquiry is, have we reason not to be surprised at finding the bare accusative after the passive form, when it bears also the passive meaning? We may take it for granted, that the same termination affixed to different words had originally the same meaning; that is, that the -θην in ἐνεθυμήθην and the -θην in ἐβιάσθην, added originally the self-same notion to the roots ἐν-θυμη and βιασ; and we may take it for granted also that the same words, as e.g. εἰργασμαι, found in two or more different senses, had originally but one simple sense from which the others were derived. Now in the Greek verbs we do find, to a very large extent, forms having the same termination, but at first sight a quite different meaning: ομα, ὀμην, σομαι, &c., are sometimes middle, or nearly active,¹ sometimes passive. Now if ᾄσομαι means *I shall sing*, but βλάψομαι, *I shall be hurt*; if ἐλιπόμην means *I left myself = remained*, but ἐγενόμην, *I was born*; if εἰργασται means *he made*, as well as, *it has been made*; then, I apprehend, we must go beneath the surface to discover

¹ Nearly active in what are called Deponent verbs, that is, verbs which have lost their actives. The active form is still found in some, as ἔλπω, just dying out. They often, however, re-

tain the perfect second of the active. It is not correct to say such middles have an active meaning; they are true reflexives, which are represented in English by an active form.

the reason of this. Undoubtedly an exact translation will clear away many difficulties. When we know that κοιμάω means, *to send to sleep*, we can understand how ἐκοιμήθην means, (*I was sent to sleep*) *I slept*: when we know that εἶρω means, *I tell*, we can also understand how ἤρώμεν means, (*I got some one to tell me*) *I asked*. But this will not explain the occurrence of the same form bearing two different meanings, where is no *variety of form* to take advantage of, to appropriate one form to one meaning, and another to another; we are driven to the inference that these two meanings were originally one. The steps of the process by which the reflexive and passive meanings most probably arose from the active, I traced in my former Art. (p. 308) in the following way: διδάσκω is *I teach (another)*, διδάσκειμαι is (α) *I teach myself*, (β) *I get myself taught*;² then, *I get taught, I am taught*; the particular meaning of διδάσκειμαι, whether I get myself taught, or I am taught, being determined by the particular idea which the user of it wished to make prominent, whether his getting *himself* taught or his *being* taught. As soon as the speaker wishes to state the fact of his *being taught*, and at the same time to put out of his consideration the process (his own exertions) by which he had attained his result (*being taught*); he immediately uses διδάσκειμαι with a new sense. But since it was necessary for precision in speech to keep these two meanings distinct, we cannot wonder at some forms being appropriated to one sense, and others to the other; though these varied at different stages of the language, showing by this very variation that it was usage, and not the original force of the termination, which separated them. According to this view I translate βέβληται, he got himself struck (by his own imprudence, by putting himself in the way of danger); βέβληται μηρόν, he got his thigh struck; βέβληται κατὰ μηρόν, he has got struck — is struck, on the thigh.

In turning to Latin, we find the same apparent confusion, though not to so great an extent; but still enough to show,

² And also (γ) *I get somebody (belonging to me) taught*. I do not mean to say that διδάσκειμαι, or perhaps any middle verb, is actually found in all these senses, but that this is the *process* by which these different meanings of the middle come out. Some middles are used in one sense, some in another; some in

more than one. In the meaning (α) *μαι* undoubtedly = *ἐμὶ*; in the meaning (β) *μαι* again = *ἐμὶ*, or perhaps *ἐμοί*; in meaning (γ) *μαι* undoubtedly = *ἐμοί*. The verbs which in the active govern a dative of the indirect object, illustrate this better; ἀμύνω *ἐμοί* τι = ἀμύνεμαι τι; τιμαρῶ *ἐμοί* τινα = τιμαρῶμαι τινα.

"that the construction of the language is secondary, or rather akin to the Greek, and that we may explain it from Greek." (Art. XI.) For here also we have deponent (which are nothing more than middle verbs which have lost their actives,) and passive verbs with the same terminations. *Cenatus, nupta, potus, pransus*, &c. are used in an active sense; *hortandus* is passive. These must be explained in the same way as the Greek have been: the tendency of the Latin, as it grew, being to discard such phrases as *ictus est femur*, and to substitute for them such as *femur ei ictum est*.³

With regard to the participles in -tus, they would be susceptible of two meanings. *Stratus*, &c. would mean having got himself stratched, or stretched; the former with or without an accusative, the latter only without. But *stratus* signifies the completion of the action; and so in both senses it would become, *being in the state of having been stretched (by his own act, or by another's)*. *Stratus membra* I take to be simply equivalent to *having stretched his limbs*; *flores inscripti nomina regum* to *flowers having got names inscribed upon them*; *suspensi loculos lacerto* to *having got (or had) their satchels hung*; ^A so also *τατημένοι ἤτορ*, *having had their heart saddened, or having saddened their heart*, implying that in circumstances calculated to produce sadness, it still rested with the injured whether they would admit it into their heart or no; *πλήγη-φρένας*, *he had got his senses struck from him*; *τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον* (cf. Ar. Av. 342, *ἦν τ' ὠφθαλμὸν ἔκοπη*), *having had his eye knocked out*; and *κακαδμένος ὤμων*, *having adorned his shoulder with*.

This method of explanation may be right, or it may be wrong: it is difficult to trace idioms to their origin, when that origin is

³ If it be true that *feror*, &c. in Latin had a double meaning, middle and passive, then certainly Virgil could not have used in *arma feror* in both senses at once; it must be either reflexive or passive,—it cannot be both. It is both untrue and unnatural if translated passive; both true and natural if translated reflexively. If purely passive, *feror* must mean, *I am carried by some one, (not myself)*. If you translate, *I am carried*, that is of course *by myself*, then you make it reflexive, and no longer passive, which by its nature cannot be used

of what an agent does to himself, but of what is done by an agent to another. So that such expressions "*need* be reciprocally (or reflexively) construed" (or translated.) Two of the passages from Virgil are explained by Madvig (*Grammar for Schools*, p. 210, Wood's trans.) as passives with a new active meaning governing the accusative, without the intervention of a preposition.

⁴ Or better, perhaps, as Madvig (p. 211), *who had &c. suspended*. That is, I suppose, *who had suspended, &c.*

out of sight in dark antiquity; but at all events there seems to be such a close union between the passive and middle voices, in Greek especially, as to lead us to infer that they were the same at first, and had the same construction. That therefore there is no occasion for *secundum*,⁵ or κατὰ, to explain an accusative, which can be better explained without them. And then in the instances given from Virgil (p. 309), and in many others, we must allow that we not only *may*, but *must* translate them as middles, and not as passives.

Adjectives differ from participles in this respect, that they exclude all notion of a process, and are confined to the one single point of time spoken of: thus, *lacerum* is only synonymous with *laceratum* when the latter arrives at its passive meaning, and has consequently lost its transitive power; and hence, as they essentially differ in their original sense, I do not see how "one principle for both would have been better, and not two." According to the same reasoning, we should say that the ablative expressing the instrument of an action is governed by the preposition *a*, or *ab*, omitted, *because* these are found with the agent of a passive verb. Nor do I think that "there is no objection to supply κατὰ" in such expressions as καλὸς τὸ σῶμα, although there is evidence enough to shew that κατὰ might be expressed. If the expressions are exactly alike in meaning, it is probable that the one without the preposition is the older, and that when the force of the case-ending was lost, the preposition was prefixed to supply its place.

Since I wrote my first remarks, I have seen two grammars, Jelf's *Greek Syntax*, and the English translation of Madvig's *Latin Grammar*, in neither of which, as far as I can see, is there any mention of *secundum*, or κατὰ.

E. S. J.

⁵ If the choice is to be between *secundum* and *quoad*, *secundum* is certainly preferable. The natural construction of *quoad* is with a verb, *quo* (for *quoniam* or *quod*), being governed by *ad*. *Quoad* with a noun seems to be another word

= *quo ad*, *ad* governing the noun, and *quo* preceding a verb expressed or understood. But the choice is not between *secundum* and *quoad*, but between *preposition* and *no-preposition*.

XXXI.

AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE THE TEXT AND THE SCANSION OF HOMER, UPON AN ENTIRELY NEW SYSTEM AND PRINCIPLE.

(Continued from No. xxv. p. 299.)

NOT having the means, in the place from which I write, of referring to the original, I shall here take notice of those lines only in Bentley's MS. respecting the digamma which are given by Mr. Donaldson in the Appendix to the First Book of his *New Cratylus*, p. 140, &c.; but in order that I may not fatigue the attention of the reader, I shall quote only one or two examples from each of the heads which are there given.

The Doctor was led to suppose, from the frequent occurrence of an hiatus in Homer, that there must originally have been a digamma placed before each of the words in which this hiatus is found, and he accordingly selects the following:

Ἄναξ—ἀνάσσω, &c.

Iliad vii. 162, ὦρτο πολλὸν πρῶτος μὲν ἄναξ,

lego, he says, πρῶτός γε ῥάναξ, vel πρώτιστα.

I cannot myself perceive that there is any necessity for either, as the line scans perfectly without. That the word ἄναξ was formerly digammated, there certainly appears to be evidence, both from Dawes, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; but if this word is to have the digamma prefix, and there is no appellative or term of dignity that occurs more frequently throughout the whole poem than this one, so must also the words ἀνὴρ—Dionysius says that it has,—ἄνθρωπος, and ἄνω have it, for they are all indubitably from one and the same root.

I cannot, however, possibly agree with Mr. Donaldson, Buttmann, or Pott, for even he is sometimes wrong as well as others, that the last syllable of ἀνὴρ, and the first of Ἡρώς and Herus, Latin, are derived from Ἡρη, the Greek name for Juno; or that the word *Ehe*, signifying marriage in the German, has any thing to do with it either, for in that case there must certainly have been an *r* in the word. That Ἡρ, Ἡρη, and Herus, are

all cognate terms, I do not mean to deny; yet they cannot well be derivable the one from the other, but must come rather from some root that is common to them all. The three writers above mentioned seem agreed that the word, or syllable $\eta\rho$, has invariably the sense of *superiority*, *exaltation*, or *lifting up* attached to it, and undoubtedly such is the meaning; but we must look into the Greek, I think, and not into the Sanscrit, for its actual derivation. The prefix $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, not α , in $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$, is indisputably Greek; and it is not for a moment probable that this word is taken, the one half from the first tongue, and the second from the other; whilst all the meanings seem to point to $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ as the original. $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ vel $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ in the Greek, are exactly equivalent to *tollo* vel *elevo* in Latin, and $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\text{-}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ vel $\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, to *latus*, *elevatus*. $\text{'}\text{Av-}\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho$ vel $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho$, therefore, contracted into $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$, for in most of these compounds, as in the Sanskrit, and in the languages of North America, it is the root alone that is significant, would be, *The being*, or *animal*— $\acute{\omega}\nu$ or $\theta\eta\rho$ in all these instances being ever understood—*raised*, or *lifted up*; from $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, pro $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, *Sursum* vel *retro*, and $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$, as above; gen. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$. And this derivation is still further confirmed by the other genitive of this word, which has also $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, a contraction for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}[\delta]\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$. The question then is, How came the δ to have found its way into this case? for it is evidently but one and the same word notwithstanding. The answer is, as I think, easy: $\Delta\acute{\epsilon}$ pro $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is not a poetic, but a very ancient particle. It is a great mistake to call most of these forms, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ for example, teste Hesychio, poetical. $\text{'}\text{Av-}\delta\epsilon$ then, pro $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\delta\epsilon$, (see $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$) is equivalent to $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ τὸ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$: i. e. *Cælum versus*; $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\text{-}\eta\rho$, consequently, gen. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, contracted $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\text{'}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, would be = *Animal cum vultu ad cælum latum*; and certainly this will give a most satisfactory meaning. The words *Ape* in English, and *Affe* in the German, properly *Aphe*, are probably from the same idea as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\eta\rho$, i. e. *Raised*, or *lifted up*, viz. from $\text{'}\text{E}\eta\iota$ vel $\acute{\epsilon}\varphi$, pro $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, *Supra*, *retro*, *re*, and $\text{'}\text{E}\eta\mu$ vel $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, *Mitto*— $\text{'}\text{E}\varphi\acute{\iota}\eta\mu$ = $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\mu$, *Remitto*, *mitto sursum*,—that is, in other words, *The upward put*, or *put back* (animal,) and hence the final ϵ . Just as we say of a soldier, or of a man who carries himself very uprightly, in modern parlance, that *he is well put up*. The word *Abi*, or *Api*, in the Indian languages of the United States, signifying a man, is likewise, surely, from the same conception, and evidently comes from the Sanskrit *ABI*, *Up*, *superior* or *excelling*; in the Greek $\text{'}\text{E}\eta\iota$, and meaning, of course, the *Up*—

ward or superior (animal). Thus *Nischen Abi*, and with some of the tribes *Api*, is the phrase by which the Indians designate themselves, and the signification of which is *Red man*. A further proof of this is found in the other name for man in Greek, viz. in ἄνθρωπος, which is but a contraction, or corruption rather, for ἀνθρώπος, contracted, in the first place, into ἀνθρώπος, and then into ἄνθρωπος, from ἀνὰ, *Sursum*, θεωρέω, *specto*, (not *video*,) and ὀπός, *vultu*, i. e. *The animal or being with his face looking upward*, and which is actually equivalent to the "*Vultum ad sidera vertit*" of the Latins. And here we see, allowing this derivation to be correct, the genitive of the original becoming in the final root the nominative of the compound; nor is this by any means a single instance of the sort. For example, Ἡρακλῆς, Ionice Ἡρακλέης, has nothing whatever to do with the name of Juno, nor with κλέος either, but is, to all appearance, merely a contraction of Ἡρ, as above, or rather of the article ὁ used intensively, and ἄρεις vel αἰρόμενος, *latus vel elevatus*, i. e. *The Lord (the exalted one, par excellence)*; with αλῆς, per metathesin pro ἀλχῆς, *Vis*; just as ὄλχος is Æolic for ὄχλος,—the which gives literally, *The Lord of strength*; and the name of his eldest son *Alcæus* would likewise seem to be an additional proof of it. Hesychius says that Ἡραῖος was also used for Hercules, possibly for Ἡρίας; ab Ἡρ, and ἱας, which is the same as ἱός, and would give precisely a similar meaning. The word *Herr* in German is exactly synonymous with the Greek Ἡρ in this sense, as also with the English *Lord*, only with the addition of the particle *Ep*, *Valde, magnum*, &c; thus, Ὁ ἄρεις = Ὁ ἀνὸ, *Supernus, qui est suprà*; Ὁ ἔρ' ἄρεις = *Valde elevatus, qui est valde suprà*. Originally the word *Herr*, properly *Her-er*, was a term of the greatest respect in German, as may still be seen in the phrase, *Gott der Herr*, i. e. *God the Lord, or the greatly exalted*. Horne Tooke seems to have had some idea that a meaning of this kind was attached to the word *Lord* in English, but with his usual infelicity, for in matters of philology he was certainly below criticism, he mistakes the syllable that actually conveys this meaning. *Hlaford*, he says, the Anglo-Saxon word from which comes *Lord*, is compounded of the particle *hlaf*, from the verb *Hlifian*, *to lift*; and *Ord*, or *Ortus*, *origin, source, or birth*; but *ord* in Anglo-Saxon rather means a point, and has no connection with the Latin *Ortus*; and if he intends it for the German

Ort, a place, it would in that case seem rather to imply that the place, and not the man, was lifted up or exalted.

The real fact is, however, improbable though it may appear, that *Herr* and *Lord* are actually identical, not only in their meaning, but in their derivation also, the difference being solely in the prefix. The former is from ἥρ, i. e. ἄερ, with ἔρι, and the latter from λα, and the participle ἐρθ|εις: Λα *Valde*, ἐρθ|εις vel ἐρθ|εις (Ang.-Sax.; εφ-ερ θ|εις) *elevatus*: Anglice, La-ard or hlaf-ard (*a* pro *e*, *d* pro *th*, as in the German word *Donner* for *Thunder*), i. e. *The greatly lifted up or exalted*, likewise. This word is still called *Lard* by people in the country. From this same root come Ὁρη = Ἡ ἀρείσα, vel ἀρλομένη, i. e. *The exalted, among the goddesses*; and the Latin *Hērūs* = Ὁ ἀρ|εις, applied only to the master and his eldest son, as *Hēra* to the mistress of the house, and *Hēri* = Οἱ ἀνῶ, sometimes to the gods. But the word Ὁρω, I should say, is not from the Sanskrit *śuras*, as Pott would have it, the signification being rather that of military virtue than of exaltation or dignity; but from *Viras*, early Æolic Ὠρω, the aspirate in this case having taken the place of the digamma, as in the words Ὀλλας for *Wales*, Ὀλος for *Whole*, &c., and as is evident from the adjective, which means powerful; from the *feminine Virā*, for it has a feminine, and *this* alone ought to have made Pott hesitate; and from its abstract *Vaira*, i. e. *heroism*. The Latin *Vir* is certainly not from this word, tempting as the appearance seems, but from *Vāras*, used to express *a man, a husband, or a bridegroom*, and which are indeed the meanings of the word *Vir* in Latin; and just as the phrase *Ihr^r Mann* in German, when speaking to a female, may either mean *Your man*, or else *your husband*; short *a* passes readily into the sound of the short *e*, as in the words *deficio* from *fācio*, *dejicio* from *jācio*, &c.; and the quantity would, in all probability, have remained the same both in the Sanskrit and the Latin, as may be seen in the words *Viras* and *Hērois*, although in the Erse form *fear*, and also in the Welsh one *gear*, the syllable would certainly appear to have been lengthened.

As to the difference in the quantity between the Greek and Latin, that would in a great measure depend upon the tense made use of, *Hērūs* being from the second aorist ἀρ|εις, and Ὁρ from the verb ἀρίσσω, or from the present participle. The only real difficulty in the case is, how to account for the presence of the

aspirate; but even this, I think, may be fairly done also by the absorption of the article, as in the Latin *Ho-mo* from Ὁ-μην, and in the Anglo-Saxon form *h-laforð*; and which, having been emphatic, could not very well have been dispensed with. The term Ἡρανος in Greek, probably from Ἡρ and ἄνω, and which is exactly the reverse of ἀνήρ, would seem indeed like a corroboration, for having remained current in the language, and therefore admitting of an article, the aspirate of course would be omitted, as we see it is in ἀνήρ. The reason why this word ἀνήρ has the sense of *Vir* is evident, viz., *The upward lifted, both in place and figure, therefore Lord and master even of the Woman* (whose face looked upward only) *and of the Creation*.

With respect to the term Ἑρπος, the other name for *Jupiter*, it appears to me to have been given to him in his quality of *Aer*, as in the Latin, and to be derived from ἔρι and ῥέω, i. e. *The universally diffused, or flowing*. Ὠκεανός to me has nearly the same meaning, viz. from Ὠκ, pro ὦγ, ab ὦγ|ος, *apertum*, and ἑανός, *liquor*, i. e. *Apertum mare*, and seems to have been applied to the open sea, from which you could not discover land on any side. Herodotus calls the Caspian *Ocean*, and Homer the Mediterranean always. According to Hesychius another term for it was Ὠγην, and this name probably was given to it in contra-distinction to its other terms of Ὠκ, πέλαγος, and πόντος. That ἑανός has this sense of *liquidum* is palpable, if only from a line in Shakspeare, viz. "*His viands sparkling in a golden cup*," and which, as it stands, is nonsense. This word should have been *hians* certainly, from a term in the *Anglo-Celtic* or Ancient English signifying *liquids*. Ἀνάξ, in like manner, which is the word in question, is not from ἄν and ἄγω, *Duco* = ἀνάξας, i. e. *The chief leader*, but from ἀνὰ *per*, and ἔχω, *Habeo, administro, gubernare, rego*, the future of which is ἔξω. Ἀνέξας = *Super-regens*, or to τὸ ἀνὸς ἔχων, i. e. *Superioritatem habens*, equivalent to *Super-rex*; it was usually applied to the gods, and also to Agamemnon. The word *Herzog*, or *Hertog*, in the German, has, I should say, a nearly similar meaning, yet not, as I conceive, however tempting may be the derivation, from *her* and *ziehen*, for they do not agree in meaning, but from ἔρι and Τάτος, ἀ τάσσω, *Ordino, constituo, statuo*; 2. α. ἑταρον, i. e. *The chief governor, arranger, or drawer up in order*, whether in a military sense or otherwise. Mitford, if I remember rightly, has pointed out the identity of this word *Herzog* with that of the *Tagus* of Thessaly,

and they are certainly identical, with the exception only of the ξ ρ. *Erzherzog* and *Grossherzog*, therefore, in the German, are doubly intensive, and are just as if, instead of the usual word $\tau\alpha\rho\varsigma$, the compound terms $\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\alpha\rho\varsigma$ and $\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\alpha\rho\varsigma$ had been made use of by a Thessalian.

Iliad ix. 73. $\text{Πολέεσαι } \delta' \text{ ἀνάσσεις.}$

Lego, Bentley says, $\text{Πόλεσιν } \delta\epsilon \text{ πανάσσεις} \text{ ———}$

This word $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ is from, and must, of course, follow the same rule as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$; and what possible objection there can be, as far at least as the scanning is concerned, to the reading of the text, I cannot imagine. Had his objection occurred at line 40, book the first, one could readily have understood, indeed, the force of it; for the second ι in $\iota\phi\iota$ being short, it ought certainly, to all appearance, to have been elided, and it is nothing but the presence either of a digamma or a diiyota that can prevent such elision; and in the present instance it is that of the latter, i. e. $\iota\phi\iota \gamma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, that serves to prevent it. That the line just quoted, viz.—

$\text{Πᾶσά } \tau\omicron\iota \text{ ἔσθ' } \delta\upsilon\text{ποδεξίῃ } \text{πολέεσαι } \delta' \text{ ἀνάσσεις,}$

is faulty somewhere, the ear distinctly tells us; but this, I think, arises solely from the awkward length of the penultimate ι in the word $\delta\upsilon\text{ποδεξίᾱ}$, on which the voice is naturally inclined to pause, and the remaining part of the line in consequence reads baldly.

The text, however, I should say, is decidedly erroneous. *Omnis apparatus* gives, at best, but a very clumsy meaning; this line to me runs thus,—

$\text{Πᾶς } \delta' \text{ } \tau\omicron\iota \text{ ἔσθ' } \delta\upsilon\text{πὸ δεξίᾱ } \eta \text{ } \text{πολέεσαι } \delta' \text{ ἀνάσσεις; or,}$

$\text{Πᾶς } \delta' \text{ } \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{[-}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\text{-}\gamma\upsilon\pi\acute{\theta}\text{]} \text{ } \delta\epsilon\acute{\xi}\text{-}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\text{], } \eta \text{ } \text{πὸ } \delta\epsilon\text{[-}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\text{]} \text{ } \delta\text{-}\gamma\alpha\text{[-}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\text{.}$

i. e. *Hoc omne (vinum) est tibi sub dextrâ, &c.* and which is in English, *under your command, for you truly (ἡδε) have the direction of many things, or the providing for many*, referring of course to the words, $\text{πλεῖσται } \tau\omicron\iota \text{ οἴνου } \kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\alpha$, in the line but one preceding; for which reason πολέεσαι is put in the dative, instead of being in the genitive, and in which it ought to have been if governed by $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. The different effect of the diiyota upon the pronoun $\tau\omicron\iota$, of the line in question, and in the one just quoted, is very palpable. In the first case it is short, and the ι is carried on to the succeeding syllable, whereas, in the latter, it is long,

and the diiyotal intervention in the words, Πλεσια|τοι-γο|νου Κλισαι, &c. is at once apparent.

If all the words above noticed, viz., Ἄναξ, ἀνάσσω, ἀνὴρ, ἄνθρωπος and ἄνω, are to be digammated, there appears to me to be no end of the confusion. That any one of them might occasionally have taken the digamma prefix, is, indeed, possible; but even in that case it must have been the Æolic form that was made use of, and that but rarely, for in most of Homer's lines the digamma would be certainly unnecessary.

Neither can I perceive any evidence why the words Ἀνδάνω, Ἄστν, Ἐίσκω, Ἑκαστος, Ἑκας, Ἑκίβολος, Ἑλπω, Ἑπος, Ἑρώ, Ἰάχος, Ἰσος, Οἶ, Ὀς, or Ὠς, should require a digamma; indeed, in most of these instances, all that one is at a loss to conceive is, in what the Doctor's difficulty actually consisted: thus in

Iliad, III. l. 140, ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος,

lego, he says, προτέρου καὶ wάστεος:

it was evidently the diiyotas that misled him, viz., προτέρου-γδ κα-γᾶστ-γος, &c.; so again in

Iliad, XI. 732, ἀμφίσταντο δὴ ἄστν,

lego, he says, το wάστν,

should of course be ἀμφίσταντο δὲ-γᾶστν.

Od. VII. 321, μάλα πολλὸν ἑκαστέρω ἔστ' Εὐβοίης,

read, Bentley says, πολλὰ wεκαστέρω.

The line, I should say, runs thus, πολλὸν ἐ|καστέρω|-wεστ' γὺ|βοί-γης.

Iliad, IX. 376, Lego, says Bentley, ἑξαπάφοι wεπέσσοι wάλις δέ wαι ἀλλὰ wέκηλος, that is to say, he puts no less than four digammata in this line, whereas I am actually at a loss to discover any necessity for even one. I am now speaking only as far as the scanning is concerned, for the meaning is absurd. This is in reality, I conceive, one of the finest lines in Homer, and which has been completely ruined by the carelessness of the copyists.

The slight alteration of a single vowel, the change of one cognate consonant into another, and the omission of a second, restore the sense at once, and without, at the same time, interfering with the sound in any way. The meaning is not, "but enough for him; let him perish quietly;" but, "enough for him; let him perish in contempt like a fool, for the all-wise Jupiter will deprive him of his senses,"—thus expressing a savage satisfaction, the which would be highly unbecoming in a Christian,

but which is perfectly in keeping with the character of a heathen.

Od. XVI. 348, ἀλλ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαναν ἐρύσσαμεν ἥ τις ἀρίστη.

There is no occasion for any digamma before ἐρύσσαμεν; but I perfectly agree with the Doctor that the epithet μέλαναν is unnecessary, and have but little doubt that it is a corruption here as in the *Iliad* of μάλ', pro μάλα, valde and αἶναν magnam, i. e. a considerably sized, or very large ship, instead of a black one, and the words ἥ τις ἀρίστη, i. e. quæ sit optima, would seem rather to confirm it; αἶνος and δαῖνος had originally the same, or nearly the same, meaning.

Iliad, XIII. 835, Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐπίαχον,

forte, he says, ἐπίαχον, vel ῥωθ' ἐπιπνίαχον;

should be read as ἐπ-γαχον, instead of ἐπίαχον.

The words Ἔλισσω, εἰλέω, or εἰλώω, as well as Ἔργον, Οἶδα, Οἶκος, and Οἶνος, may possibly have been digammated, but the examples given do not go to prove it; for instance, what objection can there be to

Iliad, XVIII. 522, ἔνθ' ἄρα τοίγ' ἴζοντ' εἰλύμενοι? or,

Iliad, XXIII. 320, ἀφράδεως ἐπὶ πολλῶν (πολλῶν) ἐλίσσεται?

Lego, Bentley says, ἴζον πωλυμένοι,

and πολλὰ πωλίσσεται.

Iliad, XIX. 245, γυναικὶς ἀμύμονας ἔργ' εἰδυίας,

lego, he says, πωργα πωδυίας,

should be read ἔργ' ἰδυ-νιας; ἰδυίας, not εἰδυίας, as Bentley has pointed out; but there is no occasion whatever for two digammas, and the second which he has inserted is in the wrong place.

Iliad, VII. 467, παρέστασαν οἶνον ἄγοντες,

lego, he says, παρεσταν πωνον; and, again,

Iliad, IX. 224, πλησάμενος δ' ὀνόιο δέπας,

lego, πωνοιο vel πλήσας δὲ πωνοιο;

yet one is at a loss to see why.

But the most extraordinary criticism of the Doctor's, and with which I shall conclude, is on

Iliad, III. 196, αὐτός δὲ, κτύλος ὤς,

lego, ψλὸς ἐπιπωλεῖται, he says, and then continues:

Quot sunt in hoc versiculo peccata, licet ita citatus a vetere Scholiasta Nicandri, et Timon de Cleanthe apud Diogenem Laërtium in Cleanth. τίς δ' οὗτος, κτύλος ὤς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν. Primum ex Æolismo: oportet enim,—ut semper ὤς

"sicut," "tquam"—πῶς ὥς esse, metro repugnante. Quale vero illud "obit ordines virorum tquam Aries"? Nondum vidi Arietem virorum ordines moderantem. Quæ vero ταυτολογία! "Obit, tquam ARIES; et comparo eum ARIETI." Ex ipsa sententia locum vestitus. Versu priore dixerat, "Arma ejus humi posita sunt": quorsum hoc, nisi ut inferret INERMEM eum obire ordines militum. Lego igitur—

αὐτὰρ φιλός ἐὼν ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν.

This is almost as incredible as Dr. Johnson's annotation upon the expression *Pil'd esteemed* in Shakspeare's tragedy of *Henry VI.* Part I. Act 1. Sc. 4., put into the mouth of old Talbot. *This is an epithet*, the Doctor says, *taken from the art of velvet-making. "Velvet is esteemed according to the number of piles, as, one pile, two pile, three pile velvet," &c.* But Talbot does not condescend to tell us *at how many piles* he was himself esteemed; nor does Dr. Johnson inform us in what way the art of making velvet could possibly be connected with the warrior. Dr. Farmer is much more reasonable, who derives it from the Latin phrase of *parvi, flocci, pili, nihili, &c. aliquem æstimare*. The real fact is, however, that this term *Pil'd esteemed* (should have been written *Piled es tim*, for the two d's produce a most disagreeable cacophony,) is an Anglo-Celtic or Ancient English phrase, and signifies *deprived of honour, made of little worth*, the latter root of which is τίμη. The word *Piled*, in the first half of this compound, is to be met with in the same play previously in the phrase, *pieled priest*, as applied to the cardinal, and which means, as I have explained already, either with or without the addition of the particle *es*,—*deprived of*, or made smaller in any way or matter, and therefore *bald*, i. e. *deprived of hair*, the representative of which in Greek is this same word φιλός, *Nudus calvus*, and φλόω, *depilo, tenue facio*; idem quod φίω. Bentley's observations upon this passage are unworthy of him altogether, and scarcely to have been expected in one otherwise so great a scholar and a critic.

The poet's meaning, I think, is very obvious. "Tell me," Priam says to Helen, "*who is that square thick-set man, that goes up and down amid the ranks like unto a ram*;" and then, in order to prevent mistake, for the expression else might pos-

¹ This particle *es* is still common in the French, as *Bachelier es lettres, Docteur es droit*, &c.

sibly have been susceptible of misinterpretation, he adds,—“*for I compare him to a ram buried deep in wool,*” and therefore thick and square, “*that wanders up and down among a flock of white fleeced sheep.*” However inelegant this comparison may seem in the mouth of a king in the present day, it was by no means the same, be it remembered, in the times of Homer, when even queens spun and sheep were tended by maidens of quality, and sometimes by princesses. And yet Bentley calls this repetition tautological. Had he really been anxious to display his criticism, there was a fair opportunity in the line succeeding, for the word ἀργεννάων is evidently a mis-spelling for ἀργενόων, *Æolice*, pro ἀργενόων, i. e. *not of white, but of white fleeced sheep*; from ἀργενός, *albus*, and Οα, *pellis ovilla*, the same as μάλ्लος, and which both the rhythm of the line and the meaning of the poet most decidedly require.

I now proceed to an exemplification of the work itself upon my new system; and in order to facilitate this operation to the reader as much as possible, and at the same time to save him the trouble of referring back to what has been already said upon this subject in my two former articles, I shall here subjoin a short set of rules, which it will be necessary for him to remember. It is my intention to give, by way of example, in this place, the first fifty lines only of the poem; but if once the reader shall have made himself familiar with the rules I mention, it will be perfectly in his power, I conceive, to scan any line subsequently, either in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and that too without the assistance, either of false quantity, or of the formerly all-powerful cœsura, both of which were merely make-shifts; and whenever a difficulty does occur to which this new system will not readily apply, the reader may rely on it, and I speak from experience, that the line has been perverted. It will, I am aware, be objected, that such is, in fact, a very easy way of getting over difficulties, but I am prepared, I trust, to prove my assertion; and in my future treatise upon the text of the *Iliad*, I hope that I shall be enabled satisfactorily to do so.

SUCCINCT GENERAL RULES FOR THE SCANSION OF THE ILIAD.

Rule 1. The vowels ε and ι, as well as the diphthongs α, ε, ι, &c. compounded of these letters, produce, when succeeded by any other vowel, an intervention of the sound of γ, or else are

themselves changed into that character; thus, ε or ι , when followed by α , become either ε - $\gamma\alpha$ or $\gamma\alpha$, ι - $\gamma\alpha$ or $\gamma\alpha$; and from this rule even the long vowel η is not at all times exempted.

Rule 2. The vowels *o* and *u*, as well as the diphthongal compounds *aw* and *eu*, produce, in like manner, an intervention of the sound of *w*, or are themselves changed into that sound; thus, *o* or *u*, when followed by *α*, become either *o-wα* or *wα*, *u-wα* or *wα*; and with respect to the last mentioned diphthong, it may indeed admit of both these interventions, as in *yu-wα*.

Rule 3. The vowels *ε* and *ι*, *ο* and *υ*, when placed after any consonant, and before another vowel, are apt to coalesce, and form a single syllable; thus, *δια* becomes *δya*, *τια* *tya*, *δοα* *δwa*, *τωα* *twα*, &c.

Rule 4. The vowel *α*, before any other vowel, may either remain and form a distinct syllable, or else it may be elided at pleasure, as in ἀγλαα or ἀγλα, &c.

Note. The vowel *o* is also sometimes elided, but chiefly in the third person singular and plural of the verbs; and yet perhaps it may be fairly doubted whether this is not rather a contraction than by elision, properly so designated.

The very first line of the *Iliad* has given more occasion for comment, I mean with respect to the scanning, than any other line probably in either of Homer's poems; and no less than three different methods have been resorted to in order to get over the difficulty, and which difficulty is contained in the two last words of the line in question—viz., in Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος—one method of reading which is to drop the ε, and to pronounce the three last letters of the first of these words as if written with ω only. A second is to drop the ι, and to pronounce the word as Πηληϊάδεω; and the third is still more unreasonable, and which is to drop the second η, and to pronounce the short ι long, as in Πηλιαάδεω, &c. Upon all of which Clarke observes facetiously, that the first method is undoubtedly the right one, and that any other attempt to give an explanation is only like the endeavour to find out a knot in a bulrush. In spite of Samuel Clarke, however, and the rest of the prosodists, I do not hesitate to say, that all three of these methods are equally erroneous, and that the only true and actual reading of this word is as Πηλη-γῆ-γᾶδ-|γῶ, that is to say, it is in five syllables. The diæresis alone over the ι would assure us, as in line 322, that all three of the vowels are to be uttered separately, and

the δ , which in $\Pi\eta|\lambda\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ belongs by usage to the final syllable, would in so long a word as that before us, be naturally inclined to be thrown back, or adhere to the syllable preceding; and the ϵ or rather y , in that case must begin the syllable that follows. Thus, we read *Pe-li-des* when in three, but *Pe-le-yi-yad-es* when it is to be pronounced in five distinct syllables; and this indeed would seem to form a sort of natural tendency in many languages; for in English we pronounce it *Plei-a-des* in three, but *Ple-i-ad-es* when this word is uttered in four separate syllables, as in Cooke's *Hesiod*:—

“When with their domes the slow-paced snails retreat
Beneath some foliage from the burning heat
Of the *Ple-yi-yad-es*, your tools prepare;
The ripened harvest then demands your care.”

And the Romans appear to have pronounced these words in the same manner also. Thus—

“*Plei-a-des* incipiunt humeros relevare paternos.”

Ovid. *Fasti*, iv. 169.

But Virgil pronounces this word evidently in the same way as I have done, as in the line—

“*Ple-yi-yad-as Hy-ya-das*, claramque Lycaonis Arcton.”

Georg. i.

A Frenchman would do the same; and the Greek word $\Pi\lambda\eta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, i. e. $\Pi\lambda\eta\text{-}y\iota\text{-}y\acute{\alpha}\delta\text{-}\epsilon\varsigma$, also was pronounced after a similar fashion.

In order to avoid any confusion, and, at the same time, to render my new system as palpable as possible, I shall first give the line as it stands in the common editions, Clarke's for instance, and then the same line scanned by this new system, and in so doing, the scansion will of course be adapted to the text as it is, and without any attempt whatever at alteration; but in every instance in which I conceive the text to be faulty, the line itself will be marked with an asterisk; when two false readings occur, as is frequently the case, with two; and even as many as three false readings, and all in the same line, are to be met with sometimes, and will be marked with three asterisks accordingly

ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΣ Α'.

Μῆνεν ἄειδε, θεὰ, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

Μῆνεν ἄειδε, θεῖ|α, Πη|λη-γῖ-γᾰδ|-γω -w' Ἀχι|λῆ-γος

Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,
 Οὐλομένην, ἥ|μυρί' -y- Ἀ|χαι-yoίς| ἄλγε-ye|θηκε,
 Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
 *Πολλὰς| δ' ἰφθίμους ψυ|χὰς ἄϊ|δι προ-w| -yaψεν
 Ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
 Ἡρώ|-wων, αὐ|τοὺς δε-ye|λώρι-ya| τεύχε κύ|νεσσιν,
 Οἰωνοῖσι τε πάσι · (Διὸς δ' τελείετο βουλή) ·
 *Οἰωνοῖσι| τε| πάσι · (Δι|γὸς δ' ἐτε|λεί-γετο| βουλή)
 Ἐξ οὗ δ' ἡ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
 Ἐξ οὗ| δ' ἡ| πρῶτα δι|-yαστή|την ἐρί|σαντε
 Ἀτρεΐδης τε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
 Ἀτρεΐδης τε,-yά|ναξ ἀν|δρῶν, καί| δι-γος Ἀ|χιλλεύς.
 Τίς τ' ἄρ σφῶς θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέγχε μάχεσθαι;
 Τίς τ' ἄρ| σφῶ-we θε|-γῶν ἔρι|δι ξυνέ|γχε μά|χεσθαι;
 Αἴτωρ καὶ Διὸς υἱός· ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χαλῶθεις
 Αἴτωρ| καὶ Δι-γός| whi-γός· ὁ| γὰρ βασι|λῆ-γι χα|λῶθεις
 Νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε κακὴν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί·
 Νοῦσον ἀ|νὰ στρατὸν| ὥρσε κα|κὴν· ὀλέ|κοντο δὲ| λαοί·
 Οὐνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμησ' ἀρητῆρα
 *Οὐνεκα| τὸν Χρύ|σην ἠ|τίμησ'| ἀρη|τῆρα
 Ἀτρεΐδης, ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θεὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
 Ἀτρεΐδης· ὁ γὰρ| ἦλθε θε|-wὰς ἐπὶ| νῆ-γας Ἀ|χαι-yῶν,
 Λυσόμενός τε θυγάτρα, φέρων τ' ἀπαρτεῖσι ἄποινα,
 *Λυσόμενός τε θυ|γάτρα, φέρων τ' ἀπαρ|τεῖσι-yά|ποινα,
 Στέμμα τ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
 Στέμματ' ἔ|χων ἐν| χερσὶν ἐκ|ηβόλο|-w Ἀπόλ|λωνος
 Χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, καὶ εἰσέσseto πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
 Χρυσ-yo -wά|νὰ σκήπ|τρῳ, κα-yε| εἰσέseto πάντας Ἀ|χαι-yoύς,
 Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δῶω κοσμήτορε λαῶν·
 Ἀτρεΐδα δε μάλιστα δύwω κοσμήτορε| λαῶν·
 Ἀτρεΐδαι τε, καὶ ἄλλοι θυκνήμδες Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἀτρε-yιδαι τε, κα|-y ἄλλο-we| -yυκνή|μδες Ἀ|χαι-yοι
 Ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
 Ὑμῖν|μὲν θεοί| δοῖ-yεν Ὀλύμ|πια-yα| δώματ' ἔ|χοντες,
 Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἐξέσθαι·
 Ἐκπέρ|σαι Πρί-yα|μοιο-yo πόλιν, yῦ| δ' οἴκαδ' ἐξέσθαι·

The attention of the reader is particularly called to the lengthening power of the diiyota in this line, which is the cause of the last syllable in πόλιν being long,—as also to the conversion of the ε in θεοί of the line preceding into the same letter,

and whereby this word is contracted into a single syllable. There does not appear to be any necessity whatever for the intervention of a digamma, as Bentley supposes, before the word Οἶκαδ'. If there is any intervention at all, it must be assuredly that of the diiyota, viz. δ-γῶκαδ' in this case also; indeed, in all the cases, I conceive, in which there is an elision either of the ε or ι, they ought properly to be pronounced in this manner, as Παλλάς;—δγίφθιμους-δγέταλει-yeτο βουλή;—γαπε-ραισι-γαπωνα, &c.

Παῖδα δέ μοι λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε,
 Παῖδα δέ μοι λύσaiτε φί|λην, τὰ δ' ἄ|ποινα δέ|χεσθε,
 Ἀζόμενοι Διὸς υἱόν, ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα.
 Ἀζόμε|νοι Δι-γός| whi-yón ἐ|κηβόλον| Ἀπόλ|λωνα.
 Ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπauφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἐνθ' ἄλ|λοι μὲν| πάντες ἐ|πauφή|μησαν Ἀ|χαι-γοί,
 Αἰδεῖσθαι θ' ἱερῆα, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄπεινα.
 Αἰδεῖσ|θαι θ' ἱ-ye|ρῆ-γα, κα|-γά|γλαά| δεχθα-γᾶ|πεινα.
 Ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ.
 Ἀλλ' οὐκ| Ἀτρεῖ|δῃ-γ-Ἀγα|μέμνονι-|γ ἦνδανε| θυμῷ.
 Ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.
 Ἀλλὰ κα|κῶς ἀφί|-γει, κρατε|ρὸν δ' ἐπὶ| μῦθον ἐ|τελλε.
 Μὴ σε, γέρον, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κηεῖω,
 Μὴ σε, γέ|ρον, κοί|λῃσιν ἐ|γὼ παρὰ| ν-γυσι κη|χεῖ-γο,
 Ἡ νῦν δηθύνοντ', ἥ ὕστερον, αὐτὰς ἰόντα.
 Ἡ νῦν| δηθύνοντ', ἥ|-γῦ|στερον| αὐτὰς ἱ-γόντα
 Μὴ νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμη σκῆπτρον, καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο.
 Μὴ νύ τοι-γού|χραίσ|μη σκῆπ|τρον, καί| στέμ|μα θε|-γοῖ-γο.
 Τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω, πρὶν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν
 ••Τὴν δ' ἐγο|-wου λύ|σω, πρὶν| μιν καί| γῆρας ἐ|πεισιν
 Ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τηλόθι πάτρης,
 Ἡμετέ|ρω-wἐν|-γού|κο-wἐν| Ἀργε-γι| τηλόθι| πάτρης,
 Ἰστὸν ἐπαχομένην, καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιώσαν.
 Ἰστὸν ἐ|παχομέ|νην, κα-γῶ|μον λέ|χος| ἀντι-γύ|-wωσαν.
 Ἀλλ' ἴθι, μὴ μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὧς κε νήσῃ.
 Ἀλλ' ἴθι,| μὴ μ' ἐ|ρέθι|ζε· σα|ώτερος| ὧς κε νή|-γη-γαί.
 Ὡς ἔφατ'· ἔδδαισεν δ' ὁ γέρων, καὶ ἐπέειπετο μῦθον.
 Ὡς ἔφατ'·| ἔδδαι|σεν δ' ὁ γέ|ρων, κα-γε|-πεί|θετο| μῦθον.
 Βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θύνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
 Βῆ δ' ἀκέ|-γων παρὰ| θύνα πολυφλοίσ|βοι-γο θα|λάσσης,

Πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κίων ἡραῖθ' ὁ γεραιὸς
 Πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπά|νευθε κί-γών ἡ|ραῖθ' ὁ γεραι-γός
 Ἀπόλλωνι ἔνακτι, τὸν ἡ|γύκομος τέκε Λητώ .
 Ἀπόλλωνι-γᾶ|νακτι, τὸν ἡ-γύκομος τέκε| Λητώ .
 Κλυθεῖ μευ, Ἀργυρότοξ', ὅς Χρῶσιν ἀμφιβέβηκας,
 *Κλυθεῖ μευ,|-w Ἀργύρο|τοξ', ὅς| Χρῶσιν| ἀμφιβέ|βηκας,
 Κῶλαν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἱερὴ ἀνάσσεις,
 *Κῶλαν| τε ζαθέ|-γην, Τενέδοι|-γὸ τε|-γίφι-γᾶ|νάσσεις,
 Σμυνθεῦ . εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
 Σμυνθ-γῶ|- weiποτέ| τοι χαρί|-γεντ' ἐπὶ| νη-γὸν ἔ|ρεψα,
 Ἥ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πύονα μηρί' ἔκηα
 Ἥ-yei| δὴ ποτε| τοι κατὰ| πύονα| μηρί'-yē|κη-γα
 Ταύρων ἦδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνην ἐέλδωρ .
 Ταύρων| ἦδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε| μοι κρή|-γνην ἐ|-γέλδωρ .
 Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖα βέλεσσιν .
 Τίσει|-γαν Δαναοῖ|-y ἐμὰ| δάκρυ-wa| σοῖα βέ|λεσσιν .
 Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος . τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φαῖβος Ἀπόλλων .
 Ὡς ἔφατ'| εὐχόμε|νος . τοῦ| δ' ἔκλυ-wē| Φαῖβος Ἀ|πόλλων .
 Βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμπιοι καρήνων χεῖρες κῆρ,
 Βῆ δὲ κατ'| Οὐλύμ|ποι-γο κα|ρήνων| χε-wομενος κῆρ,
 Τόξ' ὅμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην .
 ***Τόξ' ὅμοισιν ἔ|χων ἀμ|φηρεφέ|-γα τε φα|ρέτρην .
 Ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἷστοι ἐπ' ὅμων χωόμενοι,
 Ἐκλαγξ|αν δ' ἄρ' ὀ|-wίστο-yēπ'| ὅμων| χε-wομενοι-γο,
 Αὐτοῦ κνηθέντος . ὁ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς .
 **Αὐτοῦ| κνη|θέντος . ὁ| δ' ἦ-γι-yē| νυκτὶ-yē|-γοικώς .
 Ἐξείτ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεῦν, μετὰ δ' ἰὸν ἔηκε .
 Ἐξείτ'| ἔπειτ' ἀπά|νευθε νε|-γών, μετὰ| δ' ἰ-γὸν ἔ|ηκε .
 Δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο .
 Δεινὴ| δὲ κλαγγ|ῇ γένετ'| ἀργυρέ|-γοι-γο βι|-γοῖ-γο .
 Οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπύχετο, καὶ κύνας ἀργούς .
 *Οὐρῇ|-γας μὲν| πρῶτον ἐ|πύχετο|, καὶ κύνας| ἀργούς .

The above examples are, I consider, amply sufficient to enable any one who may be desirous to make himself perfectly acquainted with the principles of my new system; indeed I might almost venture to assert, that any person who has made himself sufficiently master of these principles, so as to scan without assistance the first half-dozen lines of the poem, will find but little difficulty afterwards in scanning any line whatever in either of the two immortal works of Homer, unless,

indeed, the line be defective; yet even in that case, that is to say where the text is erroneous, the scanning nevertheless will frequently remain unaffected. However strange this new system may at first appear, yet I feel well assured that upon further acquaintance it will be found to be the true one. It is not founded merely upon fancy, but upon long observation and upon sound and physical principles. It gives, besides, a weight and a smoothness to the line that in heroic poetry would otherwise be wanting, and without which many of Homer's lines would seem to be both broken and disjointed. The difference which it makes to me is the same as when an air is sung or played merely from the notes, and the same air when executed with emphasis and feeling; a difference which I need not dilate upon to any one who has got a correct ear for music, or but a particle of taste even.

As an instance of the first-mentioned effect, I shall quote only the seventeenth line of the *Iliad*, viz.:

Ἀτρεΐ-γυδαί τε, καὶ γᾶλλο-γῆ-γυκνήμυδες Ἀχαι-γού.

The line, when divided in this manner, is to me both flowing and beautiful, but much of the beauty and rhythm of which is completely lost when heard after the old method of reading. As an instance of a broken or disjointed line upon the old system, I shall repeat the one which has been already quoted, viz.:

H-γὰπο-ωείπ' · ἐπὲ-γού τογυπὶ δέ-γος · ὕφρα γῶ-|ωείδω|,

and which, after this new method, will be found to read almost as smoothly as the other. And here for the present I shall terminate my treatise.

H. BONNYCASTLE.

XXXII.

ON THE ELEVENTH OF PINDAR'S PYTHIAN ODES.

THE eleventh of Pindar's Pythian odes has always been considered particularly difficult of elucidation, and especially in respect to what is indeed the grand problem for criticism in all the odes, the pertinence and propriety of the mythical enrichment to the subject and occasion of the poem. That such

pertinence and propriety must have existed, no one now thinks of questioning, whether they are now apparent or not; the taste or information of the critic may be open to impeachment in the matter, it is now established and understood, but not the genius of the Theban poet.

The development of this principle has at once resulted from, and occasioned some of the greatest triumphs of modern criticism, but so high a standard, and strict a rule of illustration, has thus become sanctioned, that what remains obscure is darkened still more by contrast, and blots the surrounding illumination. I subjoin a series of tentative solutions of the difficulty that clouds the ode before us; the best of them, it will be observed, is not advanced with confidence, and every one, I think, will convey a forlorn sense of desperation to those who are familiar with the delightful impressions of happier examples of analysis.¹

¹ Ἀριστὰ ἰ Πινδαρος τὸ ἰγνώμην εἰργά-
ντο· ἰς δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς σφῶδρα ἀναίεον πα-
ραβᾶσθαι χερσέστας.—Scholiast, *Pyth.* xi.
v. 21.

Digressio quæ sequitur, a lusu ingenii, ex notionum associatione fortuitâ est profecta. Heyne, ad v. 24, *Pyth.* xi. Propius ad vim illius episodii accedere non licet; si tamen de obscurissimâ re quam despero unquam quemquam in clarâ luce positurum esse, conjectura proferenda est, ea in hunc fere modum exornari poterit. Perierit unus ex Thrasydæi necessariis, non tamen pater qui superstes est (vs. 14, 43), sed alius quidam, isque justus vir (v. 55, 56, seq.) Fuit is homo potens; interemptus sit in turbis, quæ ante pugnam Plataicam Thebis fuerunt, per propinquum vel affinem haud minus potentem, ut Agamemno per Clytæmnestram et Ægisthum; excesserit illius familia ex urbe, fortasse in Phocidem; mox ubi Græci Pausania duce Thebas in deditionem acceperant, Thrasydæi familia aliqua ratione ulta eos sit, qui propinquo necem attulerint, capitulante forsitan Lacone Pausania, &c.—A. Boeckh, *Erplic. Pind.*, p. 339.

Dubito igitur unum ex Thrasydæi necessariis interemptum, propositasque

cædes cum adulteris eo tantum refero ut dissuadeatur superbia et tyrannis; in quo quum propiorem fabulam satis gravem non nosset, ut solet ubique quantum fieri potest eligere quod propius tangat, pulcre victoria in Crisseo campo parta utitur, ut sic ad Orestis iisdem in locis olim viventis ceteræque familie Agamemnoniæ tristem fortunam veniat.—Dissen, *Commentar.*, p. 339.

Pindar himself seems to admit that his digression about Agamemnon and Clytæmnestra is rather beside the question (v. 38), and a very few points of resemblance would suffice for the introduction of a story, for which the poet himself has offered some sort of apology. The only conclusion which can be drawn with any degree of safety, is, that some one of the victor's friends or relatives had been accused by calumnious citizens of adultery with some lady of rank (v. 25 and following), and that this had probably been made an excuse for putting him to death by the then tyrants of Thebes, but that his death had been avenged by the family of Thrasydæus after the restoration of freedom.—Donaldson, *Introduct. Pyth.* xi.

Mommsen explains the mythus, and the way it is handled, by reference to

The translation of the ode (which will sufficiently indicate the readings I accept,) may thus run; ease and elegance being left a little aside for the sake of lineal and literal exactitude.

PINDAR'S ELEVENTH PYTHIAN ODE.

FOR THRASYDÆUS OF THEBES, VICTOR IN THE FOOT-RACE OF BOYS.

STROPHE 1. Daughters of Kadmus, Semele, of Olympian goddesses path-fellow;
And thou, Ino Leukothea; sharing the mansions of Nereids of the deep;
Speed with Herakles' most excellent offspring
Mother, to Melia along; into the adytum, of golden tripods
5. Treasury, which pre-eminently Loxias prized

ANTIST. 1. And styled Ismenion, truthful seat of diviners;
Oh, children of Harmonia, there now too the heroines' native
Band he summons to assemble in company,
In order that sacred Themis and the right deciding
10. Omphalos of the earth, ye may resound; as evening is setting in,

EPODE 1. For Seven-gated Thebes'
Sake, and the contest of Kirrha,
In which Thrasydæus has called to memory the hearth
Of his fathers, casting on it a third garland;
15. In wreathy meads of Pylades
Victorious, the host of Laconian Orestes.

STRO. 2. Whom, while his father was being slaughtered, Arsinoe, from Clytem-
nestra's

Forceful hands, his nurse, snatched up away from direful treachery;
When the Dardanian daughter of Priam,

20. Cassandra, by beamy brass, along with the Agamemnonian
Soul, she sped to Acheron's shaded edge;

ANT. 2. Ruthless woman. Whether it was that her Iphigeneia by Euripus
Killed, far from her country, goaded to arouse violent handed spleen;
Or in strange bed enslaved,

25. Did nightly embraces seduce her? This for youthful brides
Is the most odious fault and skillless to conceal

EP. 2. From foreign tongues.

Citizens too are slanderous;
And lofty state has envy not inferior:

30. But he of mean aspirations riots unnoticed.
The hero Atreides himself died,
Returning late to renowned Amyclæ;

STRO. 3. And caused to perish too the seeress maid, when for the sake of Helen
the burnt out

the details, historical and conjectural, of the third Messenian war, but as not to his own satisfaction (p. 69), so neither, I presume, to that of any of his readers; his views are well criticised by Rauchenstein, *Philologus* II. p. 202. And compare the notice by Scheidewin, *ibid.* p. 708.

Rauchenstein, (*loc. cit.*) by an arbitrary reading of the Scholiast, dates the Ode Olymp. 79, 3, with what good purpose or result in rendering the ode at large, or its mythical enrichment more intelligible, is not to me apparent.

- Trojans' palaces he had spoiled of their luxury.² But he, the aged host,
 33. Strophius, reached, youthful head,
 The dweller of foot of Parnassus: but with late war
 He slew his mother and prostrated Ægisthus too in slaughter.
- ANT. 3. Of a truth, O friends, by interchanging cross paths I have wandered
 away
 After proceeding at first in the straight path; or me some wind out of
 my course
40. Has thrown like a vessel on the sea:
 O Muse, but it is thine, if for fee you have bargained to afford
 A mercenary voice, at other time and other whither to bestir,
- EPO. 3. Either for the father, Pythian victor,
 Or now for Thrasydæus,
 45. Of whom the cheerfulness and the glory is ablaze.
 On one part, in chariots gloriously victorious of old,
 Of much renowned contests the Olympian
 Fleet radiance, they gained by horses:
- STRO. 4. And at Pytho into the stark stadium descending, they have overcome
 50. The Hellenian array in swiftness. From the gods may I affect things
 glorious,
 Intent on what is attainable by my age.
 For of the city's conditions finding the middle state with longer
 Prosperity blooming, I except to the lot of tyrannies.
- ANT. 4. About common excellencies I am concerned; and warded off are envious
 55. Hatreds, if one gaining the summit and tranquilly occupying it, direful
 insolence
 Has shunned; at the black bourn
 He will have a more glorious death; to dearest progeny
 Furnishing fair fame, of possessions the grace most excellent.
- EP. 4. This is that Iphikleides
 60. Iolaus ennobles,
 Theme as he is of song; and the force of Kastor
 And thee, O Prince Poludeukes, ye sons of the gods;
 On one day in seats of Therapne,
 64. And on one inhabiting within Olympus.

The difficulty ascribed to the ode applies, among other points, to its date; and on this head it is necessary to adopt an opinion, before committing ourselves to illustrations dependent at every step on political allusions.

From the ode itself we learn, that the victory celebrated was gained in the stadium or foot race at the Pythian games by Thrasydæus of Thebes, whose father was also a Pythian victor, and still living; and at an earlier period, some member of the family had gained a victory in the Olympic chariot-race.

Thrasydæus himself, it is said, by the victory now celebrated, has cast the third wreath on his paternal hearth; counting the

² Had put a term to the luxury of, &c.

Olympic victory as the first, and the Pythian victory of his father the second, that now celebrated must be the first ever gained by the son, and this agrees with the absence of any allusion in the ode to his achievement of a previous triumph. So great was the splendour that an Olympic chariot victory cast upon a family, that the opportunity furnished by the new victory, of publicly reviving the recollection of it, must have been a great part of the gratification of Thrasydæus, and of course duly taken advantage of in the ode; on this account it is impossible to concede that it is not included in the three victories alluded to.

Now the scholiast gives the date of two victories gained by a Thrasydæus; Pythiad 28 (= Olymp. 75, 3) and 33 (= Olymp. 80, 3, see on the Chronology Boeckh. *Explic.* p. 206 ff. and Krause.) The earlier date is the year after the battle of Platæa, which had led to the severe treatment of Thebes by the Lacedæmonians, for the favour and aid the city lent to the Persians; the deaths of a large number of its aristocracy, and the loss of its control over the rest of Bœotia. The ode, however, which touches on the relations of Thebes and Lacedæmon, bears no impress of the violent feelings with which the Theban poet would naturally be animated, and to which indeed he gives vent with fervent passion in other odes written certainly at this time.

If, therefore, the dates given by the scholiast are literally correct, we are forced to the inference, that it was not the Thrasydæus of our ode who conquered Pyth. 28, but a different person of the same name, and not, I think, his father; the phraseology of verses 43, 44, seems to preclude the idea that father and son were of the same name.³

We have then the latter date Pyth. 33, for the subject of the ode, the first victory gained by the son Thrasydæus, the third recorded for his family; at this date the political position of Thebes had undergone great change, and harmonizes much more readily with the tone and topics of the poet.

To Tycho Mommsen, is to be assigned the merit of establishing for the first time the superior probability of the more recent date.⁴

From the terms of the ode, it appears, that the victory gained in the games of Apollo was celebrated at Thebes, at the temple of Apollo Ismenius, which was situated without the city by the

³ ἢ πατρὶ Πυθίαν
τὴ γένεσιν ἢ Ὀλυμπιάδην.

⁴ *Pindarus*, Kiel. 1845.

Electrid gate, and the ode appears to have been written to be sung in the procession thither, while another poem of different character, a hymn, was reserved for the evening celebration at the temple itself.

Oracles were given *δι' ἐμπόρων*⁵ as at Elis, at the Ismenian fane, and there were stored golden tripods dedicated by the Thebagenæ, the primitive Kadmeian Thebans, in times before the Bœotian conquest,⁶ as well as by families, relics of the race in later times. These Thebagenæ appear to have been the families of distinction, (Paus. ix. 10, 4.) who supplied the annual or novennial daphnephorus, a youth, selected for beauty and vigour, as became the representative of Apollo, who with luxuriant locks, crown of gold, and splendid and flowing robes, led the chorus of virgins attendant on the *κρῖν*, a pole bound with laurel and flowers, and surmounted by balls and fillets, symbols by form and number, of the astronomical period of which the completion was celebrated.⁷ It was the custom of at least the wealthier daphnephori, to dedicate a tripod to Apollo Ismenius, and one was shown in the temple as the dedication of Amphitryon, on the occasion of Hercules acting as daphnephorus.

The Parthenia of Pindar comprised hymns written for these celebrations, and his own son was a daphnephorus; and there can be little doubt that the noble gens of Ægidæ, to which he belonged, pertained to the Thebagenæ, the primitive and traditional worshippers of Ismenian Apollo.

Now the name Thrasydæus occurs in the family of the Ægid Theron, and hence there is a presumption that the Pythian victor was an Ægid, and hence a Thebagenæ, not to say a daphnephorus, and the Kadmeian and Ismenian allusions of the ode, stamp the presumption as a warranted conclusion; and this circumstance often noticed, but never yet duly appreciated, furnishes the long-sought key to the complete elucidation of the ode, and the solution of all or most of the difficulties of harmonizing its mythical, personal, and political allusions.

It was the frequent custom of those about to contend in the games, to consult an oracle, and that Thrasydæus had received an encouraging answer at the Ismenion, may help to account for the celebration of his victory there, as well as for the poet's marked notice of the oracle.

⁵ Herod. viii. 134.

⁶ Herod. v. 59. Müller, *Orchomenos*,

p. 487 and 397, ff.

⁷ Proclus, *Chrestom.*

After the consideration of the position and connections of the victor personally, the political relations of his city require attentive observation, and those of Thebes at the date at present in question were peculiar and critical; to understand them, we must commence our view from an earlier period. When Xerxes invaded Greece, Thebes rendered him active and persevering assistance; Thebans at a later date, to palliate this treason to the Pan-hellenian cause, pleaded that their country at the time, was in the power neither of a democracy nor of an aristocracy, in the form which was held equally legitimate, but was coerced, by a dynasty of a few men, of whom Attaginus and Timegenidas are mentioned as the chief, in a manner approximating to a tyranny.⁸ In this there was probably considerable truth, and such rulers, it is clear, exposed to attacks both from democratical and aristocratical assailants, would without scruple avail themselves of the overwhelming force obtained by alliance with Persia; at the same time there is such an appearance of zeal and heartiness in the Medism of Thebes, that it must have been favoured by a numerous and active party on other grounds, and these doubtless were jealousy, and fear of the encroachments and ambition of Athens, which had alarmed the Æginetans, and even induced them to yield earth and water to the demand of Darius.

What had been the sentiments of Pindar himself at this crisis? his aristocratical opinions and affections are well known; the associate of Sicilian magnates and tyrants, and of the Medizing Aleuadæ, there is nevertheless not a line in his poems that can be fairly interpreted as untrue either to liberty or Greece. The tone of his poetry, quite as distinctly as his positive expressions, make an imputation of Medism absurd; and as regards the government of Thebes, the presumption is, that as a man of noble birth, he would have but little sympathy with the oligarchs whose pretensions to distinction were subversive of his own, and who seem to belong to a class, which most usually compassed tyrannical power, by the same treacherous abuse of popular arts that elevated Pisistratus.

After the final defeat of the Persians and their Theban allies at the battle of Plataea, Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian general, and acting with regal power, as guardian of the son of Leonidas, advanced with the victorious army upon Thebes, to exact re-

⁸ Thueyd. iii. 62.

paration for the support rendered to the enemies of Greece. Attaginus escaped, but Timegenidas and other heads of the medizing party, were given up and put to death without form or discussion by Pausanias at Corinth; and the city itself was deprived of its influence and supremacy over the rest of Bœotia, —the Bœotian confederacy. (Diod. xi. 81; Justin. iii. 6.)

The discredit of Thebes was highly favourable to the influence of Athens, and ultimately Sparta, alarmed at her progress, took measures to heal the wound she herself had been the instrument of inflicting. That this change of policy did not come into activity till twenty years after the battle of Plataea, may be received as an indication how deep was the horror inspired by Theban Medism, and how strong was the repulsion between the two states, resulting from this feeling, and from the recollection of the severities of Pausanias.

At last, in the year B. C. 457, when the Athenians undertook the building of the long walls, to connect the fortifications of Athens with those of her ports, Sparta took the alarm at a step which threatened to secure Athens in the full exercise of its maritime superiority, in spite of any opposition of land forces that could be brought against her. The Phocians had attacked the little territory of Doris, and afforded a pretext for Spartan interference to the north of the Isthmus, and a force was dispatched, of 1500 of their own troops, and 10,000 allies, under Nikomedes, regent during the minority of Pleistoanax son of Pausanias, the former enemy of Thebes. Neither Diodorus nor Thucydides mention Pleistoanax as present in the expedition, but I have little doubt that he was so.

Doris was easily rescued, but the Spartan force lingered in Bœotia, where it was employed in enlarging and strengthening the fortifications of Thebes, and also in bringing the Bœotian towns into effective subjection to her control. With this assistance, Thebes undertook to maintain her authority, and withstand Athens, without requiring aid from Peloponnesus in future.

These proceedings were understood at Athens, and the excitement of the sovereign demus was enhanced by the well-founded suspicion that the aristocratical party within the city was in treasonable communication with the Spartan force. Precautions were at once taken for guarding the passes of the Isthmus, as well as the Crissean gulf, thus cutting off the return of Nikomedes: and a large force, supported by Argive and

Thessalian allies, was sent into Bœotia, where a battle shortly ensued in the neighbourhood of Tanagra. The conflict was severe, and the loss great on both sides, but the Thessalians, doubtless by arrangement of the Athenian aristocrats, passed over to the enemy in the midst of it, and the result ultimately was in favour of the Thebans and Lacedæmonians. The latter appear, however, not to have gained a more decisive advantage than they were willing to give up for the price of an unmo- lested return to Peloponnesus; they concluded a four months' truce with Athens, and left the Thebans to their own re- sources.⁹

Sixty-one days after the battle of Tanagra, Myronides led an Athenian force into Bœotia, beat the Thebans at CEnophyta, obtained possession of all the Bœotian towns but Thebes, and deprived the Thebans of their recently recovered advantages.¹⁰ Pursuing his success, the Athenian general obliged the Opun- tian Locrians, and then the Phocians recently at the power of Sparta, to give hostages, and then advanced into Thessaly, with a view to force Pharsalus to receive back Orestes, son of the king Echekratidas; this last attempt failed, however, and he returned to Athens.

The Pythian games in which Thrasydæus gained his prize, fell about three months before the battle of Tanagra, and within these three months we must place the date of the ode, as it contains nothing that can be relied on as an allusion to the battle. When the games were celebrated, it seems probable that Nikomedes was either present, or in the neighbourhood. The connection of the Herakleid kings with the Pythian fane was always very intimate, and as the Lacedæmonians were fa- vourers of the Dorian families of Delphi, as superintendents of the oracle, in opposition to the Phocians, there is ground for in- ference, that the aggressions of Phocis, which it was the object

⁹ Thucydides, in his rapid summary of these events, says nothing of a truce. The Lacedæmonians, are his words, ravaging the Megarid returned home through Gerania and the Isthmus. Probably the forces that guarded the passes had been advanced with the expedition into Bœotia, and shared the defeat at Tanagra. Truce or no truce, the The- bans were equally deprived of Spartan

assistance in securing the results of the victory.

¹⁰ See on these events Boeckh's Chro- nological Note to *Isth.* vi. *Explic.*, p. 530, ff. According to Grote, vol. v. p. 445, after the battle of CEnophyta, "the Athenians became masters of Thebes, as well as of the remaining Bœotian towns." On what authority is Thebes included here?

of their expedition to check, had been directed towards Delphi as well as Doris. It is at least certain, that shortly after Myronides had reversed their arrangement in Phocis, supplanted their interest, and taken hostages to secure the Attic party favourable to Athens in power, the Lacedæmonians engaged in the sacred war with the object and effect of depriving the Phocians of the control of the oracle, and restoring it to the Delphians. Athenian influence, therefore, at this time implies Phocian superintendence, and Lacedæmonian Delphian, and therefore at the time Thrasydæus contended, the Delphians, protected by Lacedæmonians, would enjoy their full privileges.

Corresponding results would attend the presence of the Lacedæmonians at Thebes; the protection by them of any remnant of the party of Timegenidas, or on the other hand, of the democratical party who looked to Athens, is not to be thought of. Their negotiations with the aristocratical reactionists of Athens, indicate their policy as well as sympathies, and assure us that in promoting the resumption by Thebes of her authority over the Bœotian towns, they at the same time sought to establish the supremacy of the aristocratical class, the class strong in wealth, in traditional nobility and privilege, and common contempt of the vulgar, as the best security for an administration favourable to their interests, and permanently hostile to Athens. Such a revolution is in harmony with all the expressed sympathies of Pindar, as we may presume it would be with those of the Ægid Thrasydæus; and a Pythian victory gained at such a moment by a member of the restored and elate aristocracy, could not be celebrated without some allusion to the political career opening with such promise before them.

Extravagant elation, however, and insolent triumph over the depressed democracy, is not in accordance with the temper of the Epinician poetry of Pindar, who, in this point, and under control of the religious sentiment of the celebration, is superior to the class to whom otherwise, it must be admitted, he belongs. Professions and inculcations of political, as of all other moderation and aversion to tyrannical and violent courses, characterize his expressions; and it is observable, that now his friends and party are triumphant, it is in this regulated tone that he addresses their feelings; while under a reverse we find him in another ode inculcating good hope and heart, but unable to

suppress a degree of bitterness in his anticipation of the downfall of the democrats.

But on the present occasion, there were other elements of complication in the feelings of the poet and his class and party, especially in regard to the Lacedæmonians, to whom they now looked for the restoration of their city as well as faction, but whom they could not but remember as the ruin of both. Pausanias, however, the great instrument of the former severity, was now no more; Pleistoanax his son was king of Sparta, but still a minor, and the Spartan force was commanded by his guardian, Nikomedes son of Cleombrotus.

Pausanias had fallen a victim to the very tendency to tyranny and medism, that he had chastised so severely in Thebes and her rulers. He had assumed the pomp of an Asiatic despot, and the insolence of a Greek tyrant, to the disgust and alienation of the allies; and had opened negotiations with Xerxes for the hand of his daughter as the price of betraying Greece. Deserted and accused by the Peloponnesians, he was summoned home, but not content with impunity, continued his intrigues both with the Persians and also the Helots, whom he instigated to revolt. Helot information put the Ephors upon their guard, and the evidence afforded by means of a slave, was decisive of the guilt of the regent. He took refuge in the temple of Athene Chalkioikos, but in vain. His own mother is said to have suggested and authorized the policy of the Ephors, by placing a brick before the entrance to the temple, and then retiring to her home. Byzantine tradition said that he was pursued by the Erinnyes of a maiden of their city, whom he had ravished from her parents, and slain in error and accident; and her unexpiated death was the cause that he, of all the suppliants of Athene Chalkioikos, alone was suppliant in vain.

Pausanias, the victor of Platæa, was starved to death, and such was the fate at the hands of his countrymen and relations in sacred precincts, on the information of Helots and a Thracian slave, of the medizing and tyrannically disposed chastiser of the medizing tyrants of Thebes. Some time afterwards, the Delphian oracle commanded his solemn re-interment, and exacted reparation for the profanation of the temple, from which he had been brought away just as he was on the point of expiring. Pleistoanax his son was one day to owe his return

from exile to a mandate of the same oracle, though not without suspicion that it was corruptly obtained.

In the ode before us, Pindar relates the troubles of the house of Agamemnon, as typical of the miseries of exalted station and sovereign power, and even of tyranny. He makes Amyclæ in Laconia, and not Argos, the scene of his catastrophe, and designates his son Orestes, the Laconian, in contradiction to the traditions preferred by Æschylus in his treatment of the same mythus about a year earlier, and doubtless with as good a reason.¹¹ The Athenian poet exhibited the fate of the Argive Agamemnon at Argos, and connecting Orestes both as refugee and suppliant for purification, with Phocis, and not like Pindar with Delphi; he transferred the close of his grand action to Athens, and set forth the mythical intercourse as type and precedent and sanction for the alliance existing between the two democratical states of Athens and Argos, in opposition to the menacing position of Sparta. Even the bones of Orestes, claimed by the Spartans as in their keeping, are represented by him as resting at Argos.

The appeal of Æschylus to the political sympathies of Athens and her allies has never been mistrusted since it was first pointed out, and the intention of Pindar in a contrasted interest, is scarcely more open to question. The version of the legend he adopts, is a claim on the part of Spartan kings, to be the true heirs of the supreme authority of Agamemnon, in opposition to Argos, and the claim had come in question in this very form in the negotiations to induce Argos to take part in the confederacy against Persia. Hence Agamemnon would be recognised with facility, as the representative of the generalissimo Pausanias, as the Greeks were ever forward to institute a comparison of their victory over the Persians, to that of their Homeric forefathers over Asiatic Troy. Probably the visit of the Spartan king to the Troad, mentioned by Thucydides, was not without some feeling of taking his place as representative of his heroic predecessor, as Alexander long after visited the site to assume the position of a new Achilles.

Considering, therefore, the peculiar relation of Sparta and Thebes at the date of the ode, it appears to me impossible that the miserable fate of Agamemnon on his return home from the

¹¹ Stesichorus and Simonides placed the palace of Agamemnon in Lacedæmon. —Schol. Eurip., *Orest.* 46.

Asiatic triumph; the flight of Orestes to Cirrha; the protection afforded him by the god of the oracle, and the divine sanction of his exaction of reparation for the unnatural murder, could have been recalled at this time, and with such especial emphasis on the Laconian locality of the events, without suggesting, and therefore being intended to suggest, the unhappy catastrophe of Pausanias, the victor of Platæa. The coincidence of the leading lines of the two stories is sufficient for the illustration, though something more may be ascribed, without pressing the parallel too closely, to secondary incidents. The design of Pausanias to ally himself to Xerxes by marriage, reminds at least of the connection of Agamemnon with Cassandra, daughter of Priam; the unnatural sternness of his mother, reminds us at least of the unwomanly Clytæmnestra, and the fate of Iphigeneia is at least painted in some of the colours of the misadventure at Byzantium; and when the poet insists on the unhappy liability of the exalted to provoke the envy, calumny, and denunciation of mean-spirited citizens, we find the application, that is not readily supplied to us by the mythical story, rise at once to our minds from the circumstances of the accusation and death of the historical hero.

We shall be led still closer to the characterization of the feelings addressed and stimulated in the ode, if we examine what were the peculiar mythical and traditional ties, by which the affections of Thebes and Theban Thrasydæus were interested in, and attached to Sparta. Ties of some degree of strength and of some degree of specialty existed among all the Greek states, and a poet who regarded any pair of them in alliance, had ever at his command some precedent in heroic times, some stuff and matter of primeval ages, to furnish the indispensable vehicle for the expression of reviving feelings; it was for individual genius to give force and aptness to the application.

In the present instance, we find a fund of tradition concerning the primeval connection of the Sparti of Kadmean Thebes and Orchomenian Minyans, with the country and mythology of Lacedæmon. The Minyans of Bœotia, the Kadmeian race to which the Ægidæ and Thebagenæ belong, have common relations to Laconia and Lemnos; and Herodotus¹² tells how Minyans came from Lemnos to Laconia, and claimed home and settlement on the

¹² Herod. iv. 147-149.

ground of antique relationship. The legends of Ino Leukothea are essentially Minyan, and in Laconia we find her worship and legends in several localities, and in association with Dionusos offspring of her sister Semele.

The Kadmeian gens of Ægidæ,¹³ settled in Sparta before the date of the Dorian occupation,¹⁴ were especially connected with Amyclæ, (*Isthm.* vi. Cf. *Pyth.* v. and Dissen.) the royal seat of Agamemnon according to the poet. It was by injunction of the Pythian oracle of Apollo that they joined the Dorian force,¹⁵ and no doubt from like influence that their settlement was in the vicinity of the most celebrated fane of the god, and the seat of the Hyacinthia, his chief festival. The Amyclæan is also the Karneian Apollo, and intimately connected with the Ægidæ, not only at Sparta, but at Thera and Cyrene. (*Pyth.* v. and commentators.)

Thus is explained the detailed allusion to Amyclæan sanctities and traditions in the celebration of an Ægid victor, at a time when the alliance of Thebes with Sparta encouraged reminiscences of Laconian intercourse. At Amyclæ there was a fane of the prophetic Cassandra, (Paus. iii. 19.) and statues and monuments of Clytæmnestra and her murdered spouse, and an especial worship of Dionusos, son of Theban Semele. Tyndareus, the Dioscuri, Helen and Clytæmnestra are localized at Amyclæ;¹⁶ and Arsinoë also, the nurse who rescued Orestes, (Æschylus gives a nurse of different name,) the mother of Æsculapius and sister of the wives of the Dioscuri.

Not far away was Therapne with its Dioscurian legends, and the legend given by Pausanias of the visit of the twin gods, seems to hint at Theoxenia, like the celebration at Agrigentum, in which Pindar sang the Olympic victory of the Ægid Theron.

What is now the insight which this review may have furnished to us into the suggestiveness of the occasion, with all its personal, public, and traditional associations, for which Pindar composed his eleventh Pythian ode?

Pindar, at a celebration connected with the fane of Ismenian Apollo, the giver of his poetic power, the peculiar god of his

¹³ Paus. iii. 15, Aigeus was a descendant of Kadmus.

¹⁴ Müller, *Orchomenos*, 329, ff.

¹⁵ ——— Δαριδ' ἀπειρίαν ἀνία' ἄρ' ἰθὺν ἱστάναι, ἰσὶ σφουρῇ

Λακιδαιμονίαν, ἦλον δ' Ἀμύκλας

Αἰγυῖδος εἶδεν ἔκγονοι, μαντεύμασι

Πυθίαις; — *Isth.* vi. 12.

¹⁶ Statius, *Theb.* vii. 163. Sil. It. ii.

434. Conon, *Narrat.* 36. 7. 47.

tribe; celebrated a victory in the foot-race gained by his clansman Thrasydæus, youthful son of a father also boasting a Pythian victory, victors of Cadmeian ancestry, and honouring therefore and protected by the Cadmeian heroines, to whom the Ismenian celebrations had special reference.

Participants in the solemnity, or witnesses, at least, of the triumph and glory of the Ægid Thrasydæus, are Lacedæmonians, and even their Herakleid regents and sovereigns, who gloried in the antique connection of their forefathers with the Pythian fane and Delphic heroes of the locality of the victory, and had recently given proofs of the surviving force of traditional attachments; who even owned relationship to the Theban Sparti, honoured the same Cadmeian heroines and Minyan demigods as the poet and the victor, and who were accustomed, in their native Amyclæ, to the rites and traditions most dear to the distinguished Theban clan. From Amyclæ also, Theban and Lacedæmonian alike had recollections of a catastrophe, that in its mixed character of justice and severity, of deserved chastisement and compassionate reverse, bore but too close a parallel to the disasters of royal and noble personages and families within the experience of both. Time had, however, now elapsed, a new promise was rising in Pleistoanax for the memory of Pausanias, and augured by a visit to the very fane and provinces whence Orestes returned to re-establish the fortunes of the house of Agememnon. Lacedæmon was now in alliance with Thebes, as when its Dorian conquerors, aided by the Ægid ancestry of Thrasydæus, first descended from the paternal Doris they had recently dutifully aided. Now, then, is the time to celebrate the gymnic glory of Thrasydæus and his house, not without earlier as well as recent renown,—glories these more lasting than tyrannical power, with its concomitants of envy, temptation, pride, dissension, and disaster; glories as exalted, and, if worn with peace and moderation, a consolation in death—the best heritage of descendants. These were the glories that distinguished heroes of old—Theban and Lacedæmonian—friends and allies of old, as are now their descendants, and excelling in the games when living, and after death, immortal—the DioscURI even participants in the honours and seats of the Olympic gods, while, as models of the commended moderation, they do not disdain alternate residence on earth.

I am not without some suspicion that the family of Thrasydæus had declined in wealth, and that the comparison between a lofty and a middle station—middle relatively to the exalted and insulated rank of a tyrant—was not unprompted by that between the earlier Olympic chariot victory of the family, and the later less ambitious and resplendent contests in the Pythian stadium.

It is tempting farther to speculate, that the feelings of Pindar and his friends may have been interested at the time in the fortunes of the exiled Thessalian prince Orestes, son of Echeeratidas the Aleuad, called by Thucydides king of Thessaly. Echeeratidas was a friend of Simonides, and the earliest Epinician of Pindar is written for an Aleuad. The attempt of the Athenians, after the victory of Cænophyta, to effect the re-establishment of Orestes, seems to have been connected with retaliation for the treachery of the Thessalians at the battle of Tanagra. It is useless to inquire in what direction the sympathies of Thebans and Lacedæmonians, whose mythical connection with Thessaly is recorded by Pindar, were engaged in incidents so obscure; it is enough if we infer that the political and domestic feuds that led to the exile of Orestes, not unassisted by coincidence of name, helped at this time to point the moral of the poet's allusions to the troubles and fierce passions of tyrannical houses. The falls of the Sicilian tyrants, Thrasybulus and Thrasydæus, were fresh in men's memories. The latter, as an Ægid, namesake of the victor, and friend of Pindar himself, could scarcely be forgotten.

Obviously, it would be out of place, and out of the question, to attempt here a full exposition of a single ode, depending, as it must, on a theory, in many respects peculiar, of Epinician poetry in general, and the development of views to be derived from, as they are applicable to, the entire collection. Some compromise must be adopted between the necessities and the requirements of the case, and in schemes of commentary there is ever a presumption in favour of the briefest.

V. 1-6. The epithet given to the mother of Hercules involves a complimentary application to the Herakleid kings of Sparta—a sufficient reason for including her in the invocation. Dissen has noticed that the passage connects the name of the Ismenion with the divination practised there, hence as derived from Ἰσμηναί,

VII.

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and that Apollo has here his title *Loxias*, for the sake of its oracular significance.¹⁷

V. 7-10. A bevy of heroines are summoned to the *Ismenian fane* to sing a special theme, *Themis* and the *Pythian oracle*, of which no more is said in the ode, and the inference of *Boeckh* appears unimpeachable, that a second poem was written for the evening fulfilment of this summons—the present ode being sung on the way to the fane, or at least as introductory—we shall find presently that this hint may be pursued farther. We have seen the motive and propriety of the invocation of *Kadmeian heroines* on the occasion. As the *Ismenian* is celebrated here in conjunction with the *Delphic fane*, it is natural that its oracular privileges should be adverted to, and still more so if, as conjectured, *Thrasydæus* had availed himself of their encouragement.

V. 11-16. We have seen the motive for making *Orestes Lacedæmonian*; by this transition the poet passes to the mythical relations of *Sparta*, and especially her *Amyclæan princes* to *Delphi*, and abrupt as the turn at first appears, the *Amyclæan traditions* of the *Ægidæ*, revived by the renewed alliance of *Thebes* and *Lacedæmon*, sufficed to render it easy and natural; the boldest movement would be allowed when it carried forward the minds of the victor and the auditory to the very direction of their liveliest interest, and in fact fulfilled an expectation.

V. 17-34. In the number of heroines all localized at *Amyclæ* that are here introduced, there is a parallelism to the company of *Theban heroines* invoked at the beginning of the ode, even *Agamemnon*, as the *Agamemnonian soul*, takes feminine form. The tomb of *Cassandra* at *Amyclæ* accounts for the double reference to her; doubtless tradition here told her fate in detail as distinct as *Æschylus* surrounds it with at *Argos*. *Pindar* points the moral of the story of *Atrides* not ambiguously—he was murdered by an adulterous wife, but he was himself an adulterer—his fate was a miserable conclusion to his glorious achievements, but these were performed to punish a fault which he himself was equally guilty of; the general moral is as apt for the story of *Pausanias*. It is observed, that in the odes

¹⁷ *Tisamenus*, the soothsayer of *Pausanias* at *Platæa*, was at this time with the expedition of his successor in *Bœotia*. The battle of *Tanagra* was the last

of the five victories which the *Pythian oracle* had promised to the exercise of his functions as diviner.—*Herodot.* ix. 34.

written for boys, love, in some of its phases, ever makes prominent appearance.

V. 35-37. Parnassus is mentioned to identify the father of Pylades as no Phocian, but a Delphian.

V. 38-45. The poet recalls himself as if he had strayed from his proper theme,—an artifice of transition that recurs in the odes, and deceiving no one, still communicates some of the pleasure of a surprise to the re-appearance in allusion and application, of the mythus to which he affects to impute irrelevance.

V. 46-fin. Launching forth in eulogy of Thrasydæus and his father as victors in the games, Pindar, identifying himself, or at least his position as is his frequent wont, with those of the subjects of his song, contrasts the glories of the games as blessings of divine favour and approval, with the perils of political ambition; and the theme is pursued into a comparison of the superiority of middle station to tyrannic sway, that would touch the hearts of both Theban and Lacedæmonian, remembering the faults and fates of Timegenidas and Pausanias; while it inculcates, at the same time, the lesson seldom listened to by either party in reactionary times, and enjoins modesty and moderation on the aristocratic party, now sanguine of a renewed career.

The victor in the games, it is said, will have a better death—better for his victories, and better than is the lot of the ambitious and tyrannical; this allusion to the consolation of glory in death, is obviously prompted by the age of the father of the victor, as in the ode to the aged Psaumis of Camarina—a father of sons.

In the concluding association of heroes of Sparta and Thebes, the Dioscuri and Iolaus, the poet reverts to the same idea of the connection of the two countries in heroic antiquity, that have interest and propriety to his allusions to legends of Amyclæ, seat of Atrides and of the Ægidæ. There is also a felt parallelism between the beginning and the end of the ode, the Dioscuri, denizens both of earth and Olympus, answering to the heroines, Semele, companion of Olympian, and Ino-Leucothoe, consorting with marine divinities; thus the sense of dignified intercourse and alliance is sustained throughout. Iolaus, son of Iphicles, and representative of his father, takes much the same position with Heracles that Castor fills with his brother, and he too revived after death; he gained the permission of Hades to go to assist the Heracleid refugees when their extradition was demanded by Eurystheus; another reminiscence of

Theban and Lacedæmonian alliance, and hinting, it may be, at existing Theban relations to the youthful Heracleid Pleistoanax.

The allusions are precisely parallel to those which have been considered to settle the date of the first Isthmian ode to Herodotus of Thebes, as also written at the time of this alliance:

— ἐθέλω ἢ Καστορείῳ ἢ Ἰολάου ἐναρμόξαι μιν ὕμνον
κεῖνοι γὰρ ἡρώων διερρηγμένοι Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ Θήβαις ἐτέκνωθεν κράτιστοι.
v. 15.

And again, v. 28.

— τῶν ἀθρόοις ἀνδρῶσι θαμάκις
ἔρρεον χαίτας βρέθροισί τε Δίρκας ἔφανεν καὶ παρ' Εὐρώτῃ πέλας,
Ἰφικλέος μὲν πᾶσι δρόδαμος ἔων Σπαρτῶν γένει,
Τυνδαρίδας δ' ἐν Ἀχαιοῖς ὑψίπεδον Θεράπνας οἰκέων ἔδος.

We are now at liberty to revert to the invocation of the heroines, with which the ode commenced, to assemble at the fane of Ismenian Apollo, and there celebrate Themis and the Pythian oracle in an evening hymn, which must have been a different composition to the Epinician ode.

The first hymn of Pindar appears to me, from the fragments that are preserved, to have been the poem that fulfilled this promise, commencing, as it does, with an enumeration of various themes of song, all closely connected with the Ismenian fane and daughters of Cadmus and Harmonia, addressed in the ode—Ismenus; Melia, love of Ismenian Apollo; Cadmus and the Sparti; Thebe, Herakles, Dionusos, the marriage of Harmonia.

Another strophe sings Themis well counselled, Uranian, whom, in golden car from the springs of ocean, the Moirai led to the sacred stair of Olympus, by the splendid way, to be the archaic spouse of Zeus the Preserver; and she brought forth the gold-crested, fruitful, veracious Seasons.

(NOTE,—That it is the truthfulness of the seasons that makes them the appropriate offspring of Themis, goddess of right, and their attribute is expressive of the exactitude recognized in the periods forming the natural division of time, which the history of Greek chronology exhibits as so early, and also so firm and so consolatory a conviction. Zeus, the Saviour, might well be father of the Horai, for, in their just procession, the Greek beheld an ever-present guarantee of an ultimate and all-controlling supremacy of right and truth.)

There are several scattered hints of the progress and topics of the hymn; with the divine marriage of Zeus and Themis,

was in some manner connected the mortal, or rather heroic alliance of Cadmus and Harmonia, an occasion of mighty works of the god, and lavish munificence to man. The gods distrusted their powers of properly celebrating such glories, and Apollo and the Muses were produced to celebrate them in verse and music, and Cadmus heard Apollo.

There is thus much appearance that the hymn, starting from the marriage of Themis, as primeval consort with Zeus, proceeded through a series of changes affecting the fate and state of man to the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia; Apollo, god of Music, accompanying throughout, and especially at last, at the union typical of the completed system of nature. Such a poetical plan evidently bears much resemblance to that of Hesiod's *Theogony*, and with this the hymn is compared by Lucian, as sung along with it in an assembly of the gods, as if of similar comprehensiveness and scope. So modern critics have conjectured, that it was written for a *Theodaisia*, or *Theogamia*; but we need scarcely go farther than the occasion of the Pythian ode, conjectured long ago to be introductory to some form of *lectisternia*, and more particularly in honour of heroines, offspring of the marriage which formed its leading theme.

At the same time, it will be seen, Pindar combined in the plan the celebration of Apollo as the god of music, his own special patron and protector; and where and when could this be more appropriately done than in his Ismenian fane, peculiarly honoured by the poet and his Cadmeian gens, and the scene of their festivities for the victory in the games of Apollo of their clansman *Thrasydæus*. We now see that the Scholiast furnishes a hint worth more stress than was allowed to it, of the connection of the hymn with an *Epinician* celebration.

With respect to the prejudice against the good taste of the poem, as the work of the poet's inexperience, and the occasion of *Corinna's* criticism,—she bade him, says *Plutarch*, sow his mythical allusions with the hand, and not by the sackful,—we need take not the slightest account of it; the story was too good to lack special application, and the first and probably most important of the hymns was plundered of refined poetry, and most apt expression, to furnish a fragment plausibly in point.

Here we must pause perforce, otherwise the sixth *Isthmian* ode invites our study, written as it was within a year of the present, when the *Lacedæmonians*, notwithstanding the victory

of Tanagra, had left the Thebans, as they thought, prematurely to fulfil their engagement of unassisted self-defence or more, and the victorious campaign of Athenian Myronides reversed for a time all the anticipations of the aristocratical party in the city. I know not that much can be added to the elucidations of previous critics, who have not failed to read aright the bitter reference to the desertion of Sparta, mindful no more of the aid rendered of old by Ægids in the conquest of Amyclæ; though all have so strangely overlooked the illustration this point affords to the difficulties of the ode addressed to the Ægid Thrasydæus.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

LONDON, 19th October 1849.

XXXIII.

ON THE THEOLOGY OF HOMER.

“Πάντες τε θεῶν χεῖρας ἀνθρώποι.”

By the theology of Homer, as distinguished from his mythology, I understand those grand general principles with regard to the nature of the gods, and their relation to men, which are common to all the individual gods that compose the many-faced system of Greek polytheism. The special character of the separate gods, their functions and actions, have nothing to do with the present inquiry; as little the ceremonial details of worship with which the gods are honoured; for these belong manifestly to the practical religion, not to the doctrinal theology, of the ancient Greeks.

The theology of the Homeric poems is not the theology of an individual, but of an age; and this altogether irrespective of the Wolfian theory, which, in a style so characteristically German, with one sublimely sweeping negation removed at once the personal existence of the supposed poet, and the actual coherence of the existing poem. The principal value of Wolf's theory in the eye of many genuine lovers of poetry, is that, while it robbed us of the poet Homer and his swarms of fair fancies, it restored to us the Greek people, and their rich garden of heroic tradition, watered by fountains of purely national feeling, and freshened by the breath of a healthy popular opinion, which

precisely because it can be ascribed to no particular person, must be taken as the exponent of the common national existence. To have achieved this revolution of critical sentiment with regard to the Homeric poems; to have set before the eyes of Europe, the world-wide distance between the poetry of a Shelley or a Coleridge writing to express their own opinions, and the songs of a race of wandering minstrels singing to give a new echo to the venerable voices of a common tradition; this were enough for the great Berlin philologist to have done, without attempting to establish those strange paradoxes, repugnant alike to the instincts of a sound æsthetical as of a healthy historical criticism, which have made his name so famous. The fact is, that the famous dogmas of Wolf, denying the personality of the poet, and the unity of the poems, have nothing whatever to do with that other grand result of his criticism to which we have alluded,—the clear statement of the distinction between the sung poetry of popular tradition, and the written poetry of individual authorship. Not because there was no Homer, are the Homeric poems so generically distinct from the modern productions of a Dante, a Milton, and a Goethe; but because Homer lived in an age when the poet, or rather the singer, had, and from his position could have, no other object in singing than to reflect the popular tradition of which his mind was the mirror. As certainly as a party newspaper or review of the present day represents the sentiments of the party of which it is the organ, so certainly did a Demodocus, or a Phemius, a Homer, or a Cinæthus, the public singers at the public banquets, of a singing, not a printing, age,—represent the sentiments of the parties, that is, the people in general, for whose entertainment they exercised their art. 'Tis the very condition, indeed, of all popular writing in the large sense, that it must serve the people before it masters them; that while entertainment is its direct, and instruction only its indirect object, it must above all things avoid coming rudely into conflict with public feeling and public prejudice on any subject, especially on so tender a subject as religion; nay, that it must rather, by the very necessity of its position, give up the polemic attitude altogether in reference to public error and vice, and be content, along with many glorious truths, to give immortal currency to any sort of puerile and perverse fancy that may be interwoven with the motley texture of popular

thought. A poet even in modern times, when the great public contains every possible variety of small publics, can ill afford to be a preacher; and if he carries his preaching against the vices of the age beyond a certain length, he changes his genus, and becomes, like Coleridge, a metaphysician, or, like Thomas Carlyle, a prophet. But in the Homeric days, corresponding as they do so exactly to our mediæval times, when the imaginations of all parties reposed quietly in the bosom of a common faith, to suppose, as Herodotus in a well known passage (II. 53,) does, that the popular minstrel had it in his power to describe for the first time the functions, and to give appropriate names to the gods, is to betray a complete misconception both of the nature of popular poetry in general, and of the special character of the popular poetry of the Greeks, as we find it in the pages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. So far as the mere secular materials of his songs are concerned, Homer, we have the best reason to believe, received much more than he gave;¹ as to the current theology and religious sentiment, we have not the slightest authority for supposing that he invented any thing at all. Amid the various wealth of curious and not always coherent religious tradition, he might indeed select this and reject that, as more or less fit for his immediate purpose; he might give prominence to one aspect of his country's theology while he threw another into the shade; he might even adorn and beautify to some extent what was rude, and here and there lend a fixity to what was vague;² but whatsoever in the popular creed was already stable, his airy music had no power to shake; whatever in the vulgar tradition had received fixed and rigid features, his plastic touch had no power to soften. Nay, we are rather certain, that as in the geological formations of later birth, boulders of strange granite will sometimes appear, so there are incorporated into the body of the Homeric theology, fragments of an older and more crude Pelasgic creed, that assort ill with the higher organism of the poet's own faith, and the faith of the age to which he

¹ Compare the history of the growth of the famous mediæval Epos "of Reynard the Fox," as it has been gradually revealed by the labours of Jacob Grimm. *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. XXXIV. Art. 3.

² I believe, for instance, that the "Ares" of II. XIX. 91, and IX. 505, so distinctly

an allegorical personage (*Nägelsack*, p. 67), may have been a creation of the poet's fancy, (acting, however, in unison with the whole tendency of the Greek religion,) which afterwards becoming stereotyped, received a prominent individuality among the persons of the celestial aristocracy from the tragedians.

belonged; while it seems equally certain, that with the large receptive capacity so characteristic of great imaginative minds, he had hung up in his mythological gallery not a few pictures, to whose original significance—whether physical or moral—he in common with the heroes of his melody had lost the key.³ We may therefore attempt an articulate statement of the principal heads of Homeric theology, with the most satisfactory conviction that we are giving the religious faith of an age and of a people, not the private speculations of a person.

One good use to be made of this consideration is, that we should start on our inquiry in no wise expecting a metaphysical conciseness, or a philosophical consistency in all points. Even formal confessions of faith, drawn up by subtle systematic theologians, are often far from preserving a rigid consistency through all their articles, much more the floating variety of an imaginative creed without a Bible, like that of the ancient Greeks. Popular poets like Homer assert the fundamental moral, and religious instincts of human nature, without attempting to prove them where the foundation may appear weak, or to reconcile them where they sound contradictory; and the profoundest philosophers have generally contented themselves with doing the same thing, only in a more elaborate and pretenceful style.

In setting forth the theological views of the Homeric writings, attempts have been made by some writers to draw a broad line of distinction between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It is alleged that the religious conceptions of the former are as inferior to those of the latter, as its poetic glow is more intense, its flight of winged words more rapid, and its pictures more vivid; and it is conceived that this difference, or rather contrast, is so great as, along with other considerations, to justify the conclusion, that these two immortal works were the productions neither of one author, nor of the same age.⁴ But the minute comparison,

³ To the former class may belong the strange sounding myth of Briareus, *Ægeon* delivering Jove from the chains imposed on him by the other gods, (*Il.* i. 399, on which see Welcker's *Anhang Trilogie*, p. 147); to the latter, the description of the connubial embrace of Zeus and Hera (*Il.* xiv. 346), on which see Müller.

⁴ This is the conclusion of Benjamin

Constant, and of Dr. Ihne, in an otherwise admirable paper in Dr. Smith's *Biographical Dictionary* (London 1844), *Art. Homer*. "A great and essential difference, which pervades the whole of the two poems, is observable in the notions that are entertained respecting the gods. In the *Iliad* the men are better than the gods: in the *Odyssey*, it is the reverse. In the latter poem, no mortal dares to resist,

which I have made of all the passages in both poems that have any bearing on religion, lead me most certainly to the conclusion, that such a notion is altogether untenable. I shall, on the other hand, be able to prove distinctly, that there is no prominent and characteristic feature of Hellenic theology in the one poem which does not appear in the other; and that though some traits of a crude creed are put forward with more glaring offensiveness in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*, these naturally arose from the nature of the subjects treated, and from the dominancy of its own particular idea over the general tone and character of each poem. As a song of war and battle among mortal men, the *Iliad* could not but exhibit the sympathizing

much less to attack and wound a god; Olympus does not resound with everlasting quarrels. Athene consults humbly the will of Zeus, and forbears offending Poseidon, her uncle, for the sake of a mortal man. Whenever a god inflicts punishment or bestows protection in the *Odyssey*, it is for some moral desert, not as in the *Iliad*, through mere caprice, without any consideration of the good or bad qualities of the individual. In the *Iliad* Zeus sends a dream to deceive Agamemnon; Athene, after a general consultation of the gods, prompts Pandarus to his treachery; Paris, the violator of the sacred laws of hospitality, is never upbraided with his crime by the gods; whereas, in the *Odyssey*, they appear as the awful avengers of those who do not respect the laws of the hospitable Zeus. The gods of the *Iliad* live on Mount Olympus; those of the *Odyssey* are further removed from the earth; they inhabit the wide heaven. There is nothing which obliges us to think of the Mount Olympus. In the *Iliad*, the gods are visible to every one, except when they surround themselves with a cloud. In the *Odyssey*, they are usually invisible, unless they take the shape of men. In short, as Benjamin Constant has well observed, (*de la Relig.* III.), there is more mythology in the *Iliad*, and more religion in the *Odyssey*."

After writing the remarks in the text, I lighted on the following admirable observations in Nügelbach, p. 103:—"In the *Odyssey* there is no strife among the Olympic gods; for the principal divine personages that take interest in the action, Zeus and Athena, are united, (*Od.* XXIV. 472); and Hera has nothing to do with the plot, so that Poseidon alone stands on the opposite side. In the *Iliad*, again, the struggle on earth is only the counterpart of the struggle in heaven. The celestial personages, who are independent and free to choose their own part, come thus into a state of mutual hate and hostility; and this gives the gods of the *Iliad*, in appearance, a different character from those of the *Odyssey*. For all the evil passions which war raises in human breasts, must in consequence of this hostile attitude be stirred in the bosom of the gods, to whose essential nature, holiness in no sense belongs." The author therefore agrees with me, in representing the theological system of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, as different only in appearance (*scheinbar*.) The italics belong to the author, shewing distinctly that he placed great weight on the word, and is not to be understood for a moment as favouring the views of Benjamin Constant and Dr. Ihne.

gods as animated by all those violent and more or less undignified passions, without which war in any shape, and especially in an age of warriors, cannot be conceived to exist; while, in the *Odyssey*, a narrative of domestic fortunes, and an example of severe retribution exercised on the guilty violators of social laws in times of peace, it could not but be that the poet should cause the motley confusion of inferior Olympic personages, to recede before the awful presence of Jove the avenger, and his wise daughter Athena.⁵

These preliminary observations may be necessary to anticipate misconception in the minds of some, whose particular line of study may not have familiarized them with investigations of this kind. Without farther preface, we now proceed to state the theological system of Homer as compactly as we may be able, in a series of propositions.

PROPOSITION I.—The gods are a race of beings externally of human form and appearance, but in quality and energy superior to mortal men, enjoying an existence supremely blissful in its nature (*ῥῆτα ζωόντες*, *Il.* vi. 138), and controlled by no superior power; the wide welkin is their habitation, and Mount Olympus in Thessaly, their home. That which most peculiarly distinguishes them from human beings, is their immortality (*μῆλας θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες*, *Od.* v. 7); by which, however, is meant, not that they have always existed, but that when once they begin to exist, they may not in any wise cease to exist. Though begotten like men, and holding their power by right of succession from more ancient celestial dynasties no longer acknowledged, they are not subject to death or mutation; and their dominion, once established, can never pass away.

⁵ "In the *Odyssey*," says Archdeacon Williams (*Homerus*, App.), "there seems to have been embodied the Homeric creed concerning the social and political duties of man, and the certain punishment which is sooner or later to overtake the impenitent violators of the moral law." Of the justice of this remark, there can be no doubt; only it must always be borne in mind, that though this creed is most certainly embodied in the poem, the exposition of it was not the only, perhaps not the main object of the bard in composing his poem. His simple ob-

ject was to sing the adventures of the far-wandering Ulysses, as he himself intimates in the preface. That he was able to interweave this story of marvellous adventures, with a grand exhibition of retributive justice on the part of Jove, shews at once to what order of poets he belonged; proves that he was one of those who so incorporate light entertainment with serious instruction, that it is hard to say, whether it be their main object to help the trifling to season a listless hour, or the serious to solve a moral problem.

In stating this proposition, I have followed Nägelsbach* in specifying immortality as that attribute by which the divine nature, according to the Homeric conception, is most distinguished from the human. For though, as we shall see afterwards, the attribute of power comparatively infinite belonging to the highest gods, stands in a no less striking contrast to the weakness of mortals, than their eternal blessedness to our ephemeral and sorrow-chequered existence, yet this extraordinary degree of power is by no means possessed by all the gods, and some of the inferior tribes of them are not at all remarkably endowed in this way: immortality, however, of soul and body, without the necessity of that sorrowful change which we call death, characterizes all the superhuman race, from Zeus to Calypso, and forms the most prominent quality that distinguishes them from mortal men. In most other respects they are human enough in their passions, their purposes, and their actions; and indeed it is this humanity which makes them not only take such an ardent interest in all human affairs, but even leads them to seek that connection with mortal women, from which one of the greatest blessings of earth, a race of heroes and demi-gods, is produced. With regard to their origin, Homer is not at all curious, practical piety, not metaphysical theology, being his province; he only indicates in the line (*Il.* XIV. 201),

Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσθαι, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,

that they are all descended from the two sea-powers, Ocean and Tethys, as from a common father and mother. He also indicates with sufficient clearness, that they did not arrive at the height of power where they now stand, without passing through previous struggles and convulsions of a very serious kind (the struggle with Kronos and the Titans, *Il.* XIV. 204, VIII. 479); but, once established, he has no idea (such as that with which Prometheus feeds his pride in Æschylus,) that they can ever be overthrown, any more than a Christian has that the world can ever revert from Christianity to Judaism. In reference to their habitation, though they are generally styled in the *Odyssey* οὐρανὸν εἰρὼν ἔχοντες (a style, however, occurring also in the *Iliad*, XXI. 267), there is not the slightest foundation for Dr. Ihne's remark (p. 418.), that this designation furnishes one ground

* *Homerische Theologie*, Nürenberg 1840, p. 38.

of distinction between the theology of the *Odyssey* and that of the *Iliad*, as if that of the former were of a more spiritual and refined nature; for a *Mount Olympus* is distinctly described in *Od.* i. 120,

βῆ δὲ κατ' οὐλύμπου κατ' ἰγῶν αἶψα,

in the very language of the *Iliad* (iv. 7, xxii. 187), besides *Od.* v. 50, vi. 41, and other places where Olympus is mentioned (and οὐλύμπια δώματα, xxiii. 167), without the slightest reason to suppose that any thing else can be meant than the *Mount Olympus* of the *Iliad*.

PROPOSITION II.—The gods are the supreme rulers of the world, the dispensers of good and evil to men, and the directors of their fates.

A habitual piety, characterized by the special reference of all events in life, whether prosperous or adverse, to the divine providence, is not less characteristic of the writings of Homer than of the Old Testament Scriptures; and, indeed, this is one of the many remarkable and extremely interesting points of resemblance, that strike the most superficial reader in works otherwise so dissimilar in their tone, and opposite in their tendency. "Nothing," says Nägelsbach (p. 53), "is further from the Homeric man than to look upon himself as isolated and separated from the gods, or to look on the divine government as a dead system of laws and rules once for all implanted into the nature of things. The relation of men to the gods is rather to be looked on as an uninterrupted living intercourse." And accordingly, we find that whatsoever a man is and enjoys, is constantly and instinctively attributed by Homer to the gods, as if it could not be otherwise; birth, marriage, and death (*Od.* iv. 7, 12, xvi. 211); health (v. 397), and strength (*Il.* i. 178); good and bad weather (*Od.* iv. 351); luxuries (vii. 131); good sport in hunting (ix. 158); and even a good jest and a hearty laugh (xviii. 37). In the same way every sort of bad luck is immediately referred to the wrath of a god; as when a marksman misses his mark (*Il.* v. 191, viii. 311), or when a fleet runner slips his foot, even where the direct cause of the fall may be quite evident (xviii. 782.) The Homeric man is always more deeply impressed with the first and originating than with the second and mediating cause of things. The old Hellenic voyager knows that he has been driven out of his course by the

east or other unfavourable wind ; but the Zeus or Poseidon who caused the wind to blow is the grand object of his attention,—and so of every thing else. In consistency with this view, all persons who enjoy great prosperity, that is, on whom the gods shower many gifts, are said to be dear, and very dear (μάλα φίλοι, *Od.* vi. 203,) to the gods : while misfortunes are a manifest evidence of the celestial disfavour (vi. 755, *Il.* vi. 200); and in the same way, if a person is distinguished by any natural gift, as Helen by beauty, he is said to be dear to the god or goddess from whom, as from a divine perennial fountain, that gift flows. As to phraseology, θεοί, θεός, θεός τις, and δαίμων, seem to be used indiscriminately by Homer, when talking of the divine source of all the good that men enjoy, or the evil that they suffer ; often, also, the particular deity is named through whose instrumentality, as standing in a peculiar relation to this or that human being, the blessing is dispensed. In this way Athena appears everywhere as the presiding deity of the *Odyssey*. She sends sleep to Penelope (i. 364), speeds the departure of Telemachus (ii. 382, 420), and is with the hero in all the critical turns of the perilous and bloody catastrophe.

PROPOSITION III.—This providence, or supreme control of all human things by the gods, is not confined merely to the circumstances of the external world by which human happiness or misery is affected, but reaches also all the thoughts, purposes, and passions of men ; which thoughts, purposes, and passions, accordingly, the evil and the good indifferently, are looked upon as the direct effect of an immediate divine agency ; specially, however, all great and glorious thoughts, and impulses leading to actions of extraordinary energy and excellence, come from a god ; and these actions themselves, though achieved visibly by mere human agency, are “ οὐκ ἔνευ θεῶν,” not without the instigation, assistance, and directing control of the gods.

It is remarked by some theologian,—I forget who,—that among all the objections made by the heathen philosophers to the doctrines of the Gospel, no exception was ever taken to the doctrine of divine influence, or the operation of the Holy Ghost on the human mind. This doctrine, which has been looked upon in modern times by Arminians, Pelagians, and others, with a sort of jealousy, could not excite any suspicion, or appear even in the light of a novelty, in an age when all the higher minds in the moral world were initiated into the philosophy of

Plato or Zeno,⁷ and when the great Catholic Bible of popular religious tradition, viz. Homer, recognised the doctrine of direct spiritual action of the divine mind on the human as one of its most familiar truths. That a man's genius and inclinations are all divinely implanted, is a truth sufficiently obvious, and which, stated as an abstract proposition, few men now-a-days will deny; but the difference between our time and the Homeric in this matter, lies not so much in any abstract doctrine, as in the comparative frequency of a correspondent phraseology in his language, and its unfrequency in ours. Thus, for instance, when Ulysses (*Od.* xix. 227,) says,

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τὰ φίλ' ἔσχε τά που θεὸς ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκεν
ἄλλος γὰρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπ' ἐτέρπεταί ἔργας,

he uses in the first line a distinctly marked Homeric phraseology, while the second line contains only what any of us in our common talk might say any day, and what in fact we do say every day. "*Those things are dear to me which a god put into my heart*"—this style refers the likings and dislikings of the human heart directly to a divine influence; while the other proposition, "*one man delights in one thing, another in another,*" merely asserts a human fact without giving any hint of its divine causation. Now, the habitual assertion of this divine causation in all the more notable movements of the human mind, is one of the grand prominent features of that atmosphere of religion (or religiosity, as some may prefer to say,) which gives such a peculiar colour to the Homeric epos. In the language of an obsolete criticism (perhaps not yet altogether obsolete in certain quarters), the Olympian personages are termed the "machinery" of the poem; if this word, however, is to be used, it is much more near the truth to say that, in Homer's view, the mortal men are everywhere the mere machinery of the great drama of existence of which the gods are the real actors. The constant occurrence in the Homeric page, with reference to human purposes, of such phrases as ἐνὶ θυμῷ βάλλειν (*Od.* i. 200), ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε (v. 427), νόημα ποίησε (xiv. 273), θεοῦ ὕπο-

⁷ No doubt there was a something of self-containedness in the Stoic, which did not so readily suit devout connection with the divine mind, as the high aspirations of the Platonist; but how far the Stoics were from wishing to isolate

man from the divine mind, on which he depends, may be seen from the arguments put into the mouth of Balbus by Cicero, in the second book *de Naturis Deorum*.

θηροσύνης (xvi. 233), and ἐνέπνευσε φρεσὶ δαίμων (xix. 138), show how familiar to the old Hellenic mind was that famous sentiment afterwards expressed by Cicero, "*Nemo vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit*;" and not only so, but a sentiment far more extensive than this, viz. that a man can in fact think nothing worth thinking, except by virtue of a direct divine impulse or inspiration. This is a method of viewing things to which the somewhat mechanical English mind (since the days of Cromwell at least,) has shewn a great aversion;^a but how far it is from being contrary to a high Christian philosophy, the single text, Luke xii. 12, may suffice to shew. But Homer, in his views of divine influence, is far from stopping where the language of a pious puritan of the sixteenth century, or a fervid evangelical of the present day, *mutatis mutandis*, would readily go along with him. He, in fact, goes so far as to attribute foolish, and even vicious actions, to an impulse proceeding from above, to such an extent as seemingly to destroy altogether the idea of human responsibility. When, for instance, a man thoughtlessly (ἀφραδέως, *Od.* xiv. 481,) goes out without his cloak on a frosty night, so that he is in danger of dying, or at least catching severe rheumatism from cold, he exclaims quite naturally, παρὰ μ' ἤπαψε δαίμων, *a god deceived me that I did this thing*. This is a very peculiar phraseology, and sounds to a modern ear very strange, from an author whose general tone, as we have said, is sufficiently devout. And in like manner, instead of exclaiming, as a modern Englishman would, *what a fool am I!* Telemachus, when reviewing his conduct, says, *truly Zeus hath made me a fool!* (*Od.* xxi. 102.) Nor is this all: Antinous, when blaming Penelope for wilful obstinacy and evil cunning, instead of confining the blame to her, which would have pointed more keenly his reproach, does not hesitate

^a Some, however, of our most practical writers, have not hesitated to assert a belief in presentiments and warnings divinely impressed on the soul. Thus DE FOE, in *Robinson Crusoe*, writes,—
"Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger which sometimes are given him, when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe, few that have made any observa-

tions of things will deny; that they are certain discoveries of an invisible converse and a world of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them seems to be to warn us of danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly agent (whether supreme, or inferior and subordinate, is not the question), and they are given for our good?"

to name the gods as the true authors of her so reprehensible conduct (*ὅταν δ' οἱ νόον ἐν στήθεσσι παθεῖα θεοί*); and stronger still, the fair Helen, whose infidelity to her Spartan lord brought so many woes on her countrymen, and sent so many noble souls to Hades, speaks of her own conduct with the utmost coolness, as having been the result of a pernicious infatuation (*ἄτην*) placed in her heart by Aphrodite;⁹ and in this judgment old Priam (*Il. III. 164*), who might be expected to be a more severe moralist, fully agrees:

οὔτε μοι αἰτῆρ' ἔσσι· θεοὶ γὰρ μοι αἰτιαί εἰσιν.

This sentiment, indeed, that not doers of an evil deed, but the gods that inspire the purpose of doing it, are the real criminals, seems a standard common-place in the Homeric morality; for Agamemnon (*Il. XIX. 86*, a famous passage to which we shall have again occasion to refer,) uses it with regard to the unhappy cause of his breach with Achilles. After such passages, one might be apt to think that the doctrine of divine influence in Homer was such as to confound light with darkness, and obliterate the universal instincts of the human breast with regard to right and wrong; and that it did so to a certain extent, as well in the Homeric days as in the days of Puritan enthusiasm, to which reference has been made, is not to be doubted; but as the world is full of mysteries, and the human heart full of contradictions, we must not seize on too hasty a conclusion in this matter, till we come to treat specially of human responsibility, of the dependence of morals on religion, and of the punishment due to evil works. In the Old Testament, also, we read that "God hardened Pharaoh's heart" (*Exod. vii. 3*), and that "the Lord sent a lying prophet" to a certain Hebrew king (*I. Kings xxii. 22, apud Wolf. Proleg. 37.*) Mere surface consideration will not settle matters of this kind, lying as they do so deep in the darkest roots of our moral nature, which our finite wit certainly will never be able, in all points, with complete satisfaction to fathom.

PROPOSITION IV.—The gods are in an especial manner the authors of all extraordinary phenomena in nature, as also of all events of which there is no visible human agency, or to which human agency is considered inadequate.

⁹ Contrast this language with that of the apostle James (i. 13), with regard to temptation.

Strictly speaking, according to the religious philosophy so characteristic of the Homeric age, there is no part of nature, or of the vast system of things, which is not sacred or divine,—the sea, the shore, the land, the night, the day, are all governed by a god, and inspired with whatsoever is great or beautiful in them by a special divine energy; polytheism being, in fact, only a branched-out and variously divided pantheism; but in the common, and any thing but strictly philosophical style of talking which Homer uses, only the grandest objects and more striking phenomena of nature are specially referred to a direct divine energy. It is not poetry, as the Bishop of Thessalonica has it (*παρεμβολαί*, vol. I. p. 9, edit. Roman.), but the general style of thinking and feeling in the Homeric age, of which may be justly said, that “*πᾶν τὸ παρηλλαγμένον καὶ ἐκνίζον καὶ ἐξαίρετον, καὶ τεράστιον ἢ καὶ τερατώδες εἰς τὸ θεῖον γένος καὶ εἰς θεὸν ἀποκαθιστᾶ.*” There is a natural and deeply-seated tendency in all men at all times to recognize God in strange, startling, and unaccountable phenomena; while in the more plain and intelligible manifestations of his every-day power, he is apt to be overlooked. Even the severe Stoics admitted the justness of the argument for the existence of the gods drawn from this tendency (see the words of Cleanthes in *Cic. de Nat. Deorum*, II. 5); but in Homer it encounters us at every turn. The whole science of augury, and the interpretation of omens, so necessary at every critical moment in Homer, depends on this principle. Hence also it is that dreams, especially remarkable dreams, which are altogether independent of our common reason and volition, come from Jove (*Il.* I. 63), or from some other god (*Od.* IV. 796). Hence also madness is ascribed directly to the gods (*μάργην* αὖ *θεοὶ θέσαν*, *Od.* XXIII. 11), and all violent exertions of energy akin to madness (*οὐχ ὁ γ’ ἄνευθε θεῶν τάδε μάνεται*, *Il.* V. 157). Poetry especially, as one of the most striking effects of one, what we call genius as opposed to talent, is the direct product of divine teaching (*Od.* XXII. 347). Even we in modern times, talk in a loose sort of way of the inspiration of the divine Shakespeare; but such was the reverence of the old Ionic minstrel and his age, for all the manifestations of the divine power in the masque of humanity, that he could talk with a more serious and pregnant religious meaning of the inspiration of a ship-carpenter or a shoemaker than we do of a great poet. A swineherd to him was more divine than a high priest or a hero is to us.

But especially all extraordinary events, inexplicable effects without any apparent cause, are the plain operation of a god, as if a fair marksman should shoot twenty arrows at a mark, and all should fail ! In such an extraordinary result, even a child, καὶ ἕς μάλα νήπιός ἐστιν (*Il.* xvii. 629), may discern the finger of a god. And in extraordinary escapes from imminent danger, in sudden and unaccountable disappearances of persons well known, not man, or ordinary causes, but the gods themselves (θεοὶ αὐτοὶ with emphasis, *Od.* xxiv. 401), are plainly at work. On the same principle sudden and painless deaths are ascribed with an especial emphasis to the shafts of Apollo and Artemis (*Od.* xv. 410). In one word, all uncommon things are more divine than what is common, and very uncommon things are explicable only on the supposition of an extraordinary divine interposition for the nonce.

PROPOSITION V.—From all that has been said on the extent and variety of the influence of the gods on human fates and affairs, it plainly follows that the Greeks, in their theology, have no place for a being corresponding to our Christian idea of the Devil, as a powerful supermundane spirit, powerful for evil, and for evil only ; so that the significant English phrases of, “ *the devil’s in the fellow,—to play the devil with a thing,*” are expressed in Homeric (and also in general) Greek, by the phrases, “ *a god’s in the fellow,—a god’s in the business.*”

This proposition is a necessary corollary from what has been already stated in Propositions II. and III. ; but there is no harm in its standing here separately, as it serves to bring out the contrast between ancient Homeric and modern English ways of thinking with greater distinctness. Let it be understood, then, as a most characteristic trait in the system of Homeric theology, that there is, and can be no devil, properly so called ; for the very plain reason, that the same gods are the general authors of evil and good to men, and serve them now with the right hand now with the left, as the Muse served the Phæacian bard Demodocus, giving him sweet song, but taking away the light of his eyes :

Τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ’ ἐφίλησε δίδου δ’ ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε
ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ’ ἡδεῖαν αἰοδῆν.

Hence the striking difference in the Jewish and Greek methods

of expression with reference to the common phenomena of disease. The Jew said of a woman bent with weakness, and unable to look up with the common privilege of humanity to the skies, that she was *bound by Satan* (Luke xiii. 11, 16); the Greek of one pining under a protracted and painful illness, that he was *plied by a hateful god* (στυγερὸς δὲ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων, *Od.* v. 396), or simply that one cannot escape a disease sent from mighty Jove (ix. 411.) Nor is the στυγερὸς in the passage just quoted, or the κακὸς in another (x. 64), applied to δαίμων, indicative in any sense of a special *cacodæmon*, or spirit essentially evil, like the unclean spirits of the New Testament, such as the later theology of Greece might acknowledge; these designations in Homer are only descriptive expletives, which, for all theological purposes, had as well been omitted. The only semblance, indeed, of a real devil in Homer is that Ἄτῃ already mentioned (*Il.* xix. 91), on whom Agamemnon so unceremoniously throws the blame of his untoward quarrel with the swift-footed son of Themis; but even of her, and in the time of the tragedians, the Greeks never speak as *the* source of evil, but only as *a* source. In Homer, however, she is an allegory, scarcely less transparent than the Harpies or the Κῆρες, where we find the polytheistic fancy of the early Greeks in the very act of impersonating and incarnating the gods of a future generation;¹⁰ and in the very passage where so much is made of her in the shape of a distinct person, the infatuation, which is said to have been the result of her evil inspiration, is ascribed in the common phraseology of the Homeric men to Jove,—καὶ μὲν φρένας ἐξέλεστο Ζεὺς, (v. 137.) The old minstrel who first worked out this divine personage from the common state of mind, or result of a state of mind denominated ἄτῃ, which any of the gods might produce (*Od.* iv. 261; *Il.* ix. 18), was in the fair way, had the popular creed allowed him, to have worked out a Hellenic Trinity akin to that of the Hindoos, with Ate for its Siva; but he made not the most distant approach to the Christian idea of the devil. The bard of the *Iliad*, had he written the gospel history, might have said that Ate put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot to betray Christ, (John xiii. 2); but he might have said with equal, or rather

¹⁰ "In καί, and some other such words, we catch fancy engaged in the work of shaping forth ill-understood, incalculable effects, into separate per-

sons; for never in these cases is the image completely finished, and clad with the full personality of a perfect god."—NITZSCH, on *Odys.* iii. 236.

greater readiness, that Jove or any of the gods had deprived him of his senses, and driven him to do this act. In the Christian theology, God is essentially opposed to the Devil; in Homeric language, Jove and Ate are convertible terms.

PROPOSITION VI.—Zeus is the supreme ruler both of gods and men, and stands to the former exactly in the same relation that an absolute monarch does to the aristocracy of which he is the head. His will is the grand originating centre of all great movements in the physical and moral world; and besides the peculiar functions which he exercises as god of the upper air, he has a general superintendence over the conduct of all the other gods, and over all the thoughts, purposes, and actions of men. He is in an especial manner the friend and protector of those who have none to help them, and the enforcer of all the great rights and duties by which the frame-work of society is knit together. He is the rewarder of those who do well, and the punisher of those who do evil.

The supremacy of Jove, as stated in this proposition, is the strong key-stone of the polytheistic arch in Homer, without which, indeed, polytheism in heaven, like a pure democracy on earth, would be sure to start asunder, and separate itself into absolute chaos and dissolution. It introduces in fact, to an extent greater than is generally imagined, for many practical uses, the monotheistic principle into polytheism. The right of the son of Kronos to this high position is founded, by Homer, on the single fact of his superior strength, just as the right of Agamemnon to be king of men, stands upon no other foundation, so far as one can see, than that he is the strongest among the strong, (*Il.* i. 281.) The most notable passage in which this doctrine is stated is that famous appeal made to the assembled deities by the celestial autocrat himself in the beginning of *Iliad* VIII., where he tells them plainly, that if they were to suspend a golden chain from heaven, and endeavour to pull the Father down, they would not succeed with all their united endeavours; while, on the other hand, if he were to fix the one end of the chain round a crag of Olympus, he would hold all the gods dangling in vacancy at the other end, with earth and sea to boot!—

τόσσον ἐγὼ περὶ τῷ εἰμὶ θεῶν, περὶ τῷ εἰμὶ ἀνθρώπων.

This is a homely, and to us an infantile simile; but it expresses

significantly enough the central celestial fact, to which, as a pole-star, all the conflicting and divergent materials of both the epics are made finally to point. In the *Odyssey* the jealous wrath of Poseidon against the tempest-tost hero, is at length forced to yield to the consummated counsels of the supreme Father, and his like-minded daughter, (*Odys.* xxiv. 477). In the *Iliad* the Δὺς δ' ἐταλείτο βουλῇ, with which the song is commenced, rides over the whole action with a dominancy, only the more triumphant that it meets with constant and combined opposition from the strongest of the other Olympian powers, specially Poseidon the brother, Hera the spouse, and Athena the unmothered daughter of the great Olympian; but the more that these inferior deities fret and chafe against the divine decrees of the Thunderer, with the more unshaken serenity does the high administrator of war to men (ταμίης πολέμοιο, *Il.* iv. 84,) sit on his throne apart (*Il.* i. 499), and over the murmurs of hostile gods, and the heaps of dead and dying men, measure with his thought the march of his high purpose till it be fulfilled (*Il.* xi. 80). All the passages in the *Iliad* that seem to indicate any thing contrary to the practical supremacy of Jove's high will in heaven and in earth, when accurately examined, throw their weight into the opposite scale. Of all the gods, Poseidon is that one who, with the fairest show of reason, might have asserted his right to control the obnoxious decrees of the Olympian; but the "liberty, equality, and fraternity" of which he boasts in one famous passage (*Il.* xv. 185), like its human counterpart in modern French democracy, is found to exist only in theory; when the hour comes for action, he is as ready as Diomedes, or any mortal man, to say,

"οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐθέλωμι Διὶ χρόνιον μάχεσθαι
 ἡμέας τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπεὶ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν."

Il. viii. 210.

With which compare xv. 211. In viii. 440, his inferiority is yet more shown, where he acts as equerry to Jove. As little can be made out of the famous myth of Briareus Ægeon (*Il.* i. 394), against the absolute supremacy of the Father. Here, also, the three most important members of the celestial assembly, Hera, Poseidon, and Pallas, are leagued against Jove, and wish to bind him. But he is delivered from this formidable conspiracy, says the myth, by the sea-goddess Thetis, and the

hundred-armed strong man of the floods (see Welcker, p. 417, above), and *de facto*, he still remains supreme. In a similar strain, we are told that the stout Thracian Lycurgus so frightened Dionysos, that he was obliged to take refuge in the sea, and in the bosom of the same Thetis (*Il.* vi. 135); but with all this display of momentary weakness, the divine power of the wine god over men waxed strong, and a blissless end was his who dared to strive with immortals. These monstrous myths, bearing as they do some analogy to the portentous figments of the Hindoos, (see the *Curse of Kehama*,) were in all probability invented by the licentious imagination of rude religionists for the express purpose of magnifying the power of the gods, by shewing that though they could be humbled and even persecuted for a season, they must certainly triumph in the end. Besides that, such rich collections of popular tradition as are incorporated into the Homeric poems, cannot possibly be expected to be homogeneous in all details. The comprehensive genius of the arch-minstrel whom we call Homer, has doubtless taken into his cauldron some strange materials which he could not, or cared not to fuse. Homer was not professionally a theologian, but a poet; and if in some parts of his works he has admitted tales of the gods not altogether consistent with the more exalted character of his general theology, he has only erred, as the most pious poets will err, being more intent on sport for the moment than on edification.

One circumstance which more than any other tends to shew how much of the monotheistic element was practically inwoven with heathenism, is the habitual reference to Zeus when there is no special call for mentioning his name more than any other deity. The passages are innumerable, where Jove, as the ordinary administrator of the world, is said to send sorrow or sadness, blessing or bane, when the polytheistic phraseology θεοί would have been equally appropriate, (*Od.* iii. 132; iv. 34, 208). He indeed it was whom the pious heathen was taught by the Homeric poetry habitually to look up to, as the dispenser of all the bounties of Providence, on which the existence and the happiness of man depends.

“Ζεὺς δ’ αὐτὸς νέμει ἔλπον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν
Ἐσθλοῖς ἤδ’ ἐ κακοῖσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν ἐκάστω.”

Od. vi. 188.

But it is as the supreme moral governor of the universe that the monotheistic influence of Zeus is chiefly manifest. All the other Olympian gods were elemental or material powers, personations of vast wavy tides of physical or mental surges, but without law or restraint, subordination or rule. Poseidon is then most himself, when his white-crested billow spits wrath most bitterly; Aphrodite has her special glory when the strongest man, a Cæsar or a Napoleon, is for a season unmanned by the witchery of a pretty face; the triumph of such gods, is the triumph of mere unreined impulse, physical or moral as the case may be; but Jove, besides his physical virtue as ruler of the sky and lord of the thunder, knows and acknowledges law, and by his patronage of social rights and duties, reclaims man from savagery, and renders society possible. This is everywhere most distinctly indicated both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but especially in the *Odyssey*, whose moral and retributive character, as already remarked, has been justly pointed out by Archdeacon Williams. The connection between Zeus and Themis is prominently set forth in *Iliad* xx. 4; and when, in the second book of the *Odyssey*, Telemachus having called a public assembly of the islanders, is about to state the wrongs which he suffered at the hand of the suitors, he commences most solemnly by an invocation of Jove and Themis, without whose presidency an ἀγορά could not exist,—

Αἰσσομαι ἡμὲν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἡδὲ Θέμιστος
ἦ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἡμὲν λύει ἡδὲ καθίζει.

The statutes (θέμιστες) of Zeus (*Il.* i. 239) exercise a strong influence in the *Odyssey*, even over godless men, preventing them from proceeding to those extremes of bloody daring which lead directly to the subversion of all society, and the confusion of all right (*Odys.* xvi. 403); and it is only such ferocious cannibals as the Cyclopes “ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγρμι οὐδὲ δίκαια,” who altogether disregard them, and in a state of unsocial independence do every one what is right in his own eyes (*Od.* ix. 112). The supreme god further strengthens the links of society, by conferring on earthly kings a divine title to rule on earth, judging between the right and the wrong (*Il.* ix. 99), similar to what himself enjoys in Olympus:

τιμὴ τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐσσι φύλαί δέ ἐ μῆτιέτα Ζεύς.—*Il.* ii. 197.

And king-killing to the Homeric chiefs was no light business (*Od.*

xvi. 401), any more than to the Puritans who sat in earnest and prayerful judgment over the ill-starred Charles. We may observe further, in respect to the moral functions of Zeus, that it is his high prerogative to visit with retribution unrighteous deeds of whatsoever description; he is the avenging Jove, and the giver of just recompense to all who have been unrighteously treated either in their persons or property (*Odys.* i. 379; *Il.* iii. 331). He is, moreover, specially invoked to sanction the obligation of an oath (*Od.* xix. 303; *Il.* iii. 276); he protects with a special care the houseless wanderer, and penceless mendicant (*Od.* vi. 207), and with the special surname of ἐκετήσιος keeps an open ear for the cries of the friendless suppliant. He protects the rights of hospitality under the special name of Ξένιος (*Od.* xiv. 283), and his altar lends a sacredness to the domestic hearth (xxii. 335). Whatsoever, in short, either in the shape of stern law or of mild equity, renders man an object of interest and of love to man, comes from Jove. He is God in a sense that belongs to no other deity. Without him men would be wild beasts, life an uninterrupted war, and Olympus a mere bedlam.

PROPOSITION VII.—Though the absolute power of Jove is not to be questioned by any of the gods, and all opposition to his supreme will vain, yet in the general course of his divine government, a large liberty of action is allowed to all the members of the celestial aristocracy, who have, each his separate rights, with which, except on great occasions, and for high providential purposes, Jove will not willingly interfere; and thus an individual god may often be found involved in a course of action opposed to the will of Jove, and persevering for a long time in this course of opposition, till in the fulness of the destined years (περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, *Od.* i. 16,) they submit themselves to the will of Jove, and the general council of the gods.

A notable example of this we have in the conduct of Poseidon throughout the *Odyssey*, (i. 19, and many other places), which of itself is sufficient to shew the fallacy of Dr Ihne's remark, that in the *Odyssey* "Olympus does not resound with everlasting quarrels." This circumstance, that there is less of brawl and bickering in the Olympic assembly of the *Odyssey*, is, as we have observed, purely accidental, and resulting from the nature of the subject; for Poseidon, the most important member of the celestial senate next to Zeus, is as active and unabated in

his hostility in the one poem as in the other. A division of the celestial counsels is, in fact, the natural and unavoidable result of a polytheistic system of divine government, and the supreme ruler will be more or less thwarted in carrying out his views, just as on earth most monarchies which are nominally absolute, are in practice limited by the aristocracy of whatever nature (hereditary or bureaucratic,) that encircles the throne; and in this matter of government, as in all other points, (except immortality,) the Homeric heaven is only the highest power of the Homeric earth. If our nice modern sense of propriety is startled by the rude language which Achilles casts in the teeth of the king of men, (*Il.* I. 225,) we cannot expect to find speech much more courteous in the mouth even of the wise Athena, when she stands in a hostile relation to her father Jove, (*Il.* VIII. 360); and if Jupiter's one daughter Ate, (like the homunculus in the second part of Faust,¹¹) turns her pernicious activity against the mighty father that bore her, (*Il.* XIX. 95,) 'tis only because, in heroic and feudal times, such ungracious things are sometimes done on earth, and because man has, in all ages, been fond of being governed by gods, created as much as may be in his own likeness. Liberty of thought and feeling, speech and action, belong as essentially to the gods in heaven, as to men on earth, and it is only when this liberty is carried so far as to threaten the dissolution of the firm frame-work of things, that the omnipotent will of Zeus interferes to prevent fatal collisions, and to restore a necessary peace. We are not, therefore, to be surprised at the great length of tether allowed to Poseidon, (*Il.* XIII. 10, XIV. 510,) when Jove is absent among the milk-fed just men of Thrace; nay, it is plain that the theoretical omnipotence of Zeus is sometimes practically limited by the decidedly expressed dissent of the other gods, as, for instance, in the matter of Sarpedon, (*Il.* XVI. 440,) and in the often repeated threat, ἔρδ' ἄταρ οὐ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέμεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι. In another very singular passage, to which we shall have to recur, (*Il.* IV. 1-72,) something of the nature of compromise, from motives of mere expediency and for the sake of peace, regulates the conduct of the omnipotent Olympian at a most important crisis of the strife; in fact, Zeus here comports himself less like an absolute mo-

¹¹ "Am Ende hangen wir doch ab
Von Creaturen die wir machten."

narch than like a prime minister of such an aristocratic constitution as that of Great Britain, who, when he appears to lead the nation, is in fact led by a party. These are inconsistencies, which it was not Homer's business, and therefore it cannot be ours, to reconcile; we only remark that "*die Welt ist voller Widersprüche*," the world is full of contradictions, as a wise German poet sings; and that that philosopher is by no means nearest the truth, whose cosmologic doctrine is the most simple and the most consistent.

Our next propositions shall proceed to set forth more distinctly some of the most striking of the divine attributes, as exhibited in the pages of Homer.

PROPOSITION VIII.—Next to immortality, that which most strikingly distinguishes the gods from mortal men, is POWER. Though not formally omnipotent, no pious mind will allow itself to suppose a limitation to their power. In this quality alone no mortal man can dare to enter into competition with them. In moral qualities they seem to stand pretty much on a level with their worshippers.

'Tis an old saying of the philosophers with regard to popular religions—

"Primus in orbe deos fecit Timor:"

and with regard to the baser sort of minds, that is, the majority, (οἱ πολλοὶ κακοί,) it is no doubt true. Cleanthes, in Cicero, (*de Nat. Deor.* II. 5,) states as the third of the four causes why the belief of the gods is universal amongst men, this, that "the minds of men were terrified by lightnings, tempests, snow, hail, devastations, pestilence, earthquakes, sudden sinkings of the earth, portentous births, meteors, comets," and other dreadful phenomena of that sort; and, under the influence of this fear, he continues, they were led to suspect the existence of some divine and celestial power. The prevalence of this feeling of fear before superior power, is sufficiently manifest in the character of the Homeric gods, and the temper of Homeric piety. But the full development of this ugly side of old Hellenic religion, we must defer till we come to make some remarks on that feeling of jealousy towards mortal men which so strongly characterizes the Homeric gods. Meanwhile, it may be sufficient to remark that, for all practical purposes, without affecting metaphysical curiosity, the θεοὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα δύνανται of *Od.* x. 366, may be taken

as a general expression of Homer's opinion with regard to the gods. How much also mere power is regarded as the distinguishing characteristic of the divine nature, appears most strikingly from this, that the sons of the gods often differ from mortal men only in superior strength; in virtue they may be much inferior, as in the familiar case of Polypheme—

ἀντίθεον πολύφημον ὅου κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον
πᾶσιν κυκλώπαςιν.—*Od.* i. 70.

Such passages as *Od.* xii. 107, where it is said that *not even a god could do so and so*, are, with reference to the supposed power of the gods, not to be pressed curiously—they being merely loose colloquialisms perfectly identical with our English style, when we say, *it would defy the devil to do so*. The only thing that the gods cannot do, is to save from death, (*Od.* iii. 236,) but this also, I suspect, is not to be pressed farther than the fact that, in the general case, the gods never do save from death. Had Homer been catechised curiously with regard to his belief, whether it was within the power of the gods to save from death, there is little doubt that he would have given as orthodox an answer as any Christian that repeats the Nicean creed. It appears, indeed, from the *Iliad*, that he was both able and willing to rescue Sarpedon from the fate that cut him off, and was restrained from doing so only by a regard to the representations of his yokefellow, Hera, whose constant habit it was to thwart her husband's plans. Omnipotent in all points he evidently was not, as he could never have been so without nullifying the rights of the other gods. In her own domain, of course, Aphrodite would brook no rival, and even Hypnos has power over the Eternal (xiv. 352). But all this does not touch his practical all-sufficiency as the moral and physical Supreme Governor of the universe. Whatever grades, distinctions, and rights might have been among the gods themselves, these differences affect not the general relation in which the mortal stands to the immortal, viz., a relation of complete and absolute dependence. How far the gods themselves, and even Zeus, may have been secretly subject to some dim unknown power called Fate or Fortune, we now proceed to inquire.

PROPOSITION IX.—Of an omnipotent Fortune, or all-controlling Fate, as a separate independent power, to which gods

and men must equally yield, the practical theology of Homer knows nothing; nevertheless there are certain dim indications of an irreversible order of things—it is not said how arising—to which even the gods submit. This the later theology of the Greeks seems to have magnified into the idea of a separate independent divine power called FATE.

The common idea, that the Greek theology represents the gods as subject to a superior power called Fate or the Fates, is derived from the tragedians, and from later writers generally, certainly not from Homer. In the Homeric poems, Jove and the gods are the only prominent and all-controlling actors in the great drama of existence. None of Homer's pious heroes, when narrating their fortunes, set forth,

"Fortuna Omnipotens et ineluctabile *Ætiam*."

Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 334,

as the great authors of their bliss or bane. On the contrary, it is certain that *μοῖρα* or *αἶσα* is merely the lot or portion dealt out by the supreme providence of the gods, and that whatsoever is *μόροισιν* or fated to a man, is so because it is *θέσφατον*, or spoken by the divine decree. These words are, in fact, identical. (*Od.* iv. 562, x. 473). Zeus is especially named as the sender of a man's *μοῖρα*, (*Od.* xi. 560,) and in the same style occurs *Διὸς αἶσα* (*Il.* xvii. 321, ix. 608; *Od.* ix. 52,) and *θεοῦ μοῖρα*, (*Od.* xi. 292). And these passages come upon us, not only with their own distinct evidence, but with the whole weight of the general doctrine of the over-ruling providence of *θεοὶ* and *Ζεὺς*, which we find under every possible variety of shape in almost every page of the Homeric writings. There is no such sentiment in Homer as that in Herodotus, quoted by Nägelsbach,—"*Τὴν πεπρωμένην μορὴν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀπυφυγέειν καὶ θεῶν*," (*Clio.* 91,) nor that which Æschylus puts into the mouth of Prometheus (v. 516),

Οἴκουν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γέ (i. e. Ζεὺς) τὴν πεπρωμένην,

and though it be quite true that the idea of *μοῖρα*, like that of *Ἄτη* and *Κῆρ* is in some places impersonated, (*Il.* xix. 87; xx. 128; *Od.* vii. 197), I can see no proof that the poet looked upon this *Αἶσα*, the spinner of fatal threads, as any more substantial person than *Ἄτη*; much less can I see the slightest reason to exalt her above those very supreme rulers, of whose functions she is only a cloudy and half-developed incarnation. I say *half-developed*, because, as above remarked, there is a great

difference in Homer between the full-grown gods, clad with all the dignity of a person, and such personages as Ἄτῃ, Μοῖρα, and the Harpies, who, like the Egyptian frogs mentioned by Diodorus, if gods at all, have not yet acquired strength enough to shake themselves free from the slime out of which their complete physiognomy has yet to be shaped.

Altogether, Homer is a poet of too sunny a complexion to deal much in the dark idea of a remorseless Fate; and if, on a sad occasion, (*Il.* vi. 487,) Hector comforts Andromache by saying, that no one can take away his life ὑπὲρ αἵματος, and that no one can escape his μῦρα, this manner of speaking is not Turkish any more than it is Calvinistic; it is only human. Such a thought occurs to all men under certain circumstances. That no man can escape death when his day is come, (*Il.* xii. 326,) is what any man may say as well as Sarpedon.

But though I cannot allow that anything like a regular doctrine of Fate superior to Jove is taught by Homer, it is not to be denied that there are expressions and situations in his poems from which the Hellenic mind, if so inclined, might easily shape out such a doctrine as we stated above, (p. 416, note) that the tragedians had shaped out from the idea of Ate. And there is nothing more obvious than the necessity of thought which led the Greeks to work out this idea of Fate to the stature which we find it has attained in that passage of Herodotus, and in the tragedians. For, to the thoughtful mind, in reference to many things that daily happen in this world, the divine power being first postulated as unbounded, the question will always arise,—*if the divine power COULD have made the world otherwise, why DID it not do so?* This question the Homeric men, if they had no tradition of the doctrine of Moses, that the world lies under a curse for the sin of the first man, could only answer by saying, *that things are what they are, and as they are, by some inherent necessity of nature*, and that not even a god could make them otherwise than they are made. That some dim idea of this kind may have hovered before Homer's mind is extremely probable, though he certainly has not worked it up into any system which his reader can tangibly lay hold of. Homer, as the future event proved, had said enough to feed the metaphysico-imaginative wit of his countrymen; and if there were theological sects in ancient Greece inclined to wrangle about the comparative powers of Μοῖρα and Ζεὺς, as even our theologians draw swords about liberty and ne-

cessity, both parties, with that ingenuity of which religious sects are seldom void, would readily find in the Homeric bible texts sufficiently pliable to their several opinions.¹²

PROPOSITION X.—The gods know all things. This proposition, however, like that respecting the divine omnipotence, must not be pressed curiously, but understood with reference to the practical uses of the divine knowledge in the moral government of the world.

The practical omniscience of the Homeric gods is implied in their general control and superintendence of human affairs, which, without such an attribute, could not possibly be exercised in the grand style which is characteristic of Homer; the special doctrine, however, "θεοὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα ἴσασιν," (*Od.* iv. 379,) was as familiar to the Greek ear as the θεοὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα δύνανται already quoted, and this quality of superhuman knowledge not limited by the vulgar barriers of space and time, though it belongs to all the partakers of an immortal nature, is, with peculiar emphasis, applied to the elemental god, Helios, "ὅς πάντ' ἐπορεύει καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει," (*Od.* xii. 323,) and to Zeus, the moral governor of the world (*xv.* 523). It is not to be expected, however, that the sense-bound poet of an early stage of civilization should be able, on all occasions, to preserve the consistency of this high ideal of the celestial intellect, which he lays down theoretically. On the contrary, as Nägelsbach well observes, the spectacle of a self-constituted but continually self-baffled ideal of supersensuous perfection, is that which the Homeric gods (and I may add, the theological doctrines of nations much more highly cultivated,) present. Examples are frequent; but *Il.* xviii. 168, and *xix.* 112, shew more vividly than any

¹² Nägelsbach, after reviewing the passages which seem to speak for the independent functions of the *Μαίη*, with a more serious and favourable eye than I have been able to do in the text, concludes thus:—"The will which rules the Olympian commonwealth, is not so absolute as that every existing might necessarily retreats before it. But the human mind is formed with an irrepres- sible desire to give a head to the multi- form congregation of the gods, to provide a principle of unity, which shall

hold together the articulated organism of the celestial society; and the product of this desire is the *Μαίη*, a power made superior to the gods; another essay of the human mind to satisfy its innate longing for a monotheistic view of the universe," p. 127. I cannot see that Homer had any thing so very definite in view when he talks of the *Μαίη*. It appears to me that he never conceived of it distinctly as any thing independent of the will of the gods.

other passages how even the father of gods and men may, at times, be blinded and circumvented by the agency of his own ministers.

PROPOSITION XI.—The gods are easily offended, wrathful and jealous. Their hatred is the more to be dreaded in proportion as they are more powerful than mortals; and their high resolves, when once made, are carried out with a relentless pitilessness, that can be appeased only by the greatest possible sacrifices on the part of the guilty or unfortunate offender.

Nothing strikes the Christian reader of Homer with more astonishment, and it may be loathing, than the extremely low moral character of the celestial personages who are held up to view as the objects of popular reverence; and of the base feelings by which the bosoms of these high persons are continually actuated, that of a purely selfish jealousy on private grounds of quarrel, and an unrelenting spirit of personal hostility, is to a well-constituted moral nature the most odious. One is at times tempted, considering these things, to say of the Homeric gods generally, as Dr. Ihne says of the gods of the *Iliad*, that they are "worse than the men." Certainly, whatever be the temper of the gods of the *Iliad* in this respect, that of the *Odyssey* is nothing better: for what wrath can be more relentless and persecuting than that of Poseidon against Ulysses? (*Od.* i. 20; XIII. 125, &c.) and what motive for this anger can be less noble and more akin to the meanest humanity, than that assigned by the poet, *Od.* i. 39.? Polypheme is a godless monster and a cannibal; and because Ulysses, to save himself and his comrades from being eaten alive, deprives this embruted hulk of his eyesight, he incurs the indignation of the deity, who happens to be the monster's father, to such a degree, that nothing but the lives of all his trusty comrades will satiate the divine appetite for revenge. Nor is this a solitary case; but it goes through the whole poetry of Homer with such a pervading inspiration, that, though living in an age when more just ideas of the divine character were entertained by not a few, Virgil did not think that he could scheme out the characters of his immortal Epos, without having a Juno to perform the like part. Nor is the wrath or fierce hostility of the gods the worst feature in the divine character. The mean selfish jealousy with which Poseidon regards the commercial prosperity of the Phæacians, is comparable to

nothing so fitly as the spirit with which the members of close corporations in this country, without the slightest regard to the public good, defend their exclusive privileges before a committee of an aristocratic House of Commons. What shall we say to all this? Only one thing can be said, that the men who could so conceive, and so picture their gods, were themselves in a very low state of moral development. Whether Homer himself was not a little advanced in moral vision beyond the men whose traditionary theology he received into his verse, is not easy to say; certainly some of the most glaring instances of moral deformity in the character and actions of his divine personages may be conveniently explained on the supposition already mentioned, that he is there giving us the crude and unasimilated elements of an old Pelasgic creed; but this consideration will not help us very far, as the conduct of Achilles himself—a fair specimen of the popular hero of those days—is, in point of inexorability and passion, no unworthy type of the "*tantæne animis cælestibus iræ*" that marks the characters in the Olympian drama. If Achilles may immolate his thousands being a mortal, Poseidon, being a god, may swallow up his tens of thousands. We are forced, therefore—if we will have a palliation for this monstrous theology—to fall back upon this proposition, that, in the Homeric conception of a god, holiness, or moral excellence of any kind, forms no essential element. Superior strength is the characteristic attribute, and fear more the inspiration of their worshippers than love. The gods, in fact—except in the single case of Zeus, as moral governor—are only incarnations of the powers and forces that we see everywhere at work around us in nature; and as such it is not to be expected that they should manifest any moral feelings whatever. The wrath of Poseidon, therefore, though represented to us by the poet as the evil passion of a being like to our evil selves, is fundamentally nothing but the violence of the ocean waves, which, at the present day, rages and roars with as little regard to any moral principle as it did in the age of Homer. The god Poseidon, as he stands in Homer, is a clumsy union of two incompatible characters; an unruly elemental power, and a being formed after the image of man, and therefore properly with a moral nature; but the poet, partly because he was himself unacquainted with a high moral type of humanity, partly because he could not shake the gods free from that merely physical cha-

racter that originally was their only one, was able to produce nothing but a gigantic incongruity, to which all the harmony of his numbers, and all the magic of Phidias' chisel, could not afterwards reconcile the growing practical reason of his countrymen.

PROPOSITION XII.—The gods are capable of acting falsely, and of deceiving the expectations which they had raised in the breasts of mortals. A wise man should not trust absolutely to a god, but, on suspicious occasions, exact an oath for the greater security.

This proposition contains the culminating point of odious immorality in the character of the Homeric gods as depicted by Homer: and though it is no doubt true that the most glaring instances of divine want of faith occur in the *Iliad*, and that for sufficient reasons already mentioned, there are examples enough of the same principle in the other poem, to shew that the author of both was either the same, or had fundamentally the same conceptions of the divine character. In the *Odyssey*, Ulysses exacts an oath both of Calypso and Circe, because he could not trust them without it; and so much accustomed is he to the idea of deceit on the part of the gods, that even when the benign daughter of Cadmus appears over the rush of waves to save him from a watery death, the first thing he does is to suspect that some of the gods is *weaving a wile for his ruin*, (*Od.* v. 356). Telemachus, in the same way, will not believe that Ulysses is his father, but fears that some god is bewitching him, *θέλει* (*Od.* xvi. 195,) to his woe. In the *Iliad*, again, Jove sends *ὄϊλος ἔννευρος* to deceive Agamemnon, and Agamemnon is a fool (*νήπιος*) for believing him (v. 38). The king of men, in another place, charges the king of gods and men with an evil deceit, *κακὴ ἀπάτη* (*Il.* ix. 21,) and the fair Helen, in speaking to the fairest Aphrodite, uses a word *ὑπεροπτεύειν* (*Il.* iii. 399), which, according to Homeric usage, is applicable only to swindlers and seducers of the lowest kind, (*Od.* xv. 419). But worse remains. Athena, the incarnated wisdom of "the father"—one of the most perfect characters in Hellenic theology—on two distinct occasions, perpetrates a very gross act of deceit and falsehood, from which every honourable and manly feeling revolts; in the *first* place, she solicits and obtains from Zeus (the *δρακὼς*, the avenger of violated truth!) the permission to tempt

Pandarus to violate the treaty solemnly sworn to by the leaders of the Trojans and the Greeks, which treaty is accordingly broken, and the daughter of Zeus is guilty of tempting a mortal man to commit an act of pure perjury, her father consenting, (*Il.* iv.) In the *second* place, (what Hermann, in his Latin argument, calls an "*atrox dolus*,") by personating Deiphobus, (*Il.* xxii. 227,) she draws away the unsuspecting Hector into that unequal conflict with the son of Peleus, in which he was to meet his sad fate. Now, with regard to these truly monster traits of divine character as occurring in the two last passages of the *Iliad*, we must make the special remark, that these extraordinary acts of divine perfidy are all made in favour of the Greeks, whose poet Homer was by strong preference, as every book of the *Epos* shews. The cases, therefore, fall within the extensive category of abnormal moral states caused by self-love, national vanity, and party-preference, so that, in fact, the poet merely says, in a rude unqualified way, (being accustomed to plain speaking,) what all parties, and especially all religious parties, in all ages, have supposed and acted on—that when Heaven is interested in a cause, (or the church, as we say now) justice may become injustice, and truth and falsehood be confounded. Still it must be admitted that there is a wide moral gulph between Homer, who makes his gods do these things, and our modern religious parties, who only do them in the name of God. These, by their evil deeds, make void their own scriptures; the countrymen of the old poet, for every diabolic deed, might plead a divine precedent in the only scripture of which they were in possession. With regard to the other less glaring instances of divine deceit, the observations made under the former head apply. In a warlike and semi-savage nation, cunning and stratagem, lies and deceit of every kind, must ever—of course, within certain recognized bounds—be in high esteem; and Ulysses, no less than Achilles, will find his pattern and his patron in Heaven. It is also to be borne in mind, when considering these matters, that the devout Greek habit of referring every internal change of feeling, or external change of circumstances, to direct divine agency, almost necessitated the extraordinary language which they sometimes use, of their gods. As, for instance, when in an adverse position, one of the Homeric warriors exclaims—

"Ζεῦ πάτερ ἢ ῥά νυ σὺ φιλοφρονεῖς ἐπέτωρ πάγχυ μάλ."

Il. xii. 164.

"*O father Zeus, you are fond of lies above all measure,*" these impious-sounding words, when translated into modern language, merely mean, "*gracious God, how have I been deceived in all this; how have my expectations been disappointed!*" Zeus, in the view of the Homeric men, was at once the inspirer of the hopes which this man had entertained, (*Prop.* III.) and the arranger of the external circumstances (*Prop.* II.) by which they had been frustrated; therefore he says bluntly, *O, Jove, thou hast deceived me signally!* instead of *O God, how signally have I been deceived!*

PROPOSITION XIII.—The gods, as the givers of all good things, are to be regarded as habitually inspired with a benevolent affection towards the human race; and though, on certain occasions, and against particular persons, their indignation is terrible, and their vengeance not easily satisfied, still their general character, in reference to offending mortals, is placability.

The passages which I have to adduce in support of this proposition from the Homeric writings are comparatively few, but we are not on that account to suppose that it contains a sentiment less familiar to the minds of the Greeks, than those of a less amiable character contained in the immediately preceding propositions. As those years are often the happiest in a nation's history which furnish fewest materials for the pen of the dramatic historian, so those attributes of the Hellenic gods are not to be regarded as the least influential, which give occasion to the fewest startling events in the narration of a popular Epos.¹³ 'Tis in the nature of things that the wrath of gods, like the wrath of men, just because it is an exception from the common order of proceedings, should give rise to critical situations, strange concatenations, and striking catastrophes, such as form the natural raw materials for an Epic poet to work up. So the divine wrath consequent on the sin of Adam supplied a theme of appropriate grandeur for Milton's lofty muse; so the miseries of a thirty years' war became pictorial in the hands of Schiller; and in the same way, Poseidon ἀσπερχὲς μενεσίων furnished Homer with a series of the most varied adventures, which he might

¹³ I scarcely think Nägelsbach has sufficiently regarded this when he states in such strong language, that "love to God could not arise in the Hellenic mind

(as it appears in Homer), because there is no love of the gods to men presupposed from which it could arise," p. 201.

have sought for in vain among the stores of rich bounty spread on groaning boards by the θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων (*Od.* viii. 325). The general benevolence of the Homeric gods, notwithstanding the special instances of wrath just mentioned, is to be inferred not so much from a special designation to that effect, as from the general tone of cheerful gratitude with which their goodness is continually acknowledged by the worshippers on all the occasions of common life. Notwithstanding the strong expressions quoted under the previous heads, no person can rise from the perusal of the Homeric poems, with an impression that there is anything stern and forbidding in their habitual aspect, or that fear was the only strong feeling in the minds of their worshippers. Though power is their principal characteristic, it is never supposed that they use that attribute maliciously, or wantonly, merely to vex mankind. On the contrary, Zeus, even when in the mid-career of his predestined course, looks down with pity on the mortals whose fate it is to suffer sharp sorrows, that the purposes of the Almighty one may be fulfilled; and the prayer of the labouring good man prevails, if not to avert the blow altogether, at least to blunt the point of the weapon which inflicts it, (*Il.* viii. 245). That the gods, though not easily turned from their purposes, (*Od.* iii. 147,) are yet to a certain extent, with the single exception of Hades, (*Il.* ix. 158,) στρεπτοὶ (*Id.* v. 497,) is so much an essential doctrine of Homeric theology, that it is expressly stated as the only ground on which prayers, sacrifices, and other acts of divine worship proceed—

Καὶ μὲν τοὺς θεύεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσιν
λαβῆν τε κνίσσῃ τε παρατρωνῶσ' ἄνθρωποι.

Id. 500.

And in general, we may say that though the gods of the Greeks, as portrayed by Homer, present many individual traits in common with the lowest theology, or rather demonology of the most savage nations, their general character is as mild and beneficent as the necessities of their physical original, and the habitudes of a warlike atmosphere allowed.

The few propositions that remain, relate to the method of communication between gods and men, and the obligations arising out of the relation in which men, as dependant and re-

sponsible creatures, stand to the gods, as the supreme disposers of all things, and the moral governors of the world.

PROPOSITION XIV.—The gods maintain an intercourse with men as part of the ordinary course of their providence, and this intercourse consists principally in revelations of the divine will, and specially of future events, made to men by oracular voices, dreams, and sacred signs, the transmission and interpretation of which belongs generally, though by no means exclusively, to certain persons peculiarly set apart to sacred functions, called soothsayers and priests.

There is no necessity for marshalling an array of passages to prove matters so familiarly known to every reader of Homer as those mentioned in the first part of this proposition." But the second part of it is very important, not only in reference to Homer, but in reference to the whole genius and character of social religion, as exhibited in the history of the ancient Greeks. There is no appearance of a caste of priests in Homer, such as is in India and Egypt; no general closely-handed corporation of priests, fencing society round with a bristling rampart of artificial orthodoxy, such as exists now in many parts of Christendom. Volcker, it seems from a quotation in Nägelsbach, (p. 176,) has lately hazarded the assertion, that there is a "certain *hierarchy* of Homeric priests," but this emphatic word *hierarchy* is precisely what no unprejudiced reader will ever witch out of Homer, any more than he can extract the same doctrine out of the New Testament. Priests there are, no doubt, in Homer, as we see in the very opening scene of the first book of the Iliad, but they seem always attached as stationary ministers to some particular temple or shrine; and nowhere do they come forward in that position, and with that importance, which belongs to a body of sacerdotal men, banded together for such social purposes, as we find the Romish priests in Roman Catholic countries now banded. Against all such pretensions on the part of the Homeric priests, it is sufficient—we entirely agree with Nägelsbach—to mention the single fact, that these functionaries are nowhere, in Homer, represented as *the only and indispensable mediators between earth and heaven*, and that, wanting this, they want the grand condition precedent to the possibility of a hierarchy properly so called. No modern Plymouth brother or Quaker could have less exclusive ideas on

he subject of priesthood than the old Hellenic Homer; he mentions priests, indeed, and with respect, as persons existing and performing honoured functions with benefit to the community, but he has not the most remote conception that the divine spirit, like the electric fluid, has any exclusive preference to being conducted through a sacerdotal channel. Such an idea is, in fact, altogether precluded by the habitual direct operation of the divine Spirit on the mind of all men described in proposition III.; besides, we find constantly the functions of priests and sooth-sayers performed in a voluntary way, without apology, by all sorts of persons. The right of laic divination is asserted as a thing well known by Athena, (*Od.* i. 200,) and exercised by Helen, (*xv.* 172,) while acts of public (*Il.* iii. 271,) and of family devotion (*Od.* iii. 418,) (See Nägelsbach, p. 180,) are everywhere performed by the chiefs without the intervention of a priest, in a manner which, in a sacerdotal country like modern Spain, could in no wise be tolerated. We may take it with us, therefore, as an undoubted fact from the earliest records of the most cultivated nation of antiquity, that freedom from sacerdotal bonds existed among them in the earliest times, as the indispensable condition of that luxuriant growth and bloom of intelligence to which they afterwards attained.

PROPOSITION XV.—The gods visit the earth, and often appear in a visible shape to mortals, generally, however, under some human mask, in such a manner that, while their godhead is veiled to the general eye, they are capable of being seen and recognized in their divine character by the opened eye of their pious worshippers.

Dr. Ihne, in the passage above quoted, lays down a distinction in this matter of theophany, which he has observed between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. I can find none. "In the *Iliad*," says he, "the gods are visible to every one except when they surround themselves with a cloud; in the *Odyssey*, they are usually invisible except when they take the shape of men." How the first of these assertions should have been made in the face of the well-known lines, *Il.* i. 197—

στῇ δ' ὤπαιθεν ζανθῆς τε κόμης ἔλε Πηλεΐωνα
ὄψιν φανομένην.

I do not know. This passage, indeed, represents a grand con-

dition of every theophany, both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, that the god does not appear to the profane-staring many, (in this view contrast *Leviticus*, xi. 23,) but only to the particular favoured mortal with whom he stands in a spiritual relation—

οὐ γάρ πω πάντες θεοὶ φαίνονται ἑναργεῖς.

Od. xvi. 161.

As little have I been able to observe any difference between the two poems, in respect of the human mask which the gods generally assumed. This, so far as I can see, is the rule in the *Iliad* as much as in the *Odyssey* (see *Il.* v. 462, 604, xiii. 45, xiv. 136, &c. &c.); and, indeed, there are few extensively believed creeds, of which the appearance of the divine Being in a human shape does not form a characteristic element. The Epicureans were not so far wrong here as in some other points of their theology, which they made to float so uselessly in the air. Had they brought down their anthropomorphic divinities to walk the earth with a human sympathy as well as with a divine power, they might certainly have calculated on a thousand worshippers, for one that would have been attracted by the "round gods"¹⁴ of the Stoics. The important fact with regard to theophany in Homer is, that it is regulated in all respects like the apparition of ghosts in modern demonology. Modern ghosts, like the ancient classical idols, appear always in a human shape; and, like the ancient gods, they appear not at random to any person or all persons, but to certain persons, on special occasions, for special reasons, and for special purposes. Only to certain highly-favoured tribes, in this elevated above the general lot of humanity, do they appear publicly and ἑναργεῖς; as to the Phæacians (*Od.* vii. 202), a people who were ἀγγιθεοί, or "near to the gods" to Homer, pretty much in the same way that Adam and Eve in paradise stand before the mind of the devout Christian in modern times, as living and walking with God after a fashion to which not the most highly-favoured saint in this age of moral decadence can attain. One other remark with regard to divine theophany, Nägelsbach makes, which did not occur to me. The mighty Zeus never appears in his own person on the stage of human affairs. Between him and his

¹⁴ *Mundum ipsum sensibus præditum* | "the sneer of the Epicurean interlocutor in Cicero."—*De Nat. Deor.* i. 8.

wise daughter, the nearest to him of the celestial conclave, there is a mighty gulph in this respect. Jove sits apart. In Homer, as in Horace, he has nothing like to him in all the universe, and nothing second :

"Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum."

To a being so highly exalted, converse with such ephemeral creatures as mortal men is possible only through mediators.

PROPOSITION XVI.—Worship is due by mortal men to all the gods, with Jove supreme at their head ; but more especially to the patron god or goddess of particular places and functions, with whom the worshipper is under any particular circumstances brought into more particular connection. The gods have a special delight in receiving such reverential acknowledgments from men, (*Od.* III. 438,) come bodily to receive the sacrifices that we offer to them (*Od.* III. 435), and remember the pious offerer, rewarding him in due season.

In the Homeric idea of worship by sacrifice, there is something particularly simple and unsophisticated. The share which is given to the gods of the wine that flows, and the flesh that smokes on the festal board, proceeds from a combination of the two ideas, that man owes an acknowledgment of some kind to the powers by whom his existence is sustained ; and that these powers, being essentially human in their habits and sympathies, can enjoy such offerings of gratitude as one mortal would offer to be enjoyed by another.¹⁵ This case is precisely analogous to that of the departed spirits, who are represented in Hades as sipping nourishment from the pools of steaming blood which Ulysses had shed on entering their domain (*Od.* XI.) The feeling of grateful dependence on which this worship depends, is a characteristic of every healthy mind in the Homeric page :

"οὐδὲ συμβώτης

λήθετ' ἄρ' ἀθανάτων φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῶν."

And on the due performance of such acts of pious acknowledgment, rests a sort of claim on the part of pious men to receive assistance from the gods in the hour of need (*Od.* I. 65, XIX. 365, II. I. 39.)

¹⁵ The idea of vicarious atonement by sacrifice, so clearly indicated in the sacrifice of the scape-goat (*Lev.* XVI.), is not to be found in Homer.

PROPOSITION XVII.—Even of more importance in a religious man than external acts of ceremonial worship, is his duty to cherish that feeling of dependence on the celestial powers, from which all acts of acceptable worship proceed. Nothing is more characteristic of a pious man, according to the Homeric idea, than the habitual deep impression which he carries along with him, of the infinite distance between the divine and the human condition. Of this feeling the natural expression is prayer (to which the gods generally, though not always, lend a ready ear), as of its absence the natural indication is pride and arrogance, and a boastful spirit: qualities of mind altogether inconsistent with the condition of humanity, and therefore rendering man peculiarly obnoxious to the divine displeasure.

That humility of mind is not a characteristic of heathen, but only of Christian piety, is a proposition which we sometimes hear stated in a declamatory way from the pulpit, or even in serious works of moral philosophy; but every page of Homer, as of the tragedians, cries out against such a representation, the fact being, that few virtues are more prominently brought forward by Homer than humility; and in the words of his wisdom, as in those of Solomon, pride, insolence, and haughtiness, are the universal forerunners of a fall. In the first place, the continual recurrence of prayer under all the varied circumstances of life, is of itself an indication of a state of mind from which lofty looks and vain self-sufficiency were far. “*Who knows, but that with the help of God (τὸν δαίμονι) I may prevail?*” is the modest language of a Homeric hero when undertaking a difficult mission (*Il.* xv. 403); and in the ethico-religious language of the poet, ὑβρισταί, insolent, haughty, and overbearing men are coupled with ἄγριοι and οὐδὰ δίκαιοι, and contrasted with those whose mind is θεουδής, or godly (*Od.* vi. 121.) Nothing is more conspicuous in the character of the wise Ulysses, than the humility with which he throws off all those compliments paid him by his admiring entertainers, in which they liken him to the immortal gods:

οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
ἀθανάτοισιν ἔοικα, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν.—*Od.* vii. 209.

a beautiful contrast to the sounding impiety with which Greek kings of the East in later days allowed altars to be erected to their honour, and caused the epithet ΘΕΟΣ to be stamped upon

their coins! It is the most certain of all doctrines with Homer, that no man whose breast is possessed with this superhuman conceit will long escape the anger of the gods, with whose perfections he provokes an impious comparison. So Eurytus the bowman, puffed up with self-sufficiency on account of his prowess, dies prematurely by the shafts of Apollo (*Od.* VIII. 225); so Thamyras was blinded by the Muses (*Il.* II. 595); so Ajax was whelmed in the waters of Poseidon, for the insolent boast (like that of Capaneus in Æschylus),

φῆ ῥ' ἀέκητι θεῶν φυγέειν μέγα λαῖμα θαλάσσης.—*Od.* IV. 504.

No doctrine, therefore, is more essentially Homeric than that of Sophocles in the first chorus of the *Antigone*:

Ζεὺς γὰρ μεγάλης γλώσσης κόμπους
ὑπερχθαίρει.

and if there be any apparent exceptions to this rule, they are easily explained. It is quite true that man does not stand at such an infinite distance from the divine nature in a polytheistic, as under a monotheistic system; and therefore it is nothing surprising to find gods of an inferior order, sometimes even made subject to mortal men for the nonce, as Proteus, *Od.* IV.; but with all this the grand doctrine remains, that with the gods in council, or with Jove as their natural head and representative, no mortal may dare to contend (*Il.* IV. 78, XVII. 98); and of this the example of Diomedes in the fifth book of the *Iliad*, which seems to indicate the contrary, is the strongest proof. The actions done by the Etolian hero in that remarkable book, are all done by the special advice, and under the direct guidance of the daughter of Jove, and the responsibility of the deeds committed belongs, in the eye of the poet, altogether to her, and not at all to Diomedes. The wounding of Aphrodite proves nothing; the goddess of beauty, like all the other heathen gods, is powerful only in her own province. The attack made on Apollo is a more serious matter, and the poet treats it accordingly; the impetuous mortal listens to the wise warning of the god, and retreats from the unequal combat (*Il.* V. 440–44.) With the same pious instinct he retreats from Ares once (V. 606,) and again (819); and when the god of war is at last worsted at his own game, it is not the hand of a mortal, but of a superior goddess, that, with the point of her divinely tempered spear, causes him to shake heaven and earth

with his million-voiced roar (v. 856); and so Ares himself complains in the presence of Jove, that it is not Diomedes, but the father's own mad daughter, that is the cause of such sorrow (v. 882.) The very next book also shews how far Homer was from imagining, that in the previous descriptions he had compromised the character of his hero, as a humble and a pious-minded man. It is not a Capaneus, or an Ajax, that says,

Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισι μάχομαι.—VI. 129.

Is there, then, no difference between Christianity and the Homeric heathenism, in respect of the temper of mind with which the mortal looks on the immortal, the human on the divine? Assuredly there is; but the peculiarity of the heathen lies not in his underrating the virtue of humility, but on the narrower basis on which he plants it. Hellenic humility rests solely on a feeling of dependence; Christian humility rests on this indeed also, but primarily and characteristically,—unless I am much mistaken,—on a feeling of guilt, or at least self-prostration, in the consciousness of sin before a perfect moral ideal. There is also to be noted a certain air of familiarity in talking to the gods, which to an ear tuned by the perusal of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, is apt to appear irreverent. Witness the light tone in which Helen is made to address Aphrodite (*Il.* III. 399), and of Diomedes to the same goddess (v. 348.) But that which has excited the greatest scandal among the reverent admirers of the poet, is the language of Hera to Jove (*Il.* XIV. 332), and the famous adventure of Aphrodite and Ares, told with such humorous gusto in *Odyssey* VIII. Of this we shall say nothing, except that it is perfectly consonant with the familiar tone with which polytheism allows the gods to be handled on occasions; and that it is most admirably suited to the purpose for which it is introduced, viz. the soothing down of the angry feelings which threatened to disturb the harmony of the Phæacian board by the narration of a jocular myth.¹⁶ That jocular religious myths, however, of any kind, should have been tolerated by a piously-disposed people like the Phæacians, brings before us in the strongest possible light the truth, that the deepest habitual awe and reverence for the divine power can

¹⁶ Lloyd in *Class. Mus.*, No. XXII. p. 395, has with great ingenuity traced the adaptation further; but it is safer to

remain content with the statement that I have given in the text.

be felt only under a system of strict monotheism. Even in Christian Spain and Italy, traits of a somewhat light and familiar piety are occasionally observed, from which the sternly consistent monotheism of Protestant Britain revolts.

PROPOSITION XVIII.—There is an essential distinction between good and evil in human character and conduct. Man is responsible for his sins, and the gods inflict punishment on the guilty, sometimes directly, sometimes by the hands of their fellow-men.¹⁷

That the Homeric poems, making allowances for a few peculiarities belonging to the age in which they were composed, exhale a general atmosphere of sound and healthy morality, will be doubted by no one. Their morality as a whole is much better than their theology; for which there is this plain and obvious reason in the nature of things, that man requires a certain soundness of the moral feeling in order to exist at all as a social being, while the orthodoxy of his theological views is, among all nations, more or less without influence on his practical conduct. At all events, God has so ordained matters in this world, that the most extraordinary aberrations of human intellect in the domain of theological speculation, do not necessarily carry along with them that amount of practical evil consequence, which a man reasoning in his chamber might be apt to imagine. The doctrine, for instance, which has been already stated in Proposition III. that the gods are the authors of all the evil thoughts and purposes that stir the bosom of man, would, if consistently followed out, necessarily lead to the confounding of all moral distinctions, and the denial of all human responsibility. But it is not the curse of poets, as it is of very logical philosophers, to be forced to follow a wrong principle into all the wrong consequences that naturally flow from it. No doubt the ever ready, "*Not I am to blame, but a god who instigated my actions,*" was a convenient opiate for the conscience of the Homeric man, when forced, by public evil result, to admit the folly of his private deed; and tricks of this kind, the self-love even of good men in the present day plays off on their consci-

¹⁷ It is not demanded by the title of the present paper to follow the Homeric system of ethics into detail. Many matters of this kind that I have not alluded

to, will be found in Nügelbach under the title of *Die praktische Gotteserkenntnis*.

ences, though, of course, under a less direct form, and a more refined verbal disguise; but the sound moral faculty of Homer's age did not allow this palliative view of the origin of moral evil, to rob the human mind of its instinctive judgments concerning the character of human actions; nay, the highest authority in moral matters, Jove himself, in a remarkable passage, distinctly repudiates the doctrine that evil comes from the gods, and throws it back directly on the self-originated perverseness of the human will.

ὦ πόποι ὅσον δὴ νῦν θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιάωνται
 ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασι κακ' ἔμμεναι οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπέρμορον ἄλγος ἔχουσιν.

Od. i. 32.

These words, like the inscription on Dante's Hellgate, stand a striking text before the opening scenes of the *Odyssey*, that the reader may be impressed with the serious lesson of moral retribution that is to be taught by the bloody catastrophe. And not only the insolent and riotous suitors, but the companions of the sea-tost hero, are represented as having suffered what they suffered as the consequence of their own folly.¹⁸ This also is prominently set forth in the very opening lines of the poem—

αὐτῶν γὰρ σφέτεργισιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.—*i. 7.*

No less clearly is the truth enunciated, that the gods see with observant eyes the evil deeds of men, and recompense them accordingly. The most distinct utterance on this subject is put by the poet into the mouth of Eumæus, “the divine swine-herd,”—

Οὐ μὲν σχέτλια ἔργα θεοὶ μάκαρες φιλέουσιν
 ἀλλὰ δίκην τίουσι καὶ αἷσιμα ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

Od. xiv. 83.

and in another remarkable passage, it is said—

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἔοικότες ἀλλοδαπαῖσιν
 παντοῖοι τελέθοντες ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας
 ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην εὐφορῶντες.

xvii. 487.

and, as if to avoid all possible misconception of his meaning on

¹⁸ It is well remarked by Nügelbach, | as folly (*ἄφροδία*), and want of sense. See
 that sin in Homer is often characterised | the passages collated in p. 270.

the part of the most obtuse, the grand moral of the whole poem is again distinctly repeated before the final work of retributive slaughter, (xxii. 39,) and this work accomplished is declared by the old Laertes to be an undeniable proof that there are gods in the vast Olympus—

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἦ ῥα ἔτ' ἔστε θεοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν
εἰ ἐτεδὸν μνηστῆρες ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν ἔπαισαν.

XXIV. 351.

With regard to the particular gods, to whom the function of retribution falls, though in cases of special sins against particular gods the punishment naturally comes from the quarter where the offence lies, yet in the common transactions of life, as already mentioned, it is Jove who grants *παλίντυτα ἔργα*; so much so, indeed, that even the mighty god Helios, (*Od.* xii. 376,) when sinned against by the companions of Ulysses, instead of inflicting vengeance by his own hands, betakes him to Zeus, and states his case, adding, that if justice be not done to him in this matter, he will leave the heaven, and descending into Hades, spend his beams henceforth on the dead. We have only to add further, with respect to the inflictors of divine vengeance, that in certain very gross cases, as offences against a father or a mother, the Erynnyes, or singly, "the Fury that walketh in darkness" is called into play. These Furies, from the manner in which they are mentioned, seem to have been at first merely the impersonations of the *ἄρα*, or curses which parents, when sorely irritated, vented on their unnatural children, (*Il.* ix. 454, 566); but the idea seems afterwards to have been extended, so that even poor persons who are under the special protection of Zeus, are said to have their *Ἐρυνύες* or avengers, (*Od.* xvii. 475.)

PROPOSITION XIX.—The souls of men exist after death in the subterranean abodes of Hades, or the invisible world, but in a dim, shadowy, unsubstantial state, by no means to be looked on with envy by those who behold the sun in the upper regions, and tread with firm foot on the stable earth. A few special favourites of the gods rise above this common fate of the vulgar dead, and partake in Heaven, or in the isles of the west, of a state of substantial beatitude; while, on the other hand, a few atrocious monsters, or men of reckless and impious character, sinning daringly in the face of the gods, are condemned to excruciating

woes in Tartarus or Hell. This terrible retribution, however, has no reference to common men, or common crimes, which are punished by the gods in the present life, the only proper theatre of human fates.

Among the many remarkable coincidences that a thoughtful observer might point out between the religious condition of the early Greek and that of the Hebrew mind, none is more notable than that which relates to the views entertained by both nations with regard to a future state. In a legislative capacity, of course, Moses had nothing to do with futurity; but it is remarkable, that in many of the psalms, too many to require special quotation, the state of the dead is spoken of precisely in the same dim, comfortless way that characterizes the language of Homer. The well known exclamation of Achilles,

μή δὲ μοι θάνατόν γε παραῖδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεύ, &c.

Od. xi. 488.

when Ulysses, the live visitant of the dead, is endeavouring to console him with regard to what he had lost by death, contains a complete revelation of the early Greek ideas with regard to a future existence. Homer was no Plato. A distinct and practical realist, he had no conception of any existence worth having, without a substantial body of flesh and blood. To him the Christian doctrine of the resurrection, so derided by the Stoics and Epicureans of the apostolic days, (*Acta Apost.* xvii. 18,) would have appeared the necessary condition of the immortality which the gospel preached. I am scarcely inclined to go so far as Nägelsbach, (§ vii.) who says that the dead in Homer, except when roused to a momentary revival, are to be considered as utterly exenterated of that consciousness which is our real self in this terrene state; but it is plain, from the whole of Book xi. and the other places where the dead are incidentally mentioned, that their state is so dim and cloudy, feeble and pithless, that for all the purposes which, to the energetic Homeric man, made life valuable, it was little better than absolute annihilation. When "darkness covers the eyes" of an old Hellenic hero, wounded in the red strife of war, the curtain has fallen on all his glory for ever; and nothing now remains of that substantial energetic organism called man, but, as it were, a cloud or a mere dream.

If this be Homer's general view of the state of the dead, we

are not to wonder, that he does not delay the punishment of the wicked in a future state, but rather completes their suffering in that state, where they are alone capable of any substantial enjoyment. Whether the twenty-fourth Book of the *Odyssey* be genuine or not, the procession of the *ἔιδωλα* of the suitors to Hades, and their reception there, is quite in keeping with the whole Homeric representation of the state of the dead. We do not find that these wicked men, punished with such sanguinary vengeance in the present state, are subjected to any further tortures in the region to which they are conducted by Hermes. Homer has no hell for the mass of men, plainly enough, because he has no heaven. The instances of Sisyphus, Tantalus, and a few others, mentioned in Book XI., prove no more a Homeric hell with regard to the mass of men, than the deathless transference of Menelaus to Elysium, (*Od.* iv. 561,) proves a general Homeric heaven. Only for perjurers, some peculiar punishment of an awful nature seems reserved in a future life, (*Il.* iii. 278;) but the passing allusion to the judicial functions of Minos, (*Od.* xi. 568,) and that in a place peculiarly liable to interpolation, will never, by any man who understands the poet, be esteemed strong enough to warrant the assertion, that he had any firm belief in a general state of retribution after death. The gods of Homer are too substantial to waste their wrath on such pithless phantoms as float in his Hades.

These, as rapidly as the union of completeness, with a certain degree of interest, would allow, are the most important theological views, which a careful study of the Homeric writings suggests. In arranging them, I proceeded on the principle of the greatest possible independence, by making a careful collation of all the passages in both poems that have any bearing on religion, and marshalling them under different heads, before I looked into any writer on the subject. After completing this labour, I took a careful view of Nägelsbach's most accurate and judicious work, so often quoted, and was happy to find that, while in one or two places I was enabled, through his observations, to give a greater completeness to my own, on very few points had I arrived at conclusions different from his. This agreement will, I hope, serve as a sort of presumptive guarantee to scholars, that both our summaries may be regarded as substantially correct. I have not had an opportunity of con-

sulting any other of the learned tracts and monograms with which the Germans have enriched this and other curious departments of philological research ; but this is the less to be regretted in a matter where the materials are not to be collected from remote regions, and where all that is attempted may be satisfactorily achieved, by diligent collation, a certain moral sympathy, and a fair amount of common sense.

JOHN S. BLACKIE.

XXXIV.

ON THE ADJECTIVE Παιπαλόειν.

THE connections in which this adjective occurs in Homer, are sufficiently enumerated in the Lexica. We will therefore merely repeat, that it is, in the first place, the constant epithet of certain islands, as, for instance, of Imbros, *Il.* XIII. 33,—

Ἔστι δέ τι σπέος εὐρὺ βαθείης βένθεσι λίμνης
Μεσσηγῆς Τενέδοιο καὶ Ἰμβρου παιπαλοέσσης.

In like manner of Chios, the western Samos, and Ithaca, then again of mountains and eminences, as in *Il.* XIII. 17,—

αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατεβήσατο παιπαλόεντος.

Od. x. 97,—

σκοπὴν εἰς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθών.

And lastly of ὀδός and ἀταρπός, *Il.* XII. 158,—

οἱ δ' ὥστε σφῆγας μέσον αἰόλοι ἤδ' ἐ μέλισσαι
οἰκία ποιησῶνται ὁδῷ ἔπι παιπαλοέσση.

And XVII. 743,—

οἱ δ' ὥσθ' ἡμίονοι κρατερὸν μένος ἀμφιβαλόντες
ἐλκυσ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατὰ παιπαλόεσσαν ἀταρπὸν
ἦ δοκὸν ἤε δόρυ μέγα νήϊον.

Regarding this adjective in the most obvious meaning which it bears in connection with ὄρος and σκοπία, a slight deviation would seem to be perceptible in Hes. *Theog.* 860,—

ὄρεος ἐν βήσσησιν αἰδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης,

though confirmed by *altus*, used of depth as well as height in

Latin, and αἰώς and ἡλίβατος in Greek. In the Tragedians, as far as I have been able to discover, the word does not occur.

The explanation attempted by Schol. Ambrosian, *Od.* iv. 845,¹ based upon the derivation from the substantive πάλη, *flour, dust*, is of course too forced and frivolous to require notice. Nor is the derivation from αἰώς, proposed by Damm, much more satisfactory; apart from the impossibility of explaining the metaphorical use of its cognate formations—παπάλημα, παπάλη, in later writers, it is manifestly insufficient when applied to the adjective in its connection with ἑδός and ἀταρπός. The principal objection, however, to which this theory is liable, arises from the presence of the letter π, the repetition of which would seem to indicate its existence in the root. Nor can such words as εἴβω, λείβω, ὄσχος, μόσχος, be adduced in confirmation. In all of these, with a few dialectical exceptions, the moveable consonant is a semivowel, and consequently resembles those breathings which can be dropped or assumed, without any material alteration in the original elements of the word. Far different is it in the case of the mutes, especially of one so sharp and strongly characterized as the letter π. And besides, it is obvious how completely the whole study of etymology must abandon all claim to scientific exactness, if the existence of this limited class of forms is to be considered as furnishing a ground for assumptions so arbitrary. The consonants are the framework of the word, in which, unless confirmed by the clearest and most distinct evidence, no change can be admitted. No one can have failed to observe how unmutated and entire these original forms recur, even after thousands of years, and in the language of races in many respects widely different.

In considering the adjective παιπαλόεις, the first glance shews it to be a reduplicated form, one of that class of words so extensively used by the Epic poets, not only on account of the pomp and sonorous fullness imparted to the verse, but because, with the reiterated syllable, the emphasis and significancy of the word were also heightened. Παιπαλόεις, therefore, I conceive to be formed from πάλω, just as πορφυρόεις is from φόρω, or δαυδαλόεις from ΔΑΩ.² The same view has, I perceive, been adopted by Hermann, *Hymn. Apoll.* 39; as, however, he has neither

¹ τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ πατάξματα ἐνέκλως καὶ χροῶδη γίνονται καὶ ὡς ἀνὶ παιπάλῃ.

² The root of δαίω, δάημι, to divide,

distinguish, and closely connected with δίς, διὰ, διό.

stated the reasons upon which this conclusion is based, nor pointed out the connection in meaning between *πάλλω* and the various uses of *παιπαλόεις*, a few further remarks on the subject may not be superfluous.

That *πάλλω* and *βόλλω* are to be referred to the same origin, is evident, not only from their resemblance in form, but from their coincidence in meaning: the former may almost be said to be the frequentative of the latter. To these I would also add the verbs *ἄλλομαι*, *ἀλλάσσω*, and the pronoun *ἄλλος*, all of which spring from the same root, and exhibit unimportant modifications of the same meaning. They are evidently new presents from *ΕΦΑΛΩΝ*, Aor. 2. of *ΕΦΑΛΩ* *ἐλάωνω*, respecting which we possess so masterly a treatise in Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, just as *τραπέω* is formed from *ἐτραπον*, or *κτανέω* from *ἐκτανον*. In confirmation of this view, we may mention the substantives *βέλος* and *βόλος*, from *βάλλω*, in which the change of *α* into *ε* would otherwise not be easily accounted for.

The meaning of *ΕΦΑΛΩ* is in the first instance, no doubt, like that of its German derivative *wälzen*, indicative of motion, returning upon itself, whence it is afterwards employed to denote a concentrated energetic impulse: (compare the examples adduced by Buttmann in the *Lexilogus*.) And these meanings, though they naturally, in many instances, pass over and shade off into each other, may still be recognized with a certain degree of distinctness, the former in *ἵλλω*, *εἰλέω*, *ἐλελίζω*, the latter in *κέλω*, *κέλεύω*, *κέλης*, and the verbs shortly before mentioned. The hardening of the digamma into *π* and *β* requires no confirmation; it is also met with, not only in the Latin *pello* and *volvo*, but also in certain other derivatives of the same root, such as *βούλομαι*, *volo*, *wollen*, *will*. In the last mentioned words, it is curious to observe the philosophical truth unconsciously present in etymological formation. We have here another instance, exemplifying the intimate connection between critical learning and philosophy, in the fact, that the root meaning, to urge, to impel, is the same which also describes the functions of the will, the primary motive principle of our nature.

Though the form of the adjective *παιπαλόεις* leads us more immediately to the verb *πάλλω*, yet in point of meaning it exhibits a closer affinity with some of the other derivatives of the root of which we have just been treating. There are, indeed, as we shall hereafter see, several uses of the word, from which

it would appear that it varies considerably in this respect according to the connection in which it occurs, and whilst certain passages evidently favour the derivation from one form, others with no less clearness exhibit the peculiar force of another.

In the expression ὁδὸς παιπαλώεσσα, the turns and windings of a road are so obvious a characteristic, that we can have no hesitation in classing it with εἴλω, ἴλω, ἐλίσσω. In its application to νῆσος, on the other hand, there may be some doubt whether the epithet is to be understood in the same sense with reference to the windings of the shore, or whether comparing the force of ἄλλομαι, we are to understand the expression as descriptive of a broken iron-bound coast, which now springs forward into bold headlands, now recedes into deep bays. Though this derivation would seem to furnish a sufficiently appropriate sense, yet I am rather inclined to recognise in the present use of παιπαλώεις, the same force of ΕΛΛΩ, which is met with in κέλω, *celsus*, *culmen*, partly on account of the analogy offered, by its connection with ἕρος and σκοπιά, partly because it may be doubted the term is used of islands in general, and does not rather denote some peculiarity in the form of those to which it is applied.

As the termination *έεις*, therefore, has two meanings, either that of *fulness*, *abundance*, as in θαυρύεις, δολύεις, or of intensity, as in ὀξύεις, τειχέεις, the expression νῆσος παιπαλώεσσα may either be understood as meaning *craggy*, τρηχεῖα πολυδειράς, or else as descriptive of those rocky islets of the *Ægean* which tower aloft somewhat in the same manner as our own Bass or Ailsa Craig.

The same meaning is of course applicable in the case of ὁδός and ἀταρπός, though I am inclined to adhere to that already adopted, not only because in this instance the word seems used as a general epithet, in which case *sinuosus* is evidently more appropriate than *arduus*, but also from the sense which it bears in the phrase φρόνιμες πολυπαῖπαλοι, *versuti*, *fraudenti*, an expression containing an evident allusion to the *Punica fides* of the Romans. This is also confirmed by the meaning assigned to the adjective παιπάλιμος, in Schol. *Vulg. Od.* x. 97, παιπάλιμον λέγομεν ἄνδρα τὸν τραχὺν καὶ μὴ ἀπλοῦν, where, however, as there is no proper opposition between τραχὺς and μὴ ἀπλοῦς, which are here set off against each other, it seems not unlikely that some words have been omitted, or else that μὴ ἀπλοῦς has found its way from the margin into the text.

The expression in Aristoph. *Nub.* 263, παιπαλόημα or παιπάλη λόγων, (I am obliged to quote from memory,) though apparently another instance of the meaning seen above in πολυπαίπαλος, is more properly, I conceive, to be referred to the class of ἄλέω, πάλῃ, παλύνειν, and the Latin *palea*, *mola*.³ This meaning is the one naturally required by the passage, in which παιπάλημα is evidently a sort of superlative of the words τρίμμα or ἐπίτριμμα which precede.

The derivatives of ΕΛΛΩ are so varied and interesting, that I hope I shall be excused in adding a few more to those already mentioned. From the evident similarity between the meanings of *versari* and *esse*, there is little difficulty in connecting with this root the words πέλω, πέλομαι, πόλος, *pothus*, and πόλις, h. e. locus in quo versantur homines, if not also the adjective πολός. We may also hazard the conjecture, whether the same derivation does not furnish a far better sense, for the adjective ἑλλός in the much disputed expression ἑλλοῖς ἰχθύων, Soph. *Ai.* 1297, than *mutus*, the meaning in which most commentators seem to acquiesce; ἑλλοῖ ἰχθύες therefore are, if I mistake not, no other than the tortiles inguina pisces of Ovid, *Met.* XIII. 915, and an exact analogy is presented by the αἶολος ὄφις and the σφῆρες μέσσην αἶολοι of Homer.

The above remarks are in no small degree confirmed by the light they contribute to throw upon certain passages in the earlier history of Greece, which, in spite of the labours of the most eminent scholars, still remain a confused mass of names and events, which all their efforts have not succeeded in arranging into one distinct picture.

History, like all the other branches of criticism, began at a comparatively late period of the intellectual life of the Greeks: though the science no sooner became known, than it was advanced to that ideal perfection which characterizes all the intellectual efforts of the race. In Thucydides we behold the earliest of the *ἱστοριογράφοι*, or historians properly so called. Herodotus the last of the *λογόγραφοι*, to whom he stands in the same relation which a Homer may have borne to the other rhapsodists, is

³ The *m* in *mola* and its kindred forms, *molior*, *moles*, *molestia*, *mehl*, *mahlen*, *meal*, *mill*, is, if I mistake not, merely a harder pronunciation of the Digamma in FEΛΛΩ, the transition to

which may be seen in the β of βάλω. The affinity between β and μ is exemplified in the practice of the modern Greeks, who, it is well known, use *mp* to express the sound of our *b*.

the father of history only in that sense of the word in which the great epic poet may be called the father of the drama.

But if this be true of a time so closely approaching the matured manhood of the race, much more was it the case at that early period which we are now about briefly to consider, when history, poetry, philosophy, and physics, were yet, as it were, enclosed within the womb of Homeric poetry, and only dreaming of their future development, when the mighty rivers which were destined to gladden and fertilize a world had not yet gone forth from the paradise in which they had their source. In every primitive people, and above all others in the first ages of Greece, a country which seemed to have been meant by Providence as an ideal type of all nations, the minstrel is the representative of all spiritual interests, religion alone excepted; hence it is that in those legends of early times, which in the first place, no doubt, were the productions of some nameless *αὐδοί*, we meet with elements of an ethnological, physical, and religious character, all blended together under the shaping and regulating influences of poetic sentiment.⁴ In analysing the myths of such an age, it is evident that a considerable degree of freedom with respect to what is to be regarded as essential, is not only permitted, but even imperatively enjoined. The truest explanation is of course that which embraces the greatest number of points in the story; much, however, will always remain to be disregarded by a wise discrimination, as mere accidental appendages to an idea which

⁴ The truth of this observation will be at once evident to those who have at all made this portion of history their study. For those less immediately conversant with the subject, a single instance will suffice; that of Theseus, the Attic Hercules, and symbol of all the noblest qualities of his race.—That this character is intended to represent the nascent civilization and refinement which led to the union of the cities of Attica under a single head, is evident from the name, which is a mere formation from ΘΕΩ, *θεός*, with the termination *ωδ*; denoting an agent, as in *σφαγών*, *κουρῖς*, &c. The name of his father Ægeus contains an allusion to the maritime position of Attica, as is proved

by another version of the story, which represents him as the son of Neptune (compare *Αἰγαίον*, *Il.* i. 402, *Αἰγαί*, *Αἴγιον*, *Αἴγιον*, *Αἰγαίος*, &c.); and that of his mother *Αἴψα* as clearly refers to what Cicero describes as the *serenum ac tenue cœlum*, ex quo acutiores etiam putabantur Attici. The proverbial intelligence of the Athenians, and the inclination which they early manifested for intellectual pursuits, is further denoted by the circumstance, that the hero is said to have grown up under the fostering care of his maternal relative *Πιστηύς* (*Πιστή*, *πυθάνομαι*, *πίστις*) *ἀπὸς λόγιος ἐν ταῖς νότι καὶ σοφώτατος*, *Plut. Vit. These.* c. 3.

has long been abandoned to the caprices of the popular fancy ; were this not the case, it would cease to be a legend at all.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in the earlier history of Greece, is the adoption of the name Ἕλληνες as the universal designation of the race. It is a remark as old as Thucydides, that this expression is never employed by Homer in the sense which it afterwards obtained, and the few passages of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, in which the word Ἕλληνες occurs at all, are now reduced by the canon of Aristarchus to a still smaller number. In what manner, then, and from what causes, do we find it abolishing and rendering subordinate to itself all those minor distinctions of the race, which at an earlier period stand forth in such bold relief ? To explain this phenomenon, let us briefly endeavour to give an outline of the leading events of what may be called the origines of Grecian history.

Among the earliest occupants of this part of Europe, and of the neighbouring coasts of Asia, were doubtless those tribes known under the common name of Ionians ; compare Wachsmuth *Hellenische Alterthümer*, vol. i. p. 74. Whether they were the primeval inhabitants of these regions, is a point which we shall better be able to decide hereafter,—of the fact of their being the leading race at a period of the remotest antiquity, we have strong indications in the coincidence between the Ἴω and Ἰαπετός of the Greeks,—with the Javan and Japhet of the Hebrew historians, in the still more important fact, that the Titan Iapetos, classed by Homer with Kronos, or the symbol of Time,⁵ is described in the *Theogony*, commonly attributed to Hesiod, as the son of Tellus the brother of Oceanus, of Memory, and of Law. In this we must of course bear in mind, that both Homer and the author of the *Theogony* were Ionian Greeks, and naturally disposed to give us that view of the question which best favoured their claims to a venerable antiquity ; still, however, as a deeply-rooted conviction of that portion of the Grecian race in which thought and enquiry first arose, recorded also at a time when the remnants of original tradition were not utterly effaced, it is a circumstance worthy of the deepest attention ; more especially when we consider how much it coincides

⁵ *Il.* viii. 479 :

οὐδ' εἴ ποι τὰ νῦν τε σείραλ' Ἰηναί
γαίης καὶ πόντου, ἧ' Ἰαπετός τε Κρό-
νος τε

Ἡμεῖσι οὖν' αὐγῆς Ὑπερίονος ἡλιόιο
Τίτρωσι τ' οὖν' ἀνίμοισι, βαδὺς δὲ τι Τάρτα-
ρος ἀμφίς.

with those records which give the clearest and most rational account of the earliest history of the human race. We learn the same fact from the story that Danaus, the ancestor of the Ionian Δαναοί, on his arrival in Argos, found that country in the possession of the descendents of Inachus, the father of Io, himself born of Oceanus and Tethys.⁶

That the Ionians were not confined to the narrow limits of the Ἀχαϊκὸν Ἄργος, or Peloponnesus, is evident not only from their possession of Attica as children of the soil, from their presence near the Amphiloebian Argos, as is denoted by the river Inachus, in the neighbourhood of that city, but also from the legend respecting the flight of Xuthus from Thessaly, in which we have an account of their expulsion from the greater part of their possessions beyond the Peloponnesus, and of one of the earliest revolutions, which extensively affected the population of Greece.

That this overthrow of their power was effected by invaders of the Dorian and Æolian races, is evident from the story as related by Pausanias in the beginning of his Ἀχαϊκά. We are there told that Xuthus, the father of Achæus and Ion, was expelled from Phthiotis by the other sons of Hellen, namely, Æolus and Dorus, on the ground that he had gotten possession of too large a share of the paternal inheritance; in other words, the wealth and prosperity of the Ionian Αἰγιαλῆς, or inhabitants of the plains and sea coast,⁷ roused the cupidity of their poorer and hardier brethren of the highlands, who, coming from their fastnesses in the mountains of Macednus, Thesprotia, and Dryopia, made themselves masters of the whole of continental Greece, with the exception of districts like Attica, whose poverty is supposed by Thucydides to have effectually protected them from the attacks of more than one invader.⁸ Pausanias goes on to say that Xuthus, in consequence of this event, first sought shelter in Athens; but, having been banished from thence by the sons

⁶ See Butm. *Mythische Verbind. Griechenlands mit Arien*, *Mythologus* II. 158. In Ἄρις or Ἐραφός Butmann justly recognizes an indication of the original affinity between Greece and Egypt; a fact which is also commemorated by the story of Danaus. The true meaning of the alleged colonization of Attica by Cecrops may possibly be the same,

namely, that as Ionians, the Athenians claimed a certain consanguinity with Egypt.

⁷ Cf. Herodot. VII. 94.

⁸ That the countries here named were the ancient seats of the Hellenic race, is evident from Herodot. I. 56, a passage which we shall hereafter have occasion to consider more fully.

of Erechtheus, finally took refuge in the Peloponnesus, followed by his two sons, Achæus and Ion; the former of whom afterwards, by means of assistance from Attica, succeeded in recovering possession of the paternal dominions in Thessaly. In this part of the legend we discover that the conquests of the Æolians and Dorians were followed by a reaction, in consequence of which the Ἀχαιοί, one of the most powerful and extensive of those tribes comprehended under the common name of Ionians, were enabled to extend their sway over most of those countries which formerly owned the dominion of their race.⁹

The prosperity of the Achæans seems to have been at its acme under the royal house of the Pelopidæ, and Mycenæ in the Achæan Argos, the centre of their power, in its cyclopean ruins, still bears witness to the splendor of their sway. That this dominion was thoroughly Ionian in character, is evident from the circumstance that the Trojan expedition, the leading event of that period, is the favourite and peculiar subject of Homer and the Ionian rhapsodists; so much so, that we cannot but imagine that for them it was invested with a national interest. The supremacy of the Ionians is even more unquestionably proved by the fact that, excepting the most common term Ἀχαιοί, the names applied in Homer to the entire body of the Greeks, viz. Δαναοί and Ἀργεῖοι, properly denote the minor divisions of that race, or rather those more ancient and illustrious tribes to which the leading families principally belonged.

But though it will be sufficiently evident from the above mentioned facts, that the Ionians were one of the very earliest races which made their appearance upon the scene of Grecian history, it is equally clear that they were only a branch of the still more ancient of the Pelasgi. This view is at present so universally admitted, that all proof on the subject is unnecessary. Æschylus, the depth of whose learning, historical as well as philosophical, is scarcely less astonishing than the grandeur of his genius, assigns to the Pelasgi limits far more extensive than those of Greece itself;¹⁰ and Herodotus, though his views upon this

⁹ That the Hellenes were not expelled, but simply reduced to subjection, is evident, not only from the Æolian Boeotians, who continued to occupy the plains of Arne, but also from the Hellenes mentioned by Homer, together with the Ἀχαιοί, as subjects of Achil-

les, who himself belonged to the Achæan family of the Æacids. Boeckh refers the Myrmidons to the same race, though Hesiod, *Fragm.* 67, would rather seem to favour the opposite conclusion.

¹⁰ *Supplices*, 250, sqq.; *Prom. Vinct.* 860.

subject were less clear, points indirectly to the same conclusion.¹¹

Doederlein's derivation of Πελασγός from πλάζω, which seems in a sort of indistinct manner to have been present to the minds of the old grammarians; at least on no other supposition can we conceive of any rational grounds for connecting it as they did with πελαργός, brings this word in immediate etymological connection with Αἶολος, Ἑλλην, and their common root ΕΔΛΩ, of which πλάζω, (πλάζω) is the frequentative, like ῥιπτάζω from ῥίπτω, ἀκουάζω from ἀκούω. That the affinity between the names Αἶολος and Ἑλλην is not less close than already pointed out between αἶολος and ἑλλός, is confirmed by the fact that there are many traces in the geographical names of Greece which go to prove that, in place of the word Ἑλλην, there anciently existed an equivalent form with the termination ος. Thus we meet with a country called Hellopia, a river Selleis, and the race of the Selli or Helli, all of which, it is important to observe, occur in Thesprotia, the home of the Dorians, or leading branch of the Hellenic race.¹² The words Ἑλλην, Αἶολος, and Πελασγός, are therefore but variations of one and the same original substantive; and the first mentioned is that which most closely approximates to the primary form; the meaning common to all three is that of *rovers or wanderers*, the same which Doederlein recognizes in Suevi, (schweben.)

The above hypothesis with respect to the identity of the names Ἑλληνες and Πελασγοί, perfectly coincides with the fact (so inexplicable upon the common supposition,) that Dodona and the neighbourhood of Thesprotian Epirus, which so many circumstances prove to have been the cradle of the Hellenic race, were

¹¹ The main difficulty in Herodotus' account of the Pelasgi, arises from the fact, that while, on the one hand, he plainly regards them as barbarians, he declares them to be the progenitors of the Athenians, Æolians, and others, who confessedly belonged to the purest specimens of the Greek race. This discrepancy was no doubt occasioned by his not being aware of the differences which existed between the Grecian, Illyrian, and Tyrrhenian Pelasgi. He mentions indeed Tyrrhenia and the Tyrrheni on more than one occasion, but no where

expressly recognises them as a branch of the Pelasgi.

¹² Σιλλαι is the form of the word to which Aristarchus gives the preference; see Lehrs, *Stud. Aristarchi*, p. 239; though Ἑλλαι is also recognized as an ancient variante, and actually occurs, Pind. *Fragm.* 31. Compare also the Scholiast to Soph. *Trachin.* 1167. The change of the digamma into σ, though unusual, is not absolutely without parallel, as in the Latin *se* for *i*, and *Mōra*, with the Laconian *Mōi*. Hermann, *Opusc.* i. 131; Aristoph. *Lys.* 1249.

also looked upon as the home and sanctuary of the national religion of the Pelasgi, as is evident from the words of Achilles—

Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίῃ πελασγικῇ τηλόθι ναίων
Δωδώνης μεδῶν δυσχεμέρου, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σαλλοί
Σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιαῖναι.¹³

The names of nations, like those of individuals, had originally, no doubt, a descriptive meaning; and that the words Πελαγός, Αἰολός, Ἑλλήν, in the meaning just assigned, and constitute an appropriate epithet of the Greek nation during the early ages in which these expressions were first invented and applied, is evident from the unanimous testimony of all their most eminent historians. Herodotus describes the Dorians as an ἔθνος πολυπλάνητον κάρτα;¹⁴ and in the masterly delineation contained in the first twelve chapters of Thucydides, no one can fail to recognize the same adventurous and roving tendencies which characterized the Northmen and freebooters of the middle ages. That the remark which Herodotus here makes with respect to the Dorians, applies at least with equal force to the Æolians, is evident, not

¹³ To the objection, that in thus connecting the Danaï with the Pelasgi, we are running directly counter to the testimony of Herodotus, who rests the whole difference between these two races of the Greeks upon the fact, that while the former was of Hellenic, the latter was of Pelasgic origin,—we reply, that the only point here insisted upon as common to the Hellenic races with the Pelasgic is the name, and that, in all other respects, for aught we know, the Ionians may have retained more of the essential peculiarities of the ancient stock. And, besides, how natural is it that the word which, as a national appellation, had become unusual even in the days of Homer, should have been partially misunderstood in those of Herodotus. The most probable supposition respecting the Ionians and Hellenes is, that originally they differed from each other merely as the Pelasgi of the coast from those of the mountains; a view confirmed by the circumstance mentioned in Herodot. ii. 94, that before

the arrival of Danaus and Ion they were called Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυαλῆες. Should these words, however, be considered as affording an indication, that the Peloponnesus was conquered by the Ionians from a race more Pelasgic, if I may use the expression, than themselves, we have here an additional confirmation of our hypothesis. Herodotus himself reckons the Æolians (a tribe in blood and language most intimately allied with the Dorians,) as a Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, and it is at least remarkable that the distinguishing name of the Pelasgic is applied, not to the Argos of the Peloponnesus with its Ionian inhabitants, but to that of Thessaly, a country whose original conquerors, and the majority of whose population, until a late period, belonged to the Hellenic race.

¹⁴ Cf. i. 56. This expression, however, merely has reference to the fact, that the mountain districts encircling Thessaly, originally possessed by the Dorians, were successively wrested from them by the neighbouring tribes.

only from the love of maritime adventure implied in the principal event which marked the period of their supremacy, the expedition of the Minyæ, or Argonauts, all the heroes of which belonged to the Æolian race, but also from the numberless Minyan colonies which extended over the whole Ægean, and even studded the coasts of the Peloponnese, the remaining stronghold of the rival Ionian race.

That all these colonies were founded by the Minyæ to whom they were attributed, is extremely unlikely, great as may have been the wealth and magnificence of Orchomenus, celebrated by Homer, *Il.* ix. 381, and attested by remains which Pausanias considered not inferior to those of Egypt itself. It is much more natural to assume, with Butmann, that, as in the case of the Roman Quirites, and the Ἀχαιοί of the Homeric age, the name of the noblest and most illustrious tribe extended itself to the whole race; and that colonies in particular, which were in any manner connected with the earlier period of the Æolian history, willingly availed themselves of this circumstance to claim a parentage so illustrious.

From what has been already mentioned, it will be clearly seen that the universal adoption of the name Ἑλλήνες, to which we have before alluded, took place in consequence of circumstances precisely analogous to those which, in the Homeric age, occasioned a no less extensive application of the term Ἀχαιοί. In the great movement which, A. C. 1104, terminated in the total overthrow of the Achæan and Ionian power, the Dorians were the vanguard of the Hellenic race, just as we have seen that the Æolians had been on a former occasion. The second struggle, however, was destined to have an issue more decisive than the first; the power of the Ionians was assailed and broken, not only in their distant possessions, but in the Peloponnese, their original Argos; and the name of the victorious Hellenes was adopted by the rest of the Grecian tribes, the more readily, we believe, from a latent consciousness of its identity, in form and meaning, with their ancient and once universal denomination of Pelasgi.

J. EDWARD KIRKPATRICK.

XXXV.

MISCELLANIES.

1. REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE GOTTFRIED HERMANN, by EDWARD PLATNER, Professor of Law, Marburg, (from the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthums Wissenschaft*. No. I. for 1849.)

THE works which eminent men produce in the provinces of art, science, or politics, always bear the impress of their peculiar mental character—only to a certain degree, however, and in an unsatisfactory manner, because, in the operation of the intellect, except in the case of a dry unfruitful pedant, there is always more or less of an abstract nature, which does not allow the prominent points of an original character to come forth. An eminent man is in reality greater than his writings, and the more influentially these are to tell upon the development and progress of science, so much the more do his contemporaries find it necessary to collect the features of the departed one into a picture, that he may not be remembered as an unsubstantial shadow, but be recognised by posterity as a man of flesh and blood. Led by these considerations, I feel compelled to record a few of my recollections of Gottfried Hermann, my respected teacher and friend, as an audible echo of my inward veneration for him. If I am to give the picture a life likeness and individuality, and also to justify my own veneration for my lost friend, I must place Hermann before my readers, in the personal relations in which he always appeared to myself. If here and there I shall notice my own life along with Hermann's, I crave the indulgence of the kind reader, hoping he will not deem it an impertinent intrusion, but an unavoidable consequence of the plan I have adopted. Hermann was either a pupil or a hearer of my father Ernest Platner, although, as a disciple of Kant, he did not acknowledge the claims of his philosophy, and a sworn friend of my eldest brother Ernest, now agent from the Saxon Court at Rome. Hermann was therefore a friend of the family, and formed one of our daily circle.

In the middle of the year '90, Hermann, my brother, and a number of promising young men, of whom I shall only notice the most talented, formed an association. The painter, Menzel, was one—too early torn from his noble art; Clodius and Heinroth also, the well known scholars; a choice circle, who, in imitation of the then existing form of French government, called itself the *Convention*. Each member had his nickname. My brother, on account of his size, and many and ponderous gesticulations, they called *Gigas*. Hermann was Jupiter. His natural decision of character, and a certain imperiousness,

seeming exactly to personify Kant's Categorical Imperative. This society usually met on Sunday to drink chocolate, where, amidst the distraction of disputations, and other dissonant sounds, Clodius had a voice that pealed like a trumpet. They discoursed upon the state of art and science with the liveliest energy, and a wit which was listened to and received with shouts of laughter. The sederunts were often noisy enough, and in this respect they resembled those of the Paris convention. The higher their spirits rose, the faster flew the sparks of wit, the quicker curled the smoke from the pipes, till a cloud lay over them, veiling the company in misty darkness. I was a young boy of nine years old, when I attended these *symposia*, and if I could not understand the ideas, or the witticisms, they at least shot through my soul like lightnings, and filled the horizon of my mind with a kind of prophetic dawn of future intelligence. I learnt by degrees to understand good wit, although the drinking of chocolate was more relished by me, and its service lay more in my way. Hermann, although of a slight short figure, distinguished himself not more by mental power, than by physical exploits. He sprung over broad ditches, all booted and spurred, and over a cord that reached as high as his breast. As I estimated the virtue and excellence of men at that time in proportion to their bodily strength, H. was the model whom I strove to imitate. Conventional forms being to boys insignificant pedantry and burdensome fetters, H. was sure to win my love and reverence, because he placed himself beyond these. He was one of the first who cut off the cue, and wore what was called a "*Schreden Kopf*."

This boldness was regarded as having a political significance in Leipzig, where tame customs and manners were easily disturbed, and it was looked upon as betraying a Jacobinical tendency of mind, for which very fault the late Bürgermeister Müller, the little elector as he was called, thought it necessary to testify a magisterial horror. As I grew older, my mark of a true scholar was his thorough knowledge of Latin, and in my father's house this was made the touchstone of scientific culture; so that a great man and a good Latin scholar were identical. At this stage of my mental progress, Hermann was my polestar. He delivered his lectures in Latin, and one could not sufficiently admire the tact which he manifested in writing the Latin idiom with modern ideas. He did not read his Latin translations of the Greek tragic poets, and of Pindar, but dictated them on the spot, without the aid of paper. His diction not only possessed the full Roman rhythm and Roman colouring, but was singularly attractive from the peculiarity of its exhibiting the affinity which existed between the Latin language and Hermann's own character. If the nice Ciceronian Latinists were here and there offended by Hermann's phraseo-

logy—and my father, as a pupil of Ernesti, was so—at least the genius of Hermann's style is not to be denied; the genius by which he not merely seized upon the spirit of the Latin language, but also mastered it, and while engaged in the work, exercised as extensive a creating power over it, as any dead language is capable of. I am reminded here of the opinion of a modern critic on the subject, viz., Bernhardt, who ranked Wolff and Hermann together, as having displayed equal genius in their treatment of Latin. Hermann's eminent characteristics appeared nowhere so conspicuously as in his capacity of a teacher. The peculiar element in his nature, acted like electricity upon the minds of his audience, and shewed what an extensive moral power science may exercise when it is not a dead abstract function of thinking in the individual, but an interpenetrating and organizing power. This explains the animating influence which Hermann shed over his pupils, and by which he bound them to him. In watching the mental process which the science carried on in their master's mind, the pupils were ambitious to go along with it. His free unstudied delivery might not be a brilliant one, and did not allure by the force of glowing fancy displayed in it, but it was full of power and weight. The thoughtful circumspect pace of his ideas without start or break, enchained the understanding. The thought was like a bud, out of which, in various form, grew stem and branch and blossom. We, in the meantime, following him step by step, and sharing in the development of his ideas, had our attention excited to the utmost pitch. Although I had less inclination for the formal part of antiquarian research than for poetry and politics, I was vastly taken by Hermann's critical genius, and I even attempted conjectural emendations in spite of my want of natural talent for such a thing. Although Hermann's sphere was almost exclusively the formal department of philology, and he was master of this province, he did not compel his pupils to follow him into it, but allowed each man to exercise his peculiar talent, and gratify his inclination. We should do injustice to his intellectual character, if we were to imagine that his mind was not filled with the majesty and greatness, and the high-toned rhythm of classical antiquity. In order to be convinced of the contrary, it was only necessary to hear him read a chorus from a Greek tragedy. At such a moment, the harmonious echo of the poet's numbers, and the corresponding greatness of Hermann's thoughts and inspiration, were given. In the Greek society, and in the debating club, he exercised a severe censorship, which was productive of the happiest results, because he did not merely censure, but by going thoroughly into the matter, succeeded in making each man conscious of his defects and weaknesses. Self-conceit and idleness he exposed without mercy, and pursued the victim in all his nakedness and poverty, till he made him the

object of universal contempt. He did not prevent well-founded opposition to his own sentiments, for he desired no one "*in verba magistri jurare*;" and every opinion was of value. Dogmatism and empty disputation he drove into such straits, that they were speedily compelled to yield and lay down their weapons. If conceit or presumption tried to be heard, they had to deal with the sharp sword of dialectics, and were soon driven back within their proper bounds, by the earnestness of some thundering speech, silenced and dejected. Being himself a man of decision of purpose, Hermann had the strongest aversion to all that was compromising and incomplete, and he combated and overthrew half measures with great severity. Animated by the sincerest love of truth, he warred with all the energy of his character against prevarication, where deceit and ambiguity playing at hide and seek found refuge. Lies can ply their ruinous trade in science as well as in practical life. Hermann was very accessible and ready to give instruction and advice in the kindest manner,—to lend his books with the truest liberality, and to look over and correct the essays which any one might choose to bring to him. He was never annoyed by any amount of trouble which this entailed, having no natural irritability of disposition. I never found him in bad humour; although I was often wearisome, and must have put his patience to the severest test by my juvenile importunity, the effect of my very love, which led me to assail him with the most impetuous caresses, in order to give a tangible proof of my reverence for him. My near connection with Hermann has had an essential influence upon my character. My naturally fluttering volatile nature has been steadied by the force of his example and conversation. Precision and clearness of ideas, and the discipline of the thoughts, were the watchwords of his mental activity, and this kind of mind must be specially useful to those whose natural imaginative tendency leads them to form illogical deductions. I may compare myself at that time to a narrow-necked bottle filled with water, which rushes violently from side to side, so that it can find no outlet. This painful state of matters was mended by watching the steady method whereby Hermann developed his scientific discoveries. Praise and blame, these exhilarating and depressing agents in literary life, acquire an importance from the value and character of the man who bestows them, and their effect is greater, the more sparingly praise is given, and the less it evaporates in generalities; also the more that well-founded censure bears upon it the stamp of an impartial judgment, and a kindly seriousness. Thus directed, praise and blame from Hermann's mouth had a great influence on his scholars, and particularly on me. As in the first period of my intercourse with him, his censure awakened me to self-knowledge, so in after years his approval worked upon me with the most

encouraging and refreshing power. A favourable review of any of my literary productions never gave me half so much satisfaction as a single word of approbation from Hermann.

I became still more intimate with my master in the year 1803, when he delivered his inaugural lecture. I was then in my 16th year, and received a proof of his good will, by being chosen *Socius*, an honour I am proud of to this day. He lived then in the market-place, six stairs up, in a long narrow room, lighted by one window, where he sat upon a raised bench. On entering, you perceived him in the far off twilight, veiled like Æneas in a mist; but it was one of tobacco smoke. The appliances of the chamber, and the general arrangement of the establishment during his bachelordom, (he married late in life,) were not remarkable for their practical propriety or symmetry. When a person stumbled against any object at one end of his room, the concussion was immediately felt in the opposite end, because the different articles of furniture leant so, the one on the other, in a continued disorder, that motion was communicated throughout like an electric shock.

Before reaching him, it was necessary to pass through several de-files, formed by tables, chairs, and benches covered with books. Immediately in front of him, there was a rampart to surmount, crowned on the summit with an inextricable mass of boots and spurs. Having conquered this difficulty, and after much labour and fatigue got hold of a chair, first dispossessing it of the various habiliments laid on it, and made myself comfortable, I was accustomed immediately to enter into a Latin conversation with Hermann upon the subject of his Latin lecture. The fear I was under during this conversation, carried on with such a man, that I might appear a vain ignoramus, and that my Latin sentences, contrasted with his, must shew greatly to my disadvantage, excited me to give my intellectual powers the highest tension they were capable of. My impressions of these days, and these discussions in all their details, are yet present to me in the distinctest manner. His opponents of that time, among whom were Daniel Beck and my father, went down one and all before the *respondent* to the silence of the grave.

Although Hermann did not tread in the plain path of ordinary custom in his manner of doing things, he affected no originality; yet in his conduct at public examinations there was something characteristic. As I and Seidler, whose whole character in its mildness and humanity was the genuine expression of a truly classical culture, underwent the ordeal of an examination for the master's degree, Hermann began it by asking if I knew any choral song from the *Plutus* of Aristophanes by heart. This question at first confused me, but, recollecting there was no such thing in the specified comedy, I answered

in the negative. This led him to talk of the decline of the chorus in the Greek drama. He put a sheet of paper before us, printed all over with Iambics taken from a Greek tragedy. We had now to say which of the tragedians composed that part. But it was only a modern composition, and we now were obliged to decide from the style of language, why it did not emanate from any of the old tragedians.

Hermann and I were united, not only by literary ties, but by the thousand-fold relations of daily life. Among others was our mutual love of horsemanship, which I had formerly indulged in with youthful zeal. The strong nature of Hermann was exerted here, as it appeared in every thing else—in his language, his walk, his motions. At the word of command, he would trot or gallop with or without stirrups, and this he inculcated as the chief element in all equestrian skill. The martial pleasure he took in this gymnastic exercise, showed plainly enough that his being was not to be destroyed and swallowed up in dry labour in the study. His juvenile vigour and activity would preserve him from the fate of too many learned men, who exhaust their spirits, sap, and strength, by exclusive mental exertion. There was nothing helpless or unwieldy in him, as there is in some who are only at home when among their books, but awkward and strange in the every-day working world. He never fell into that common error of narrow professional men, whose own conceptions are their only circle of motion, and who, with a third party, will have no further intercourse than so far as it refers to their own calling, unconcerned whether that party takes an interest in their cogitation or not. Neither had he the bad habit of those gentlemen of the Cathedra, who in a weary self-sufficient style are continually giving instruction, and whose conversation is sure to end in monologue. He never introduced scientific subjects into conversation unrequested, nor thrust forward his own acquirements upon his neighbours. The scholar was left behind when he entered society. He participated in every sort of social enjoyment, interesting himself in every minute occurrence, and shewing a truly human heart. He felt no contempt for the homely peculiarities of those that laid claim to no intellectual culture, nor particularly desired that conversation should always be choice, abounding in intellect, and sparkling with wit, or crammed with learning; plain simple fare was as welcome as intellectual tit-bits, and highly seasoned delicacies. His antipathies were only directed against affectation, hair-splitting, distortion, tortuosity, and vain conceit. These he hated heartily. His susceptibility to the graces and charms of woman, provided these were the outward index to internal beauty of character, was evident in his intercourse with the sex, as he moved among them with an easy address, engaging alternately in earnest and in gay conversation, equally removed from the severity of instruction, and

the uselessness of empty prattle. He was never more than a man in his deportment, and never less. He was one who was always master of himself. The openness and sincerity of his heart were evident in his manners. What distinguished him most in society was a universal fitness and propriety, without any anxious observance of those smooth conventional forms, which make the unmeaning outline of your fine drawing-room gentleman.

Like every able man, he had a proper pride and just appreciation of himself, free from all pretension. He did not wish any one to stand before him in the fifth position of shrinking devoted submission, making humble bows in honour of his character and his services. He was by no means aristocratic, exclusive—solemn and important—he never rode upon a high horse. In spite of his far-spread reputation, extending beyond his own country, and the testimonials to his fame which he so frequently received, he remained to the last an eminently plain and simple man. During my last stay in Leipzig at the time of the fair, he pointed out to me shops in the market-place, where the best tobacco pipes were to be had. In proportion as he was unobtrusive in daily life, and thought himself of small consequence, was his estimate of the respect due to him as a public teacher great. When the students of Halle *hospitized* at his lectures, and crowded round his chair, without taking off their hats, he lectured them severely in Latin upon their rudeness, and concluded with the words, *sed a barbaris redeamus ad Græcos!* His thorough acquaintance with classical literature and ethics naturally led him to take delight in all that was conceived and written in the same spirit of mingled simplicity and grandeur, and on this account his veneration for Göthe was great. When the Weimar company brought out Iphigenie in Leipzig, I persuaded him to accompany me to the theatre, a place he seldom visited in his later days. The after-piece by Stoll—I forget what it was—was about to begin, when he asked me, “Is the thing noble?” Upon my answering that it was not, he took up his hat, and with the words “*Gute Nacht, schlafen sie wohl,*” he walked away. The moral and poetical sublimity of the ancient classics necessarily exercises a powerful influence over every man who makes them his serious study, and imparts a certain grandeur and generosity to his character, and a noble openness, removed from the spirit of cabal, intrigue, and cunning. And so Hermann always gave utterance to his convictions in a free, open, and manly way, and defended the cause of truth, right, and freedom, even in the face of the government, with the most decided emphasis. To all illegal encroachments and innovations on the part of public authorities, he opposed himself with earnestness and energy, and blamed, without fear, all half, perverse, and insufficient measures, and every sort of bungling.

In matters of religion, as in science, Hermann was a Rationalist. His religious convictions he expressed openly on many occasions. A keen understanding, extraordinary acuteness, and a great power of combination, are the faculties which chiefly distinguished his mental character. As his imagination was less highly developed than his understanding, he was a decided enemy of everything cloudy and vague, and of all romantic extravagances; and whatever bordered upon the mystical and fantastic, stood in direct contradiction to his whole nature and style of thinking. Hence it happened that he applied too narrow a measure to that method of treating science, which is not founded so much on abstract ideas as on intuition. He was also too compact, and too self-contained, to sympathize with certain new directions of thought, especially in the department of speculation. The capability of understanding and knowing is determined by the faculties with which a man is furnished, and cannot go beyond them. Eminent mental endowments are often coupled with a certain one-sidedness, and it is questionable whether without this defect as much perfection could be reached in any particular line. The one-sidedness of Hermann showed itself at times, in his feuds with other learned men; but though his polemical attitude was not always without asperity, in private conversation I never heard him express himself with regard to his opponents in an ill-natured or passionate way.

If the merits of a scientific man are to be measured by the extent to which science has been advanced, and new paths and prospects opened up, there can be no question that Hermann, by what he has done in the departments of metre, grammar, and criticism, has gained for himself an imperishable name in the history of philology.

The peculiar charm of his writings consists in the genial ease with which he commands his subject; in the independence of his position and in the whole attitude of his thoughts, revealing as it does in every feature the self-dependent thinker, who, free from tradition, works out the full idea of truth, carrying the reader with him through his whole progress. It was not only by the clearness, definiteness, and logical consistency of the ideas, and by the delicate ear for the niceties of language, but by the originality of his whole method of treating his science, that Hermann gave a new impulse to philology, and inspired classical studies with a fresh life, so that his name became identified with a new epoch. Such an epoch in the history of any science is not to be dated from the man who corrects individual errors, and throws a better light on a few points of detail, so much as from him who lays down principles fitted to form a surer foundation for the architecture of science, even though, in the course of time, these principles should be found not tenable in some views. Now Hermann, in opposition to a diffuse erudition, a vain parade of citations, and an un-

certain hither and thither swaying, established a system of stable principles, and a regular organism drawing its nourishment from a living root. Though the attempt to deduce the science of metres from Kantian ideas must be admitted to have been a failure, it is not the less true that by Hermann, more than by any other modern scholar, the doctrine of metres was raised to the dignity of a science. The exclusive cultivation of the purely formal department of Philology, has no doubt had an evil influence also on his metrical doctrine: and it cannot be denied that this method of treating the subject in the case of many of his scholars has degenerated into a soulless pedantry, and a meagre, paltry retail trade in syllables. With regard to this matter, so far as an amateur is entitled to a judgment, I place myself unconditionally on Boeckh's side; the problem of philology can be no other than to reproduce the ancient world in all the completeness of its manifestations and living relations.

To sum up the whole in a word, Hermann, whether as a man, a writer, or a teacher, was a character of whom, for his simplicity, true humanity, liberality, geniality, and thoroughness, Germany has good reason to be proud. The spirit of the present age has driven out reverence for great names, as the prejudice of an obsolete state of things; the free republican spirit, it is imagined, may not be bound by such fetters. To this sort of liberalism, I confess, I cannot elevate myself. Veneration for Hermann is so interwoven with my earliest impressions, with my education, and with my love of classic antiquity, that it has become an element in my life, and can only be extinguished with it. He who places a value on this feeling of veneration will find the best example in Hermann himself, who felt the deepest reverence for his instructors, and for none more than Reiz.

2. EXPLANATION OF A DIFFICULTY IN JOHN, C. XX. V. 15.

Λέγει αὐτῇ Ἰησοῦς, Γύναι, τί κλαίεις; τίνα ζητεῖς; ἔκεινη δοκοῦσα ὅτι ὁ κηπουρὸν ἔστιν, λέγει αὐτῷ, κύριε, εἰ σὺ ἐβάστασας αὐτόν, εἰπέ μοι ποῦ ἔθηκες αὐτόν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀρῶ.

The author of the article on "Roman Names" in the last number of the *Classical Museum*, p. 288, considers the use of the title κύριε, as addressed to a supposed gardener, an insurmountable stumbling-block; and certainly so it is, if we are to believe that Mary Magdalen actually used the word thus; but I think that the difficulty may be explained away, by the hypothesis that St. John, knowing that the supposed gardener was no other than Christ himself, put into her mouth an expression which, from its very signification, can only be addressed

to a person of high rank, and which is the universal mode in the New Testament of speaking of Christ, as Lord and Master, and which consequently would only have been used by Magdalen had she known whom she was addressing.

R. H. S.

November 3d, 1849.

3. ON THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES.—(*Continued from No. XXV. p. 319.*)

I BELIEVE the rules and specimens given in the two last numbers will serve to explain in general my proposed method of "black and blue" translation for philological purposes. But, as any such illustration is necessarily inadequate, I should be very glad to receive from any working philologist (whether student or tutor), a short idiomatic passage of Greek and Latin prose, translated with minute attention to the six rules, and with ample margin. In this way the "whys" and the "why-notes" which may arise in thinking minds can be answered, by correction and comment, more effectually than by any amount of printing, on a subject which, from its nature, can only be fully appreciated in the working. In reply to some questions already raised, I will just observe, 1st, that it is by no means intended to supersede oral instruction. On the contrary, the revisal of such a translation with the pupil, is apt to lead to much viva voce comment, and inculcation of principles. It is true, several of my pupils have thought it worth while to receive instruction by correspondence, marginal notes being then used as a substitute for the said "viva voce;" in which way, though less is done in a given time, yet what is done becomes more precise and fixed: "littera scripta manet," whereas oral remarks too often not only penetrate, but actually traverse the cranium, "demissa per aures," without leaving a trace of their passage. 2dly, That this system admits of no deviations, no exception of any cases as "trifling," or "too well known to require repeated notice." Its novelty and supposed value consist in attempting, in addition to a good translation, to exhibit visibly and intelligibly, every existing difference between the two languages. It requires the pupil, instead of omitting familiar facts, and only noticing fresh cases, to shew, in black and white, and blue, all the phenomena he can possibly detect; and, therefore, it ascribes, in fierce red ink, the smallest omission either to ignorance or carelessness. As the tyro advances, he ought, instead of relaxing, to prove his advancement by greater attention to minutiae; and the premium should always be on increased accuracy. Let all sorts of other exercises be used, each for its own effect; but let me have this rigidly followed out, as the proper instrument for inducing philological re-

search—the “*Natur-forschung*” of language—and I will venture to say, the result will not disappoint *on the whole*, though I will not stop to prove a separate *cui bono* for each instance of hyphen or bracket. It is the habit of *unremitting, invariable* watchfulness that is valuable, as a means to an end; that end being not to obtain “*toties quoties*,” some fresh information, nor merely to learn the respective idioms of Greek, Latin, French, &c., but by a sifting observation of the facts of each *in turn* and *inter se*, to establish an extensive and growing *INDUCTION*, through which the learner shall arrive, by his own discoveries, at the laws—logical, etymological, grammatical, metaphysical, &c.—which would constitute, when attained, the true philosophy of language:—“Enfin, on nomme ‘Grammaire comparée la science qui enseigne à comparer la structure de la phrase dans une langue avec la structure de la phrase dans une autre langue. La grammaire comparée peut enseigner ainsi, non seulement une langue inconnue au moyen d’une langue connue, mais encore à comparer les formes de deux ou plusieurs langues, et à tirer de cette comparaison des inductions utiles au progrès des connaissances humaines.” [*Grammaire Française Expliquée au moyen de la langue Provençale*. Marseille 1826, page 2, in many respects a very sensible book.]

The very object in view, therefore, excludes *any wilful* omission. A translation from Latin *not* bracketing (“a”) and (“the”), or *not* hyphenating “I-have-loved,” (= *amavi*) would be *directly opposed* to the above recommended. Equally so, a translation from French, hyphenating “I have loved” (= *j’ai aimé*) or not “looping” the article in ^{“the”} *virtue*,” (from *la vertu*.) In each case, there would be a *virtual denial of certain facts* in the respective languages. They may be called *small facts*, but the presence or absence of articles and auxiliaries are points of *some interest*, and the student will one day be glad to have had them *forced upon* his microscopic attention. “Small facts” often mean nothing less than those *important facts* which are *most apt to escape notice*; and the old proverb, “take care of the pence, and the pounds will take care of themselves,” may be applied here, *mutatis mutandis*, with great truth. Without introducing *wilful* omission, be sure that abundant difficulties arise “in the working,” to *compel* omissions, *malgré nous*; and here the *mind* is set to work, to overcome, to escape, to approximate, &c. Such “cruces” are the very mines of our philological traffic, and they are happily of frequent occurrence; whilst the trifles and small facts serve to “keep one’s hand in,” and one’s eyes open, during the intervals. Once admit of the omission of “simple cases,” and the language will grow in *simplicity* to a wonderful extent, *tyrone judice*, till nothing will be deemed worthy of notice, but such passages as have puzzled *him* to make out. Now, these may

be extremely barren in philological interest, whilst a little question about attribute or predicate, which to *him* presented no difficulty, [sure it "*made sense*" either way!] may involve an important law of language. No, my young friends, our motto must be "no surrender," if we are ever to make philologers of you at all; consider *every* point worth recognizing, if it be a *fact*, and you will soon find that, whilst all your difficulties become easier, some of your facilities will become more difficult. What used, in the good old times, to go down once for all in the form of a bolus, will now be retained for repeated discussion and agitation,—"*the gargle as before*,"—each time as it occurs. It might be supposed that great sameness results from tying down all pupils to the same dry inexorable rules. On the contrary, it is most amusing to observe how each young mind cuts out, in spite of this¹ Logierian phrenoplast, *its own way* of doing the same thing. One

will lean to *etymology*, and call ξύμμαχοι ^{"co-fighters"} allies—abunda-re ^{"to-wave-off."} to abound, and so forth. Another is a great stickler for *order*, and must needs make his blue ink versions ultra-barbarous, by *placing* the words exactly as they stand in the original; he therefore renders γενήσεται δὲ ^{"will-become but to-you being-persuaded"} ἐμὴν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία—But the coincidence will turn out

^{fair} favourable ^{the coincidence} "to you if you comply." One affects the metaphysical order, at a sacrifice of native force. Another struggles to retain the rhetorical order till he becomes un-English.² No fear of *sameness*, where human *minds* are really *set to work* (which is *bona fide* the case in a "black and blue" translation,)—"mille adde catenas, Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus:" [ne dicam, "Fiet aper."]

EX RE FABELLA.

This reminds me of the ingenious efforts I witnessed when a boy, on the part of two very refractory young pointers, their object being to carry with them, ἐνί γε τῷ τρόπῳ, through the "sata læta boumque labores," a most formidable species of clog, contrived on purpose to keep them from rambling. Did it, though? ὦ τύπανα καὶ κύφωες, οὐκ ἀρήξετε; on the contrary, after a few self-taught lessons in *clog-driving*, behold "Rumbo" and "Major" trundling their impedimenta right merrily through *every* thing (not excepting *standing beans*) αὐτοῖσι τύπανοισι καὶ κύφωσι! THE MORAL.—"What then, Patres conscripti? shall naughty little quadruped bow-wows * * * in a bad cause too * * * ? and shall *not* good big biped Βου-παιδες in a

¹ Logier invented the cheiroplast, a frame for keeping the fingers in the right posture, *per force*, in learning the piano-forte.

² These several tendencies should not on any account be checked at the outset, but rather *encouraged to the full*, and modified by degrees.

good cause * * * ?"—cæteraque gravissimè. [Cicero, *all over*.] Having alluded to "loose construing" as *one* of the pests of education, ("tum *varie* illudent pestes,") I wish to enter a little more particularly into the subject, as a *very* important one. Some are content with pupils giving the general drift of the author, without any regard to the *words* employed. To *make* them do this now and then, and do it *properly*, is a very good practice; but to break off the ready-made trick, the ordinary conjectural mode, would be a boon to both tutor and pupil. I remember at school—I mean *the* school—SHEREWSBURY School, *be-grudging* the trouble which Dr Butler *always* inflicted on us, of separating the poor little enclitic "que," from its more powerful friend. *We* would fain have said "Arma, arms, virumque, and the man." But that very best of teachers would insist upon "Arma, arms, *que*, and, virum, the man." It did not occur to "us lads," (though "hoc caverat mens provida Reguli,") that, as we were turning *Latin* into *English*, it behoved us, 1st, to bring the "and" into its English and *logical* place; 2d, To shew up John Bull for *not having* a spare enclitic conjunction = "and;" 3dly, to mark the distinction between this "que" and the other inseparable "que" of quisque, uterque, &c., a fruitful source of puerile blunders, as some of us remember to our cost.² I mention this, to illustrate the importance of picking and sorting individual words; the smaller and more insignificant the better, to establish a *principle*. As a general rule, *all* conjunctions should be taken alone. They are *links*: not, however, like the links of a chain, where all play the same part, but as distinct from that which they connect as pins are from the papers or ribbands which they fasten together; and they should be taken out, like pins, to *acknowledge* their distinctness. So should interjections, for the same *logical* reason. (See Latham's *First Outlines of Logic*, p. 4, 21, 22, 30.) On the contrary, prepositions should not, without special reason, be detached from their nouns, with which they form the equivalent of a single word,—in fact a "case" of the noun. "Caio" = "to Caius" is, mentally, no more a single word than "ad Caium" = "to Caius." Adjectives, one or more, when performing the function of mere attributes or epithets, should accompany the noun; as "Roma ferox, fierce Rome," "ποδάρκης ἕως Ἀχιλλεύς, the swift god-like Achilles." But, when they appear in the more marked form of predicate, then they should be as carefully *separated* from their nouns. Fancy construing "candidum Soracte, the white Soracte!"—Hor. 1, od. 9.

The union or disunion of adverbs and verbs should also be regulated by similar considerations—by an appeal "ad synesim," not by rule. "Ad *benè* vivendum," go very well *en masse*. But in Hor. 1.

² Salopian reader, didst ever get turned down with the lesson "in Greek and

English?" If so, thou wilt duly appreciate the word "*cost*," h. l.

Sat. 4, 13, I should take the trouble of saying, "scribendi, of writing, recte, properly;" because scribendi is repeated from the preceding verse, and then qualified by a *very* emphatic word "recte," *worthy* of being isolated. All vocatives, from their parenthetic nature, should be eliminated, like interjections.

In this way, a "phrase," which has no true English meaning but as an assemblage of various parts of speech, becomes, by its escape from the customary dissection, *quite a striking phenomenon*: a mind trained to impatience of wholesale rendering, is thus led to examine *why* such and such assemblages acquired their respective meanings; and facts, great and "small," are rescued, which would escape notice if grouping were the *rule*, instead of the exception. To a slovenly construer, *every* parcel of words is equally a "phrase," equally mysterious and inviolable; their separation, murder. Thus I would have *accurate* construing, (from *motives*, varying pro re natâ), made the constant recognition, and therefore the constant practice and corroboration, of innate philosophical principles, à teneris unguibus. For I have learnt that *careless* construing operates, most effectually, to the ignoring and confounding such principles, till at last the mind becomes hardened against their reception by the pernicious habit of "taking," (and therefore *considering*) words in promiscuous bunches, as if they had so much meaning *per dozen*, instead of acting upon the fact, that "the parts of speech are determined by the structure of propositions, and a word is a noun, a conjunction, or a verb, according to either the place it takes in a proposition, or the relation it bears to one" (Latham, *ibid.* p. 2.) By following up, in good scientific earnest, such a process as "construing" *used* to be, one may hope to elucidate gradually the limits of the normal and the aberrant of language, and to deduce its pathology from its physiology, and *vice versa*. But I am often grieved by hearing even decent scholars *lumping* their words in a way that "we lads" should have smarted for, had we dared to take such liberties even in a "Greek and English" *imposition*. The natural consequence of such a practice must be, that many who pass for proficient in Greek and Latin (learnt *per se et propter se*), are so little improved as rational beings, that practical thinking men, who fall in with such "young collegers," naturally question the utility of those dead languages. "They would never trouble their heads with such stuff." Nor, in fact, did the said "collegers." It was never an intellectual process at all with *them*. Their teachers inculcated; *they* devoured; and the result was—a *farrago*. (*Vide* all three words in an old Ainsworth: inculco, devoro, farrago.)

JOHN PRICE.

BIRKENHEAD, November 5, 1849.

4. DERIVATION OF PROVINCIA.

A distinguished writer has maintained the opinion, that *Provincia* is derived from *providentia*; as better suited to the ordinary meaning of a province to be governed; or to the more general one of a function to be performed, which he quotes as early as Plautus; as justified by the derivation of *concio* from *conventio*; and also, because the derivation from *vinco* would require a form taken from *victus*.

That *Provincia* meant function, business in general, is probably only by metaphor from the business of consuls. Plautus is by no means an early period for the purpose of disproving this; very far from it. To say nothing of the conquests of the kings, consular duties and conquests had existed three centuries; time to bring a word, which had at first a restricted meaning, into common use, over and over again. This general sense, besides, is too rare, compared to the universal use of the word in the restricted sense as to consuls, to make it probable that the general is the original sense. The spelling, certainly, is quite a trifle.

But I object to the analogy, of *concio* from *conventio*,

1. The contraction is not of the same nature.

2. One instance, to found an analogy on, should be certain in itself, and not a matter of doubt and argument; though several instances, none of them quite certain, but all probable, and concurring in principle, might be allowed as an argument for establishing a fresh instance of the same principle.

3. I see no sort of reason for believing that *concio* is derived from *conventio*; it is the most unnecessarily out-of-the-way derivation I ever heard of.

"*Concio*, v.," says Ainsworth, "to call together; *conciendo multitudinem*. Livy."

Nouns in *io*, as *opinio*, *legio*, *religio*, *oblivio*, (*unio* is a verb and noun both, just as *concio*,) are often derived direct from the verb, not from any participle or protracted termination of it. *Imperfundies*, (*Lucilius*), *consciis*, are instances in other declensions, of which the last is the same as that of *provincia*; but then the *i* is in the verb too; which is the case in some of the former instances, and not in others.

Provincia, I conceive, is derived from *pro* and *vinco*, meaning by *pro*, what it almost always means in composition, "forwards." It never, I believe, means *formerly*. It does sometimes mean *before*; as, "*providisset eum*" in Horace, supported by a passage in Plautus (*Forcellini*.) But *præ* is the proper word in such cases. *Providentia* itself, is "looking forwards." The business of a consul was to conquer *forwards*; to go on conquering. The Romans, from the first,

considered the carrying on of a war, though they could not always make it out as to a single campaign, to have that object and that result. The governing of a conquered country in peace, which is suited only to the alleged derivation from *providentia*, and is the notion of the word which we meet with in Juvenal, for instance, would necessarily be of much later existence; and did not become exclusive till the Empire.

But if it should still be said that the noun in *ia*, whatever it might be in *io*, should not come direct from the verb, let it be a contraction from *provincentia*; that is as likely as from *providentia*: it is here merely striking out a disagreeable repetition of the same sound, and so is more natural than *providentia*. As we have nothing I believe for Latin, answering to Hoogeveen's *Dictionarium Analogicum* for Greek, arranged by the ends of words instead of their beginnings, I cannot now learn, or remind myself, whether any nouns in *ia* come from the verb itself; but one of my instances in *io* has also a form in *ium*, *oblivium*; so *contagium* from *tango*, *conjugium*, and *connubium*; and if it is true of *io*, and *ium*, (plur. *ia*) substantive, and of *ius*, *ia*, adjective, I do not know why it may not of *ia* substantive, and even with the *i* inserted. I believe too, that the derivation of *vinco* is from *vincio*, which is probably derived from *vinca* in some wider sense, denoting any flexible twig or runner, such as a periwinkle has, and such as we are told was also denoted by an old word, *vinnus*. All these, with *vimen*, come from *vieo*, to bend, whence comes *vietus*, in Terence and Lucretius. The connexion will be the same as that of *λέγω* and *ligare*.

I do not so much object to *concio* from *conventio*, as seeming to require the previous reduction of the word to the inadmissible form *coventio*; not being a believer in Bentley's doctrine, that *co-* is never by any possibility used in composition with a consonant. In the first place, it may be contended that *v* is not a consonant. But leaving that aside, how can we be certain, that *cos.* is a contraction, leaving out the *n*, and not an abbreviation at the end only, from an old variety of the word? Lanzi gives us *cosol*, (*Saggio*, i. 119.) but then I am bound to confess that he also gives us *cesor* for censor, *coventionid*, also *pago*, *tago*; so, as he observes, *κηρακης*, *Πουδης*; and in the vulgar, *mese*, *Ateniese*, *spese*. Still, though they might not leave *n* out in *con* in particular, it may be true that they did leave it out in *con*, sometimes.

I need not prove that words came to be spelt, at a later period, more fully in conformity to their derivations, than at an older, by referring to *optimo*, *omne lucana*, &c. in the tombs of the Scipios.

But copula is clearly from *compello*; *cominus* from *cum* and *manus*; *cognatus* and *cognosco* must have had the *g* in their roots originally,

from their Greek originals, *γείνομαι* and *γνώσκω*, and must therefore be considered as co-gnatus and co-gnosco.

I learn from Dr. Schmitz, *Hist. of Rome*, p. 281, that the ancients derived *provincia*, as I am now contending, from *pro* and *vincere* in the sense of to push forward, or to drive before one. But I only know of this quotation, I think from Festus. "*Provinciae appellantur, quod populus Romanus eas provicit, id est, ante vicit.*" He adds, that Niebuhr connects it with *proventus*; according to which it would mean a country paying tax to the ruling state; Dr. Schmitz does not agree to this, but to the derivation which I am answering. If the derivation of Festus was right in the sense of *ante vicit*, I agree that *provincia* might not be the right form; but something derived from the past participle: Yet *legio* seems to mean *quod legitur*: a present passive at least.

C. B.

5. REMARKS ON EURIPIDES.

I. *Androm.* 10 (ed. Dindorf):

ΡΙΘΕΝΤΑ πύργων Ἀστυνάκτ' ἀπ' ὀρθίων.

Some MSS., on the authority of Brunck, have *ρίφεντα*; but the adopted reading of Aldus is preferable, for "the tragic writers," as *ὁ μέγας* Porson remarks in *Eurip. Phæniss.* v. 986, "were partial to the rough and ancient forms, and therefore preferred the first aorists." Thus we have *ἀπαλλαχθεῖσα* in *Hippol.* 723; *ἀπηλλάχθη* *Helen* 102; *ἀπαλλαχθεῖς*, *Electr.* 1289, *Hippol.* 1181, *Rhes.* 470; *ἀπαλλαχθῆ*, *Androm.* 424; *ἀπαλλαχθέντε* *Iphig. Taur.* 106; *προσεθρέφθη*, *Æsch. Agam.* 735. See also *Sophoc. Antig.* 243; *Electr.* 1335.

This observation was made also by Valckenaer, in his note *ad Phæniss.* v. 979, p. 356, and long before him by the learned Archbishop of Salonica, in *Hom. Il.* ε', p. 519, 39, = 393, 25: Σημειώσαι δὲ καὶ, ὅτι φιλεῖ Ὅμηρος στρεφθέντα λέγειν, οὐ μὴν στραφέντα· ὡς καὶ Εὐριπίδην (*Hec.* 600), θρεφθῆναι εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τραφῆναι. Προτιμῶνται γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ τὴν καίριον τραχύφωνιάν τῇ ἀκαίρῳ λειότητι, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ βρεχθῆναι τὴν γῆν παρὰ Δίῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ βραχύναι, καὶ τὸ θαφθεῖσαι παρ' Ἡροδότῃ (*vii.* 28), ἀντὶ τοῦ ταφείσαι, καὶ χλανιδίων ἔσω κρυφθεῖν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ (*Orest.* 42), καὶ βλαφθεῖς παρὰ τῷ Ποιητῇ (*Il.* ε'. 508), ἀντὶ τοῦ βλαβεῖν. And again, p. 583, 24-443, 31: Ἐν τούτοις δὲ κεῖται καὶ τὸ στρεφθέντε, τραχύφωνον ῥῆμα, κατὰ τὸ βλαφθῆναι. οἶον, Τοιοῦδ' ἀποβλαφθεῖσαν ἀρτίως φίλον (*Sophoc. Aj.* 941), καὶ κατὰ τὸ θρεφθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα χαρτὰ καιρίως τοῖς λογίοις κεῖται ἀλλὰ-χοῦ. And to the same purpose Thomas Magister says: Βλαφθέντες

δοκίμον • τὸ δὲ βλαβέντεν κοινόν. ὡσανύτων καὶ βλαφθῆναι λέγε, μὴ βλαβῆναι • Θουκυδίδης (iv. 73), τῇ μεγίστῃ τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ βλαφθῆναι. This then being the case, it is advisable for students to imitate all these peculiarities when writing iambs; there is no reason, however, why we should change the reading of all the old Edd. and MSS. for the sake of establishing our own rules; as Valckenaer seems to have been inclined to do by attempting to exclude the second aorist from the remains of Greek tragedy; which is by no means correct, as it has been shown by Porson, who quotes *Æsch. Prometh.* 749: ἀπηλλάγην; κρείσσον γὰρ εἰς ἀπαξ θανεῖν • [I. εἰσάπαξ.] We find also ἀπαλλαγεῖσα in *Phœniss.* 601, and ἀπαλλαγεῖς, v. 1424, where the first aorist should violate the metre. So ἀπηλλάγης, *Androm.* 593; *Æsch. Agam.* 119, 327; *Prometh.* 752; *Sophocl. Antig.* 423.

I think these eminent critics should have added, that the passive future was preferred by the Greek tragedians to the middle one, Eurip. *Hippol.* 356:

Ῥίψω, μεθήσω σῶμ' • ἀπαλλαχθήσομαι
Βίον θανούσα.

So ἀπορρίφθῆσομαι in *Sophocl. Aj.* 1019, where Wunder erroneously writes the middle. See also Eurip. *Med.* 874.

II. Ibid. v. 783:

ΠΕΙΘΟΜΑΙ καὶ ξὺν Λαπίθαις σε Κεν-
ταύροις ὀμιλῆσαι δορὶ κλεινοτάτῳ.

I do not see what πείθομαι can mean here; and though it has passed the hands of many editors, who were ready enough for what the Greeks now call νεωτερισμοί, it has apparently escaped their attention. For my part, I feel disposed to read ΠΕΥΘΟΜΑΙ. *Noster Rhœs.* 763: ὡς ἀναξ ἐπέυθετο Κρατοῦντας ὑμᾶς κάφεδρεύοντας νεῶν Πρύμναισι. The verb εἰκούω bears the same meaning in *Æsch. Suppl.* 284, ἰνδοῦν τ' εἰκούω νομάδας, κ.τ.λ.

III. Ibid. v. 871:

Σπουδῇ ΠΡΟΣ ἘΜΟΝ δωμάτων πορεύεται.

This is the common reading, which certainly seems very suspicious. Musgrave conjectured ὀμμάτων, rendering the passage thus: *Adnos venit cum oculorum inventione*; of which I can say with Brunck, *ne intelligo quidem*. The latter commentator very ingeniously proposed σπουδῇ βημάτων, to the adoption of which I do not see the least objection. We have a similar expression in *Hec.* 216:

Καὶ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔρχεται σπουδῇ ποδός.

But should any one feel dissatisfied with this conjecture, I would suggest either,

Σπονδῇ Γ' ἙΜΩΝ ΠΡΟ δωμάτων πορεύεται,

or

Σπ. ΠΡΟ ΤΩΝΔΕ δωμ. πορ.

IV. Ibid. v. 1176 :

ὦ γάμος, ὦ γάμος,
'ὍΣ τάδε δώματα καὶ πόλιν ἀμάν
ᾤλεσας.

I think the passage would be rendered παθητικώτερον by reading

'ὍΣ τάδε κ. τ. λ. cf. *Æsch. Pers.* 515 :
ὦ δυσπρόνγητε δαίμον, 'ὍΣ ἄγαν βαρύν, κ. τ. λ.

Eurip. *Med.* 1360 :

ὦ τέκνα, μητρὸς ὍΣ καλῆς ἐκύρσατε.

Trod. 1168 :

ὦ χεῖρεν, 'ὍΣ εἰκὸνς μὲν ἡδεΐας πατρὸς
Κέκτησθ'.

See also *Med.* 1230 : *Hec.* 710 ; *Troad.* 631 ; *Bacch.* 1341. The common reading, however, is not to be rejected. *Æsch. Theb.* 1054 :

ὦ μεγάλανχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς
Κῆρεν Ἑρινίην, 'ΑΙΤ' Οἰδιπόδα
Γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν οὔτως.

V. *Bacchæ* v. 821 (808) :

"Αγ' ὡς ΤΑΧΙΣΤΑ, τοῦ χρόνου δέ σ' οὐ φθονῶ.

Elmsley, Hermann, and Dindorf, have adopted this reading, which is sanctioned by all edd. and MSS. Brunck says, "Hæc non bene congruere mihi videntur. Qui moræ impatiens est, qualem esse Pentheum arguunt hæc verba, ἄγ' ὡς τάχιστα, is temporis parcus esse solet. Aliud quid pro χρόνου ποῖtam scripsisse suspicor. Mallem τοῦ πόνου δέ σ' οὐ φθονῶ." And he is partly right, for according to the received reading, Pentheus contradicts himself by recommending speed at first, and then saying that he is in no hurry, but I do not think that the error is in the word χρόνον, but in τάχιστα ; so that I would write :

"Αγ' ὡς ἈΡΙΣΤΑ, τοῦ χρόνου δέ σ' οὐ φθονῶ.

VI. Ibid. 1353 (1342) :

Σὺ θ' ἢ τάλαινα, σύγγηγοί τε σαί ΦΙΛΑΙ.

The word φίλοι is very appropriate in this place, so that I think there is no reason whatever to alter it; and much less to change it into κόραι, as a writer in the last number of the *Classical Museum* (xxv. p. 276,) seems inclined to do; for the expression σύγγονος κόρη, σύγγονος νεανίας, or ἀδελφὸς νεανίας, as far as I remember, are not to be met with in any Greek writer, though, on the other hand, those of φίλος κασίγνητος and the like abound in the Greek tragedians, Sophocl. *Antig.* 81,—

ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ τάφον

Χώσουσ' ἀδελφῷ φίλτάτῳ πορεύσομαι.

Vide *Philoct.* 492; *Æsch. Theb.* 1022; *Eumen.* 442. If φίλοι, however, is still unsatisfactory, we may easily read σύγγονοί θ' ὁμόσποροι, as in v. 1088, cited by the writer himself. We have a similar hiatus in *Æsch. Suppl.* 661, (646), where some fill it up by adding the word ἔμν. Paley conjectured στάσις, citing *Theognis* v. 51, (ed. Bekk.) ἐκ-γὰρ τῶν στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φόνοι ἀνδρῶν, which in my opinion is the best. Cf. *Æsch. Pers.* 710; *Prometh.* 200; Sophocl. *Æd. Col.* 1233.

VII. *Cycl.* 244 :—

Πλήσουσι νηδὺν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπ' ἀνθρακος

Θερμὴν ἔδοντες δαῖτα Τῷ ΚΡΕΑΝΟΜῳ.

The commentators *uno ore* agree that this passage is corrupt. The common reading was ἐπ' ἀνθρακος, which was corrected by Ruhnken, who also conjectured,—

Θερμὴν διδόντες δαῖτα τοῦ κρεανόμου.

I would adopt his emendation ἀπ' ἀνθρακος, as being supported by two other passages in the same play. *Infra*, v. 358 :—

Ἐφθὰ καὶ ὀπτὰ καὶ ἌΝΘΡΑΚΙΑΣ ἌΠΟ χυναίειν.

and v. 373 :—

Ἀνθρώπων θέρμ' Ἄπ' ἌΝΘΡΑΚΩΝ κρέα.

But the rest is not necessary or congenial to the sense. I am of opinion that a colon originally stood after δαῖτα, and that a line is lost, to which the words τῷ κρεανόμῳ referred. But would it not be better if we were to read δαῖτα τὴν κρεανόμον, i. e. τὴν ἐκ κρεῶν συγκειμένην?

VIII. *Ibid.* 394 :—

Ξεστοὺς δὲ δρεπάνῳ γ' ἀλλὰ παλιούρου κλάδῳ

Αἰτναῖα τε σφαγεῖα πελεκέων γνάθοις.

These two verses are quite unintelligible, and after a long and tedious

VII.

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ous consideration, I have not been able to find any other method of improving them than by their transposition in the following order:—

Ξεστοὺν δ' οὐ δρεπάνῳ γ' ἀλλὰ πελεκέων γνάθοις
Αἰτναῖα τε σφαγεῖα παλιούρου κλάδων.

Though this is at present inadmissible on account of the metre, yet perhaps the hint may be matured by some happier emendator than myself.

IX. *Heracl.* 661:—

Ἄτὰρ τί χώρῃ τῇδε προσβαλὼν πόδα
Ποῦ νῦν ἀπεστί;

*Ἦκω has regularly the signification of a past action, of the perfect, not 'I come, am in the act of coming,' but 'I am come, I am here,' *adsum*, as ἐλήλυθα, and the imperf. ἤκον, answers to the plusq. perf. Herod. 6, 100, Αἰσχίνης . . . φράζει τοῖσι ἤκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρ' ἐνταῦθα πρήγματα, 'to those who were come.' Comp. 104, 8, 50, 68." *Matth. Gr. Gr.* § 504, 2. So Thomas Magister:—

*Ἦκω καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔρχομαι, ὡς Αἰσχύλος (*Choëph.* 3.)
Ἦκω γὰρ εἰν γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι.
καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἦλθον, ὡς τό·

*Ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
Λιπῶν·

παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἑκάβῃ· καὶ Λιβάνιος, (vol. i. p. 703. A. = iv. p. 514,) δὲ ἐν μελέτῃ τῇ τοῦ ῥήτορος· ἦκω τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐχθροὺς μόνον ὠθήσαν τῇ γλώττῃ· Οὕτως Ἀττικοὶ τῷ ἐνεστώτι ἀντὶ παρωχημένον χρῶνται· τὸ δὲ ἦκον κοινότερον. This use of the verb ἦκω was peculiar to the Attic writers, as the Scholiast, on *Hecub.* v. 1, rightly observes: Τὸ ἦκω Ἀττικόν ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀττικοὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἦκον, ἦκω λέγουσιν. ῥέπει δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ παρεληλυθός, καθόσον τὸ εἰμι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. This apparently has escaped the memory of the commentators, who seem to have misunderstood this passage; for the participle ἦκοντα in v. 659, bears the sense of a past tense, and accordingly Alcmene, having heard that Hyllus *had arrived* in Attica, asks why he is not present. I would therefore punctuate the verse thus:—

Ἄτὰρ τί; χώρῃ τῇδε προσβαλὼν πόδα
ποῦ νῦν ἀπεστί;

The commentators labour under the same mistake in *Alcest.* 47, translating the passage:—*ad quam abducendam tu nunc venis* instead of *venisti*.

X. *Ibid.* 793:—

Ὁ μὲν γέριον ΟΥΚ ἔστιν Ἰόλεως ὈΔΕ;

Elmsley conjectured οὖν ἔστιν Ἰόλεως ἔτι. I prefer ἄρ' ἔστιν Ἰόλ. ἔτι.

The verb εἶμι is often used in the sense of ζάω. Matth. c. ii. v. 18, 'Ραχὴλ κλαίονσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε παρακληθῆναι ὅτι οὐκ εἰσι. Vide Eurip. *Suppl.* v. 1146; *Hippol.* 357, 1157; *Æschyl. Choëph.* 877.

XI. *Helen.* 1033 :—

Τοῦνθένδε δὴ ΣΕ ΤΟΥΣ λόγους ΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ ΧΡῆ
Κοινὴν συνάπτειν μηχανὴν σωτηρίας.

The inelegance of this passage would be obvious to every one at first sight, however small might be his acquaintance with the Greek language. Jacobs, ὁ κριτικώτατος, ingeniously conjectured :—

Τοῦνθένδε δὴ ΣΥΝΕΤΟΥΣ λόγους ΕΥ'ΟΝΤΑ ΧΡῆ.

But I feel certain that συνετὸς λόγος is nowhere used in our author; I would therefore rather write the verse as follows :—

Τοῦνθένδε δὴ ΣΟΦΟΥΣ λόγους ΕΥ'ΟΝΤΑ ΧΡῆ.

Σοφὸς λόγος occurs often in Euripides, (see *Phœniss.* 1274; *Fr. inc.* xi. 2,) and all his readers are well acquainted with his extravagant use of the adjective σοφός. Schol. Eurip. *Med.* v. 663, Εὐεπίφορὸν ἔστιν ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἰς τὸ λέγειν σοφὸν καὶ σοφῇ, πρὸς μηδὲν χρήσιμον παραλαμβάνων τὸ ὄνομα. See Valck. in *Phœniss.* v. 463, p. 170, and Porson in *Med.* 300.

XI. *Ibid.* 1050 :—

Βούλει λέγεσθαι μὴ θανῶν λόγῳ θανεῖν;

Musgrave says, "Mihi non sic ab auctore relictum, sed ex sequentibus, librariorum errore, huc traductum videtur. Non bene enim in eodem versu consistunt λέγεσθαι et λόγῳ, quorum alterutrum certe superfluum est. Tentabam :—

Βούλει λέγεσθαι, δῆτα τῶν ἀλιφθόρων;

Jacobs proposed δέχεσθαι for λέγεσθαι. Both these conjectures, however, appear extremely harsh. Are we to read,—

Βούλει λέγεσθαι, μὴ θανῶν ἔργῳ, θανεῖν;

or rather,—

Βούλει νυν, ἔργῳ μὴ θανῶν, λόγῳ θανεῖν?

Cf. Sophocl. *Electr.* v. 59 :—

Τί γάρ με λυπεῖ τοῦθ', ὅταν λόγῳ θανῶν
Ἐργοῖσι σωθῶ.

Ibid. 357 :—

Σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἢ μισοῦσα, μισεῖς μὲν λόγῳ,
 Ἐργῷ δὲ τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῦ πατρὸς ξύνει.

See also *Æschyl. Prometh.* 336, 1082.

XII. *Ibid.* 1409:—

Ἐρχεται γὰρ δὴ τιν' εἰς ΤΥΧΗΝ τάδε.

Musgrave conjectured *ψυχὴν* instead of *τύχην*; but both the readings seem erroneous. I would write εἰς ΧΑΡΙΝ, which would naturally follow the preceding sentence: ἐπειδὴ Μενέλεων εὐεργετὲς Κᾶμ'. Cf. *Pind. Olymp.* i. 19, φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίαν, ἄγ', εἴ τι Ποσειδάων, ἘΞ ΧΑΡΙΝ τέλλεται.

XIII. *Suppl.* 250 (261):—

Ἡμαρτεν ἐν νέοισι δ' ἀνθρώπων τόδε
 Ἐνεστι.

Musgrave seems not to have been pleased with the words ἐν νέοισι, and conjectured ἐννοίαισι, which was received by Hermann. They would never have done so, however, if they had borne in mind two preceding passages to which this alludes: *Supra*, v. 160 (171),

Νέων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν θόρυβος ἐξέπλησσε με;

and v. 232 (243),

ἀπώλεσας πόλιν
 Νέοις παραχθεῖν.

XIV. *Ibid.* 306 (316):—

Νυνὶ δὲ σοί τε τοῦτο ΤΗΝ τιμὴν φέρει,
 Κᾶμοί παραινεῖν οὐ ΦΟΒΟΝ ΦΕΡΕΙ, τέκνον.

The article τὴν cannot stand in this verse, for it is neither Greek nor Euripidean; again, the repetition of the verb φέρει in the next line would be offensive to a Greek ear; I correct, therefore, the two verses in the following manner:

Νυνὶ δὲ σοί τε τοῦτο Γ'ΕΙΣ τιμὴν φέρει
 Κᾶμοί παραινεῖν οὐ ΦΟΒΟΣ ΠΕΛΕΙ, τέκνον.

The same phrase occurs above, v. 295 (305),—

Ἄλλ' Εἴς ὈΚΝΟΝ μοι μῦθος ὃν κεύθω φέρει.

Cf. *Sophocl. Œd. Tyr.* 520,—

οὐ γὰρ Εἴς ἈΠΛΟΥΝ
 Ἦ ζημία μοι τοῦ λόγου τούτου φέρει.

See also v. 991. *Herod.* i. 10; iii. 133.

XV. *Ibid.* 837 (848):—

Μέλλων σ' ἐρωτᾷν ἮΝΙΚ' ἐξήντλεις στρατῷ
 Γόους, ἀφῆσω, ΤΟΥΣ ἘΚΕΙ ΜΕΝ ἘΚΛΙΠΩΝ
 Εἶς τὰ ΣΑ ΓΕ μύθους · ΝΥΝ Δ' ἈΔΡΑΣΤΟΝ ἸΣΤΟΡΩ.

This is one of the most corrupt passages in Euripides, and I think it is almost impossible for the critic to discover its genuine reading. In the first verse we have the word ἡνίκ', which does not agree with the context; for Theseus was not present when the chorus began to lament, so that it is not improbable that some inserted it instead of οὔνεκ'. The two following verses present the greatest difficulty, which apparently excited Brunk to make such ἀλλοκότους conjectures, all of which are too ἄμουςοι to be noticed in the *Museum*. Since, however, it is generally agreed by all the commentators that the lines are corrupt, I may be allowed to offer my own conjecture, which is to this effect,—

Μέλλων σ' ἐρωτᾷν ΟΥ' ΝΕΚ' ἐξήντλεις στρατῷ
 Γόους, ἀφῆσω ΤΟΥΣΔΕ ΝΥΝ ΜΕΝΕΙΝ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ
 Ἔς τ' ἌΝ ΓΕ μύθους ΤΩ Δ' ἈΔΡΑΣΤΩ Γ ΕἴςΦΕΡΩ.

XVI. *Iphig. Aul.* 284,—

Λευκῆρετμον δ' Ἄρη
 Τάφιον ἮΓΕΝ, ὦν Μέγης
 Ἄνυσσε, Φυλέως λόχευμα.

Almost all the commentators found some fault with the second line, and ventured various conjectures, yet no one perceived the proper reading, which is wonderfully clear. Who can deny that Euripides wrote,

Λευκῆρετμον δ' Ἄρη
 Τάφιον ΕἴΔΟΝ, ὦν κ.τ.λ. ?

Cf. *supra*, v. 273,—

Ἐκ Πύλου δὲ Νέστορος
 Γερηνίου ΚΑΤΕΙΔΟΜΑΝ
 Πρύπναν.

XVII. *Ibid.* 623:—

Τέκνον, καθεύδεις ΠΩΛΙΚΩ ΔΑΜΕΙΣ ὈΧΩ;

Who ever heard of, or met with, the expression, δαμῆναι πωλικῷ ὄχῳ? and who can find any meaning in the words? For my part, I think we ought to read, either

τ.κ. πωλικῷ δαμείς ΚΡΟΤΩ;

or,

τ.κ. πωλ. ΚΑΙΘΕΙΣ ὈΧΩ;

Cf. *Homer. Il.* ψ' 335,—

Αὐτὸς δὲ κλινθῆναι εὐπλέκτω ἐνὶ δέφρῳ,
 *Ηκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦν.

XVIII. *Ibid.* 649:—

Ἴδον γέγηθα σ' ὡς γέγηθ' ὀρών, τέκνον.

Musgrave, who is followed by Matthiae, punctuates the verse thus,—

Ἴδον, γέγηθα σ', ὡς γέγηθ' ὀρών, τέκνον.

The common reading is γέγηθ' ἔως γέγηθα σ' ὀρών, and hence I am inclined to think that

Ἴδού, γέγηθα πως, γέγηθα σ' ὀρών, τέκνον,

would suit the sense better, and render the passage τραγικώτερον.

XIX. *Ibid.* 1190:—

Εἰ τοῖσιν αὐθένταισιν ΕΥ' ΦΡΟΝΗΣΟΜΕΝ.

Would it not be better to read ΕΥ'ΧΑΣ 'ΗΣΟΜΕΝ?

Cf. Sophocl. *Aj.* 630, 851, 1211; Æsch. *Pers.* 903; Choeph. 556; Eurip. *Hec.* 338; *Suppl.* 291; *Helen.* 188; *Herc. Fur.* 1286.

XX. *Iphig. Taur.* 533:—

ᾧ ΠΟΤΝΙ, ᾧΣ ΕΥ' ΤΙ ΓΑΡ Ὁ Λαέρτου γόνος.

This verse, beyond doubt, is very corrupt. Some books have ἔστι instead of εὐ τι, which is certainly a very proper reading, as we may perceive from the answer,—

Οὕτω νενόστηκ' οἶκον, ἔστι ἔ', ὡς λόγος.

This variation, however, does not lessen the difficulty arising from the corruption of the verse, but rather increases it. I think that ᾧ πότνι' ὡς is a corruption of the words ὁ ποικίλος, so that I do not consider it at all improbable that our author wrote

Ὁ ΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ Δ' ἔστιν ἅΠΑ Λαέρτου γόνος.

Euripides, as well as other poets, often applies epithets of this kind to Ulysses. Cf. *Iphig. Aul.* 526,

ΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ αἰὲ πέφυκε, τοῦ γ' ὄχλον μέτα.

Virg. *Æn.* ii. 90,

— invidiâ postquam PELLACIS Ulixi
 (Haud ignota loquor) superis concessit ab oris.

JOHN N. ABBOTT, Junior.

October 31, 1849.

6. DR. DONALDSON, AND DR. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

LONDON, December 4th 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,

Dr. Donaldson, in a note to the preface of the last edition of the *Theatre of the Greeks*, has accused the Rev. Robert Whiston, the author of the article *Tragœdia*, in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, of having copied the greater part of that article, without any acknowledgment, from the *Theatre of the Greeks*. Such an accusation from a scholar of Dr. Donaldson's standing could not be allowed to pass unnoticed. I therefore wrote to Mr. Whiston, calling his attention to it, and received from him the following letter in reply, which I shall feel obliged by your inserting in the next number of the *Classical Museum*.

I will only add, that I am convinced, after a careful examination of the whole matter, that Dr. Donaldson's accusation is unfounded, and cannot be proved; and that the similarity between the statements in the *Theatre of the Greeks*, and in the article *Tragœdia* in the *Dictionary of Antiquities* arose simply, as Mr. Whiston states, from both writers having had recourse to the same German authors for much of their matter, and not in consequence of one copying from the other.—I remain,

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours faithfully,

WM. SMITH.

To the Editor of the *Classical Museum*.

ROCHESTER, Nov. 8th 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for calling my attention to the attack made upon me as the author of *Tragœdia*, in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, by Dr. Donaldson, in his preface to the sixth edition of the *Theatre of the Greeks*; and I regret that important business has prevented an earlier notice of it.

I now beg, after a careful examination of my article, to assure you that Dr. Donaldson's accusations are unfounded; and to add, that in no one instance have I referred to Müller or Böckh, without having consulted their writings as I have cited them. Of this I send you detailed proofs, which will, I think, convince you that both Dr. Donaldson and myself have had recourse to the same German authors for much of our matter; and as he has simply made charges without

any other confirmation of them than his own averments, I shall content myself with affirming that they are not true.

Had Dr. D. been disposed to shew that regard which, as I conceive, was due to an old acquaintance, who has always spoken of his learning and talents with the greatest respect, he would, I think, have communicated with me on the subject, and I should have been most happy to submit to him the facts which I have laid before you.

They might, perhaps, have convinced him of his error, and he would have lost nothing by such an honourable procedure, except the authorship of an undeserved accusation.—I remain,

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours very truly,

ROBERT WHISTON.

WILLIAM SMITH, Esq., LL.D.,
*Editor of the Dictionary of Greek and
 Roman Antiquities.*

7. IMITATION FROM THE ΚΟΛΑΚΕΣ OF EUPOLIS.

(Ap. *Athen.* vi. p. 236. e.)

Of how we live, a sketch I'll give,
 If you'll attentive be;
 Of parasites, (we're *thieves* by rights,)
 The flower and chief are we.

Now first we've all a page at call,
 Of whom we're not the owners,
 But who's a slave to some young brave,
 Whom we flatter to be donors.

Two gala dresses each possesses,
 And puts them on in turn;
 As oft as he goes forth to see
 Where he his meal can earn.

The Forum I choose, my nets to let loose,
 It's there that I fish for my dinner;
 The wealthy young fools I use as my tools,
 Like a jolly good hardened old sinner.

Whenever I see a fool suited for me,
 In a trice at his side I appear,
 And ne'er loose my hold, till by feeding or gold,
 He has paid for my wants rather dear.

If he chance ought to speak, though stupid and weak,
 Straightway it is praised to the skies ;
 His wit I applaud, treat him as my lord,
 Win his heart by a good set of lies.

Ere comes our meal, my way I feel,
 My patron's mind I study :
 And as each knows, we choose all those,
 Whose brains are rather muddy.

We understand our host's command,
 To make the table merry ;
 By witty jokes, satiric pokes,
 To aid the juicy berry.

If we're not able, straight from the table
 We're sent, elsewhere to dine ;
 You know poor Acastor incurred this disaster,
 By being too free o'er his wine.

A dreadful joke, scarce from him broke,
 When for the slave each roars,
 To come and fetch th' unhappy wretch,
 And turn him out of doors.

On him was put, like any brute,
 Round his throat an iron necklace ;
 And he was handed, to be branded,
 To Ceneus rough and reckless.

L. S.

XXXVI.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. STEPHANI BYZANTII ETHNICORUM quæ supersunt ex recensione Augusti Meineckii. Tomus prior. Berolini, 1849. 8vo.

For nearly a century and a half the text of Stephanus has not been criticised in a thorough and efficient manner. The two editions previous to the present, are those of W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1825, 4 vols. 8vo., and A. Westermann, Leipzig, 1839 ; the former is a mere collec-

tion, containing a reprint of the generally very diffuse previous editors and critics, such as J. Gronovius, Thomas de Pinedo, Abraham Berkel, and Luc. Holstenius, without any improvements on the part of the editor, and the perusal of the work is difficult by its extreme diffuseness. The only useful addition made by W. Dindorf is the collation of the Codex Rehdigeranus, which is printed in the preface, but had been previously made and published by Francis Passow and Augustus Wellauer. The edition of Westermann was originally intended to contain also a commentary; but the publisher, who probably expected to reap little benefit from it, insisted on publishing only a correct text, with short references to chapter and verse of the authors still extant, and quoted by Stephanus; but the alterations made by Westermann are, without ceremony, admitted by him into the text. Though many of these have been approved of by the latest critic, and preserved in the text, yet we think ourselves obliged to repeat what has been said above, namely, that since the editions of Abraham Berkelius and Luc. Holstenius, the former of which appeared about the middle, and the latter towards the end of the seventeenth century, until the latest edition by Augustus Meinecke, there appears no material improvement in the constitution of the text, although, in other critical works, it has been occasionally corrected. The sources from which Meinecke has derived his materials for mending the text of Stephanus, are briefly mentioned: "Codices versavi tres, Rehdigeranum Vossianum Parisiensem, quibus accedit quæ codicis instar habetur editio Aldina; præterea usus sum lectionibus, quas ex Perusino libro Jacobus Gronovius, ex duobus Palatinis Lucas Holstenius excerpterunt." Of the "Rehdigeranus," which F. Passow had already collated, he says: "non indignum fuisse, quem iterum excutere, plurimis exemplis cognovi." Of the Vossian manuscript, which Jacob Geel had rendered accessible, Berkel had already availed himself, "sed desultorie et negligenter." Of the two Parisian manuscripts, only that of which Emil Miller, *Journal des Savans*, 1838, considered the better, has been consulted; but, as it nearly coincided with the "Aldine," not throughout, but only in those passages which stood most in need of correction. The editor, moreover, has carefully availed himself of those improvements which have been made at different times and on different occasions; and the first volume therefore contains the most complete critical apparatus. Extracts of the commentaries of former editors, as well as annotations of our editor, and what is to be said concerning the life and works of Stephanus, are reserved for the second volume, which is to appear next year; and we must, for the interests of philology, entreat the editor to furnish this second volume, as it will afford us the best and most correct materials out of the copious commentaries. The remaining part of the

voluminous and learned work of Stephanus of Byzantium is known to be a mere abridgement from the pen of a certain Hermolaus, (if the future investigations of Meinecke do not lead us to believe otherwise,) of whom Suidas says: "Ερμόλαος γραμματικὸς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, γράψας τὴν ἐπιτομὴν τῶν ἐθνικῶν Στεφάνου γραμματικοῦ, προσφωρηθεῖσαν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ;" a remark which, in addition to one by Stephanus, (s. v. Ἀνακτόριον,) has led Westermann to believe, that Stephanus lived in the beginning or towards the middle of the 6th century, under Justinian I. and professed the Christian religion, as he infers from the article Βῆθλεμα; but that Hermolaus made his extracts in the time of, and dedicated it to, Justinian II. who became emperor of the Eastern empire in A. D. 685. The abridgement which has come down to us, makes us the more regret the loss of the comprehensive encyclopedia of Stephanus, as it may be conjectured, from the unequal treatment of the articles in their present form, what a fund of reading it must have contained: for even this abridgement, in its mutilated condition, is still one of the most important sources for ancient geography, of ancient literature in general, and of the Greek language. We also find many interesting and important observations on the study of the arts and social life. The observations on language, concerning the formation of proper names, are of the same value as the ethnographic explanations; and it almost appears, that the epitomist treated with predilection that part of the work of Stephanus relating to language, and that he was himself a grammarian rather than a geographer. At the same time, he shows a peculiar interest in mentioning the sources made use of, and quoted by Stephanus; and we may therefore take it for granted, that all the authorities of Stephanus from which he compiled his work, are, almost without exception, cited.

As for the special merits of Meinecke in constituting the text, we can only report what he has done, without any intention of criticising his labours minutely, for want of the necessary assistance to be derived from the commentary promised by him. Besides, the criticism of so able an editor is so precise and so full of tact, that we may rather learn from his skill, than find fault with the master who has done his work so efficiently. For the foundation of the text, Meinecke has taken the "Aldine," of which he says, (*Preface*, p. v.): "His igitur subsidiis aliorumque criticorum emendationibus ita usus sum, ut Aldino exemplari, a quo, nisi monito lectore, numquam mihi discedendum existimavi, novam recensionem superstruerem." Next to the "Aldina," the best manuscript is the "Codex Rehdigeranus," the readings of which the editor has so often admitted into the text. Yet, notwithstanding all the exactness and precision of the critical apparatus, it is to be regretted, that, in the case of not a few emendations, the editor has not given a short account of the history

of the text. In many parts, the relation which the "Aldina" bears to other and later editions, and to the manuscripts, is not stated. Where, for instance, it is said in the annotation, s. v. Παμβωτάδαι: "Παμβωτάδαι, Meursius, Παμβωτάδης, libri;" does the "Aldina" also belong to the libri? Or s. v. Πάνακρ Καλλίμαχος, Ἰδαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσιν,—in the annotation: οὐρεσιν libri. Westermann prefers "ὄρεσσιν," as well as the reprint of Dindorf, but the readings of other passages marked with "libri," and rejected by Meinecke, stand also in the latest editions. For instance, s. v. Μαγνησία: "Θηλυκόν, Salmasius, ἐθνικόν libri." The emendation by Salmasius is to be found in the editions of Dindorf and Westermann. Again, s. vv. Λάμπη, Ἀντιγόχεια, Βοίβη, and in many other places. In such cases, where a reading has become incorporated in the text, would it not be more intelligible, e. g. s. v. Ἰβηρία, instead of the expression libri, to put, "ante Salmasium, Berkellium," the meaning of the "libri," as can be seen from other passages, e. g. s. vv. Βιθυνόπολις, Βέννα, Ἑρμος, Κάλλαυς, &c. being much more extensive, comprising even the latest editions? Still more vague, perhaps, relating to the manuscripts and first editions, appears the expression "libri," s. v. Ἰώμνη: "Μεσσηνίας, libri," where, in the latest editions within my reach, it is written "Μεσσηνίας." But what does this signify, compared with the lucid and exact manner in which the readings, upon the whole, have been treated? Many things, arising evidently from misunderstanding, and others which are entirely useless, might as well have been omitted; but this may be overlooked, and may, at least, afford an opportunity of studying the history of the common mistakes of the manuscripts, arising from the incorrect and changing pronunciation of the times. The critical skill of the editor, it must be owned, deserves to be placed by the side of the best editors, not excluding that of a Salmasius. Meinecke, with much acuteness and sound judgment, well knew how to deal with the epitomizer as such, time having spoiled much of the little which he left remaining of Stephanus. Those passages, not few in number, which are marked with dots, and explained in the annotation by the words, "lacunam indicavi," at once appear to the attentive reader, almost without exception, to be defective. It cannot be said with the same certainty, that the numerous passages marked as repetitions within brackets are of later origin, they being rather signs and characteristics of an epitomizer. But what is to be said of the articles "Χάρα, Χιτώνη (either the end of an article or one out of place,) Πύμνη," and the like, which are fragments not less incomplete, though less to be found fault with in an ethnographic lexicon, less intelligible than those useless repetitions? Considering the uncommonly happy criticism of the editor, the interpolations which he thought necessary for making such passages intelligible, might as well have been without brackets; for

they appear so natural, that their necessity is felt at once. Yet, s. v. "*Ποίβεια*," he leaves that meaningless word *περίης* unaltered, and conjectures "*Πιερίης*" instead of the common "*παρ' ἧς*," which has at least a meaning, and, besides, might have been marked as doubtful. Lastly, in order not altogether to pass it over in silence, we cannot approve of the reading s. v. *Ἰόνιον πέλαγος*; for it would be a miracle, though this is but a notice, to have nothing to find fault with. We read: "*Ἰώνη γὰρ καὶ ἡ Γάζα ἐκαλείτο ἀπὸ Ἰούε, βούν ἔχουσα πλησίον ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι.*" The word *πλησίον* appears to us unintelligible, and to have been transplanted by a copyist from the line following: "*Ἰόπη, πόλις Φοινίκης, πλησίον Ἰαμνίας,*" &c. into the line above. If, therefore, we do not think proper to conjecture "*πλάγιον*" from the peculiar form of the figure in the escutcheon, or *πλαγκτὴν* according to the myth, we had better erase the word entirely.

Though the annotations, on account of the forthcoming commentary, are said to be of a mere critical nature, they nevertheless contain all that Westermann has added to elucidate his edition, the chapter, namely, and verses of the authorities mentioned by the epitomizer. We also find many observations, to which the criticism has given rise, which, however, are entirely exegetical, and give evidence that a criticism presuming to be free from faults, and unobjectionable, cannot always be without an exegesis; or rather, that criticisms are not always so self-evident, as not to require an interpreter. Suffice it to say, that these few remarks are written for the purpose of drawing attention to a work which is a bright luminary among the critical productions of our time, a work which renders those preceding it superfluous for many readers, and would render them antiquated for all, if it contained a complete history of the text, and not merely an account given with diplomatical exactness, of corrupt and unmeaning readings; a work, the second volume of which is to contain an abundance of learned and well-digested matter for the study of Stephanus, to bring to light treasures hitherto disclosed but to a few, and to lay them open, freely and concisely, for the perusal of every one. The editor may be sure of receiving the hearty thanks of those who wish to learn much in a short time.

T. R.

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2. EXERCITATIONES IAMBICÆ, or Original Exercises in Greek Iambic verse, consisting of Passages from the Scottish and other Poets, paraphrased and arranged for Translation into Greek Iambics, to which are prefixed the Laws of this Species of Composition, together

with the most essential Rules of Greek Accentuation. By E. R. Humphreys, B. A. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 8vo. pp. 96.

We regard with peculiar satisfaction, every effort which is made to promote the cultivation of Greek literature in the northern portion of the island. The last thirty years have effected a remarkable change in the great majority of the classical schools of Scotland; and in all those which can lay claim to a prominent position, a reasonable portion of time is now devoted to the study of the noble language of ancient Greece. Our northern friends, however, have still something to do; and we have great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the little work whose title we have prefixed, as a valuable contribution in a department of elementary teaching to which sufficient attention is not always paid. The author has here embodied in a tangible form the result of long and successful experience. We regret that the very limited space to which we are under the necessity of restricting ourselves, will admit of little more than a statement of the contents.

The introduction contains the rules for the construction of the Tragic Trimeter, taken from Tate's Introduction, and other available sources; followed by an exposition of the principles of Greek accentuation, which is too meagre to be really useful. The *Exercitationes* consist of interesting passages, chiefly from the English Poets, to be turned into Greek Iambics, with a paraphrase on the opposite page, fronting the original, in which the sense and spirit of the original have been expressed in such English words, as, "in the opinion of the author, would most readily lead the pupil to the appropriate Greek terms." Horace's epistle to Lollius is also presented in a series of four exercises with a similar explanation. The author too has not been forgetful of the Scottish muse; and has therefore given due prominence to Burns and Sir Walter Scott. The collections appear to us to be remarkably well suited to the purpose for which they are intended, and display on the part of the author great taste and judgment. Every experienced teacher must be aware, that the greatest obstacle which a young pupil has to encounter in translating from English into Greek, is the difficulty of moulding the former into the idiom of the latter; when that is removed, his course is comparatively easy. Hence the value of Mr. Humphrey's paraphrase. A few of the last exercises are given in their original form only, for the purpose of testing the pupil's ability to turn them into Greek without assistance. The second part of the book consists of notes on each exercise, with the exception already mentioned, the object of which is to afford an average amount of assistance in such expressions as are likely to interrupt the progress of the youthful learner. In these, the corresponding Greek expressions are given, with frequent references to classical authority. It is only here

that Mr. Humphreys has had an opportunity of showing his scholarship; and although we cannot in all cases agree with him, we readily admit that in the great majority it would not be easy to suggest an improvement. We can therefore confidently recommend the *Exercitationes Iambicæ*, to all teachers who wish to imbue the minds of their pupils with a taste for this elegant department of Greek scholarship.

XXXVII.

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